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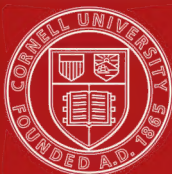
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BY

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RUSSELL'S
HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE
EPITOMISED.

RUSSELL'S
HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

EPITOMISED :

FORMING

A Complete Text-Book of Modern History,

AS WELL AS A PERFECT TREASURY OF

FACTS, DATES, IMPORTANT EVENTS, THE HISTORY OF

KINGDOMS AND STATES,

AND OF THE

LIVES OF CELEBRATED CHARACTERS.

LONDON:
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1857.



PREFACE.

WITHIN the compass of this volume the reader is presented with an epitome of Russell's larger work, upon the History of Modern Europe. It remains the favourite guide to a knowledge of the various subjects of which it treats; and has very recently been recommended as a text-book by the Government Civil Service Commissioners and the Earl of Clarendon. No modern work enjoys a similar reputation, and it is in all respects a safe authority. Every fact and the date of all the events recorded in these pages have been verified, original matter has been introduced, and the entire work submitted to the most careful revision. In epitomising this valuable book of reference the editor has endeavoured to give as fair a view of the leading details of modern history, as was possible within the limits. The more interesting portions of the subject, that stand out in bold and full relief on the map of the past, have been described at greater length, while less important matters have been abridged, without, however, interrupting the thread of the narrative. In fact the editor's aim has been to supply what has long been wanting in English literature—a Handbook, in which the chief events of Modern History are set forth in a clear, concise, and intelligent form. Experience

has demonstrated that such a work, properly executed, must prove of immense service to the general reader, the student, and the school-boy; and the editor trusts that the result of his labours will secure that approbation and success of which he has endeavoured to render them worthy.

G. H. T.

LONDON, *July 20th*, 1857.

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RUSSELL'S MODERN EUROPE

EPITOMISED.



PART I.

FROM THE RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE
OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648.



CHAPTER I.

LETTER 1.—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, and the Settlement of the Barbarians. A.D. 98—476. Vol. i., pages 1—7.^a

§ 1. EUROPE is the theatre on which the human character has appeared to the greatest advantage, and where society, both in ancient and modern times, has attained the fairest development; consequently, its history furnishes materials worthy of observation and record in the study of men and of kingdoms. The inhabitants of Ancient Europe may be divided into three classes; namely, Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians. The former, the most polished people of antiquity, inhabited the maritime parts of the country, now known by the name of European Turkey, as well as of that which constitutes the present kingdom of Greece. The ancient Greeks became corrupted, and were conquered by the Romans, who then turned their arms against the barbarians or northern nations, the Gauls, the Britons, and the Germans, and succeeded, after several struggles, in reducing them to subjection. Some, however, fled to the mountains for freedom, or took refuge in the inhospitable regions of the north, whence, in later years, they rushed forth like an impetuous flood, overturning the vast fabric of the Roman empire, establishing upon its ruins new governments

^a The references throughout this work are to the larger edition of "Russell's History of Modern Europe," in four volumes, recently published by Messrs. Routledge & Co. It contains a copious index by Dr. Nuttall, and brings the history of Europe down to the conclusion of the Russian war, in 1856.

and new manners, and thus accomplishing the most signal revolution recorded in the history of nations.

§ 2. It had been the policy of the Romans to transfer into the conquered countries their laws, manners, arts, sciences, language, and literature. Good laws are essential to good government, arts and sciences to the prosperity of a nation, and learning and politeness to the perfection of the human character. But these, in order to exalt a people, must be the result of the natural progress of civilization, not of any adventitious ferment, or of violence from without. This truth was never, perhaps, more strikingly exemplified than in the history of the Roman empire. The degrading influence of its dominion hastened its final dissolution; for although the conquered nations were by that means more easily kept in subjection, they became unable to resist a foreign enemy, and might be considered as decayed members of the body politic, which increased its size without consolidating its strength. Under an appearance of prosperity, the martial and independent spirit of the people of the northern provinces became totally extinct in a few centuries; and instead of preferring death to slavery, as so many of their illustrious ancestors had done, they patiently submitted to any contribution which a rapacious governor was pleased to levy. They became incapable of either thinking or acting for themselves; hence all the countries which had been subjected to the Roman yoke, fell a prey to the first invader, after the imperial forces were withdrawn.

§ 3. Many other causes contributed to the dissolution of the Roman empire.^b Rome owed her dominion as much to the manners as to the arms of her citizens, and a relaxation of the former, brought about by the pillage of Greece and the conquest of Asia, rendered the ruin of the republic inevitable. The fall of Carthage and the expulsion of the Gauls out of Italy, though seemingly the most fortunate events in

^b Gibbon makes the decline and fall of the Roman empire to extend over thirteen centuries, which he divides into three periods:—

1. The first of these dates from the reign of Trajan to the subversion of the Western empire by the barbarians of Germany and Scythia, the rude ancestors of the most polished nations of modern Europe. A.D. 98—476.

2. The second period commences with the reign of Justinian and terminates with the elevation of Charlemagne, who established the second or German empire of the West. A.D. 527—800.

3. The last and longest of these periods includes about six centuries and a half, from the revival of the Western empire, to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. A.D. 800—1453. In this letter the author treats more particularly of the fall and decline of the old Roman power, which are embraced in the first period, A.D. 98—476.

Roman history, also contributed to a change of manners; and to the extinction of Roman liberty. Her citizens, before united by the sense of a common danger, were split into factions, and ambitious men took advantage of internal divisions in order to raise themselves to power. A master became necessary, to put an end to the horrors of civil war, and to restore union and vigour to the state. Interest and vanity made courtiers; force or fear, slaves. A new source of ruin disclosed itself. Some disputed successions having made the army sensible that the sovereignty was in their hands, the soldiers henceforth sold it to the highest bidder. The soldiers of Rome were no longer citizens armed in defence of their country, but mercenaries or hired barbarians, and they proved little better than licensed robbers.

§ 4. In order to put a stop to the continual treasons of the soldiery, more especially those of the Prætorian bands, the emperors associated with themselves in the supreme power, their sons, their brothers, or such persons as they could trust; and every emperor elected a successor. They likewise subdivided the power of the Prætorian prefects, appointing four instead of two. Hence arose a new species of oppression, the tyranny being transferred from the soldiery to the prince. The removal of the imperial court to Constantinople, to say nothing of the subsequent division of the empire into Eastern and Western, was another blow to the grandeur of Rome, and likewise to its security. The discontents occasioned by the removal of the imperial court, were heightened by those of religion. Christianity had long been making progress in the empire; at length it ascended the throne of the Cæsars. As the Christians had formerly been persecuted, they, in their turn, became persecutors. The most dreadful hatreds and animosities arose. New sects sprang up; new disputes took place; new jealousies and antipathies raged; and the same punishments were denounced against heretics and pagans. A universal bigotry debased the minds of men.

§ 5. The character of the people with whom the Romans had to contend was in all respects the reverse of their own. These barbarians^c breathed nothing but war. Simple and

^c Barbarian was a term applied by the ancient Greeks and Romans to all who were not of their own country, or under their dominion. Hence with them the word simply signified "a foreigner," not, as amongst us, a rude and uncivilized person. It is in its classical sense that the term is applied in this portion of the work.

severe in their manners, they were unacquainted with the name of luxury. Hardened by exercise and toil, their bodies seemed inaccessible to disease or pain; war was their element; they sported with danger, and met death with expressions of joy. Though free and independent, they were firmly attached to their leaders. Nor were these their only virtues. They were remarkable for their regard to the sanctity of the marriage vow, their generous hospitality, their detestation of treachery and falsehood. The divided, effeminate, and now dastardly Romans, could oppose nothing but fear and folly, or, what was still more ignominious, treachery, to such a people. Convinced that the combat was unequal, they attempted to appease their invaders by money. Voluntary contributions were soon changed into tribute, and tributes were multiplied till the empire was drained of its treasure. Another expedient was then adopted:—the Romans took large bands of the barbarians into their pay, but these eventually turned their arms against their masters, and invited their countrymen to come and share with them in the spoils. A third expedient was tried,—namely, assassination; and the emperors thus got rid of those leaders or princes whom they feared, often perpetrating the crime under the mask of friendship, and even at the festive board. The barbarians at last proved equally deaf to the offers of treaty and to the voice of supplication. Italy and Rome itself were often pillaged. Fresh invaders appeared, and Europe was successively laid waste, till the North, by pouring forth its myriads, was drained of people, and the sword of slaughter tired of destroying.

§ 6. These invaders soon spread over Europe. By the beginning of the sixth century, the Visigoths had possessed themselves of Spain; the Franks of Gaul; the Saxons of the Roman provinces in South Britain; the Huns of Pannonia; the Ostrogoths of Italy and the adjacent provinces. New governments, laws, languages; new manners, customs, dresses; new names of men and of countries, everywhere prevailed. A total change took place in the state of Europe. The barbarians rejected everything that savoured of Roman civilization. Their literature, elegant arts, jurisprudence, refinement, were placed under the same ban of prohibition, and the influence of the ancient mistress of the world was to be entirely eradicated. In what manner light arose out of this darkness, order out of this confusion, and taste out of this barbarism, will be shown in this history. The stu-

dent may observe how genius and magnificence displayed themselves in a new mode, which prevailed for a time, and then exploded; how the sons came to idolize that literature which their fathers had proscribed, and wept over the ruins of those sculptures, paintings, buildings, which they could not restore; digging from dunghills, and bringing forth from the dust of ages, the models for future imitation, and enervating themselves with the same arts by which the Roman character had been undermined.

LETTER 2.—The System of Policy and Legislation established by the Barbarians on settling in the Provinces of the Roman Empire. Fifth and Sixth Centuries of the Christian Era. Vol. i., pages 7—9.

§ 7. The ancient Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the nations of the north of Europe, showed a certain degree of conformity in their government, manners, and opinions. The same thing might be observed among their more modern descendants, who, under the names of Goths and Vandals, dismembered the Roman empire. Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general or chieftain, who had commonly the title of king. The authority of these rulers was extremely limited, and consisted rather in the privilege of advising than in the power of commanding. They considered their conquests as common property, in which all had a right to share; and every one was the lord of his own little territory. After settling in the Roman provinces, the northern conquerors saw the necessity of a closer union, and of relinquishing some of their private rights for public safety. The general who had led them to victory, continued to be the head of the colony, and had the largest share of the conquered lands, while every free man, whether citizen or soldier, was bound to assist in the defence of the community. Hence arose the FEUDAL SYSTEM, the idea of which was borrowed from that of a military establishment.

§ 8. That system of policy, which prevailed for several centuries in almost every kingdom of Europe, did not sufficiently provide for the internal security of the state. The bond of political union was feeble; the sources of dissension were numerous, and corruption was interwoven with the very framework of the constitution. The king or general parcelled out his lands, binding those on whom he bestowed them, under the penalty of forfeiture, to attend

him in all his military enterprises. The nobles followed his example, and appeared at the head of their numerous vassals, like so many independent princes, and at length extorted from the crown the right of coining money, and of carrying on war against their private enemies. The ties which connected the principal members of the constitution with its head were gradually dissolved; almost all ideas of political subjection were lost, and little appearance of feudal subordination remained. A variety of feuds and jealousies raged among the nobles or barons, giving rise to many wars. Hence every country in Europe, kept in continual alarm by these internal hostilities, was filled with castles and fortresses, to protect the inhabitants from the attacks of their fellow-subjects. Kingdoms so divided and torn by domestic broils, were almost incapable of any foreign effort. Their wars for several centuries resembled the wild and desultory incursions of pirates or banditti; and had not the state of every kingdom been nearly the same, a dominant power must have arisen. In that case the independent spirit of the North might have been extinguished, and the present harmonious system of European policy, which arose from the chaos of anarchy, would not have struggled into existence.

§ 9. The ideas of the barbarians, with respect to equity, according to the most ancient historical records, differed little from those which prevail in a state of nature, and deform the first stages of society in every country. Resentment was almost the sole motive for prosecuting crimes; the injured person became the avenger, and he might demand or remit the punishment, or accept a compensation for the most heinous offence. The prosecution of criminals in the name and by the authority of the community, in order to deter others from violating the laws, now justly deemed the greater object of legislation, was a maxim of jurisprudence then little understood in theory, and still less regarded in practice. The civil and criminal judges could, in most cases, do no more than appoint the lists, and leave the parties to decide their cause by the sword. The feudal system, however, with all its imperfections, was not so debasing to humanity, as the uniform pressure of Roman despotism. If animosities were keen, friendships also were warm. The commonalty were unfortunately degraded to the condition of slaves, but the nobility were exalted to the rank of princes. The gentry were their associates; and the king, without the form of compact, was in reality but

chief magistrate, or head of the community, and could literally do no WRONG, or none, at least, with impunity.

LETTER 3.—Rise of the French Monarchy, and the History of France, under the Kings of the Merovingian, or the first race. A.D. 481—752. Vol. i., pages 9—12.

§ 10. Modern history is of little importance before the time of Charlemagne, and the coronation of that prince at Rome, as Emperor of the West, in 800, has been fixed upon by some authorities as its proper commencement. Yet the student naturally desires to become acquainted with the origin of nations, and therefore a short sketch of the state of modern Europe previous to that era is appended.

§ 11. The French monarchy first claims attention, not only on account of its antiquity, but also because of its early and long-continued importance. Gaul was shared by the Romans, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians, when Clovis, king of the Franks (son of Childeric, and grandson of Merovius, head of the Salian tribe), defeated Syagrius, the Roman governor, and established a new kingdom, to which he gave the name of France, or the *Land of Free Men* (486). Clovis was only nineteen years of age when he obtained this victory, and his marriage with Clotilda, a Christian princess, made the Gauls hope that he would embrace the Christian faith. Having vanquished the Allemanni at Tolbiac, near Cologne, in 496, after an obstinate battle, he was baptized by St. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, and almost the whole French nation followed his example. Under colour of religion, he made war upon Alaric, king of the Visigoths. Alaric was killed at the battle of Vouglé, near Poitiers (507), and the province of Aquitaine added to the kingdom of France. The close of his reign was disgraced by perfidies and cruelties towards the princes of his house, and he died in 511, after having attempted to atone for his crimes by building and endowing churches and monasteries, and assembling a council at Orleans for the regulation of church discipline.

§ 12. At the death of Clovis, his extensive dominions were divided amongst his four sons. This system was followed for some time, giving rise to endless wars and numerous assassinations. After the murder of many princes, and several years of civil war, Clothaire II. became sole monarch of France in 613. He committed the government of the provinces of Austrasia and Burgundy (the latter had been conquered

and annexed to France by the united efforts of Childebert and Clothaire I., 532) to the Mayors of the Palace, a kind of viceroys, who at last made their way to the throne. A succession of weak princes followed, and Pepin Heristal, duke of Austrasia, governed France for eight-and-twenty years, with equal prudence and fortitude, under the title of Mayor (687—714). At his death, the authority passed into the hands of his widow Plectrude, whose grandson, yet an infant, was elected mayor. Charles Martel, natural son of Pepin, being suspected of ambitious views by Plectrude, was imprisoned. He escaped, and was received by the Austrasians as their deliverer. He saved France from the Saracens in 732, who, after having conquered Spain, invaded his dominions; and he kept all the neighbouring nations in awe by his wise and vigorous administration. He only styled himself duke of France, but his son Pepin assumed the sovereignty, excluding the descendants of Clovis, or the Merovingian race, for ever from the throne of France (752).

LETTER 4.—Spain under the Dominion of the Visigoths, and under the Moors, till the Reign of Abderahman. A.D. 469—757. Vol. i., pages. 12—14.

§ 13. The Visigoths founded their monarchy in this Roman province, already overrun by the Vandals and the Suevi, and the clergy soon after became possessed of more power than the prince. Almost all cases, both civil and ecclesiastical, were referred to the bishops; they even decided in their councils the most weighty affairs of the nation. With the nobles, amongst whom they held the first rank, they often disposed of the crown, which was more elective than hereditary. The kingdom under the rule of the Visigoths became one theatre of revolutions and crimes.

§ 14. The Saracens, already masters of Mauritania (now Barbary), made a descent upon Spain, and by the battle of Xeres, in Andalusia, put an end to the empire of the Visigoths (711). The conquerors offered the inhabitants their religion and laws, many submitted at once, but a few under Pelagius, a prince of the royal blood, for some time struggled against the infidels, and at last retired to the mountains of Asturias, where he founded a Christian kingdom. The Saracens, or Moors, passed the Pyrenees, penetrated into the heart of France, and were defeated by Charles Martel in 732. Spain was at first very miserable under the dominion of the Moors. The emirs being dependent on the viceroy

of Africa, who allowed them to continue but a short time in their government, were more busy in fleecing the Spanish nation than in administering justice or preserving order. The caliphat, the seat of which had been removed to Damascus, by a bloody revolution, passed from the family of the Ommiades to that of the Abassides, and thereupon Abde-rahman, called also Almanzor, a prince of the blood royal, who escaped in the massacre of the Ommiades, founded in Spain an independent kingdom, consisting of all those provinces which had been subject to the caliphs (755). He fixed his residence at Cordova (757), was the wisest prince in Europe; and the Arabs, before enemies to the sciences, cultivated them with success, and became renowned for learning and politeness, while the rest of mankind were sunk in ignorance and barbarism.

LETTER 5.—Italy under the Dominion of the Ostrogoths, and under the Lombards, till the Reign of Luitprand. A.D. 476—728.* Vol. i., pages 14—17.

§ 15. ITALY experienced a variety of fortunes after losing its ancient masters, and before falling into the hands of Charlemagne. The Heruli, a people from the shores of the Black Sea, held it a short time (476—493), but were expelled by the Ostrogoths. Theodoric, the first Gothic king (493), and several of his successors, were princes of great prudence and humanity. They acknowledged the emperors of Constantinople their superiors in rank, but not in jurisdiction, and made Ravenna the seat of their court. The Ostrogoths were at last subdued by Belisarius and Narses, and Italy was once more united to the Eastern, or Greek empire (553). Soon after the expulsion of the Ostrogoths, a great part of Italy was seized by Alboin, king of the Lombards, or Longobards, who made Pavia his place of residence (568). Alboin established the feudal system in those countries which he had conquered, settling the principal officers of his army, under the name of duke, in the chief cities of every province. He was one of the greatest princes of his time. He was slain by the treachery of his wife, Rosamund (573); and his successor, Cleoph, perpetrated such cruelties, that the Lombards resolved, after his assassination (574), to change their form of government.

* Luitprand was made king of Lombardy A.D. 712, but in this letter the events of the first few years of his reign, up to the capture of Ravenna, and other places, in 728, are related.

An interregnum of several years ensued, during which they lived subject to their dukes.

§ 16. Being threatened by foreign enemies, the heads of the Lombards assembled, and called Autharis, the son of Cleoph, to the throne (584). He was the first of the Lombard kings who embraced Christianity, but, like most of the northern conquerors, he was an Arian. Several princes followed, until Constans, emperor of the East, landed in Italy with a considerable army (662), determined to expel the barbarians. Although he at first gained some inconsiderable advantages, he was afterwards defeated and assassinated (668). Grimoald, who reigned from 662—671, was a prudent prince, and he renounced the tenets of Arius. His successors followed his example, and the whole nation of the Lombards became Catholics. Luitprand gave strong proofs of his wisdom and valour from the moment he ascended the throne, in 712; but his great qualities were in some measure shaded by his boundless ambition. An opportunity soon offered for its display. Leo the Isaurian,^b then emperor of Constantinople, prohibited the worship of images, ordered all the statues to be broken in pieces, and the paintings in the churches to be pulled down and burnt (726). The edict was to be put in force both in the East and West, and the attempt to execute it at Ravenna created an insurrection (728). Luitprand suddenly assembled his forces, and appeared before Ravenna, not doubting that the reduction of that important place would be speedily followed by the conquest of all the imperial dominions of Italy. Although Luitprand carried the city by storm (728), and many other places surrendered without resistance, that conquest neither he nor any of his successors were ever able to complete; and the attempt proved fatal to the kingdom of the Lombards.

LETTER 6.—Rise of the Pope's Temporal Power, with some account of the affairs of Italy, the Empire of Constantinople, and the Kingdom of France, from the time of Charles Martel to that of Charlemagne. A.D. 715—768. Vol. i., pages 17—20.

§ 17. Though Rome was now governed by a duke, who depended on the exarch of Ravenna, the pope, or bishop, had the chief authority in that city. Gregory I., who died in 604, had negotiated with princes, and his successors divided their attention between clerical and political objects. To

^b Thus named from the wild province of Isauria, in which he was born.

free themselves from the dominion of the Greek emperors, without falling a prey to the kings of Italy, became the great object of these ambitious prelates. In order to accomplish this, they employed both religion and intrigue, and at last established a spiritual and temporal monarchy, which of all human institutions, perhaps, most merits the attention of man, whether we consider its nature, its progress, or its prodigious consequences. Gregory II. had offended Leo, by opposing his edict against the worship of images; but this prelate was more afraid of Luitprand's growing power than of the emperor's threats, and by the aid of Ursus, duke of Venice, he retook Ravenna before Luitprand could march to its relief (728). As the recovery of Ravenna had been brought about by the interposition of Gregory, that prelate hoped to induce the emperor to revoke his edict against the worship of images in the West.^a Leo, however, sensible that Gregory II. had acted from interested motives, resolved that the edict should be enforced in Rome itself, and took measures to carry out this determination. Gregory II. exhorted the Italian cities to resist the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, had them anathematized at a council at Rome, and gained over Luitprand, who now played the part of a pious son of the Church. Leo persisted that his favourite edict should be enforced at Rome, whereupon the people of that

^a The Iconoclasts. This religious contest originated in the eighth century, in an attempt on the part of the eastern emperor, Leo the Isaurian, to change the religion of his subjects. It was, as Milman shows in his "Latin Christianity" (vol. ii. chap. vii. p. 145), "not a controversy, it was a feud,—not a polemic strife, but actual war declared by one part of Christendom against the other." The same author enumerates as its more important results, "the total disruption of the bond between the East and the West—the severance of the Italian province from the Byzantine empire; the great accession of power to the papacy, which took the lead in this revolution; the introduction of the Frankish kings into the politics of Italy; and eventually the establishment of the Western empire under Charlemagne." The great Iconoclasts were Leo the Isaurian, and his son Constantine. The first edict was promulgated in 726. It prohibited the worship of all statues and pictures which represented the Saviour, the Virgin, and the Saints. This was followed by a second much more severe, ordering the destruction of all images and the whitewashing the walls of the churches. A council was held at Rome, in 730, at which anathemas were launched against the breakers of images. A council held at Constantinople, in 754, ordained that images were to be removed from the churches; and at a council at Rome, in 769, the acts of the council of Constantinople were anathematized, and all who condemned the worship of images excommunicated. Another council, held at Nice, in 787, decreed the worship of images; but by this time the controversy had nearly died out.

city, at the instigation of Gregory II., withdrew their allegiance from the Greek emperor (730). Hence the origin of the pope's temporal power.

§ 18. Gregory II. died in 731, and was succeeded by Gregory III. Leo raised a powerful army to take vengeance; whereupon Gregory III. sent a solemn embassy to Charles Martel, a treaty was concluded, and the French became protectors of the Church. Leo the Isaurian died in 741, and his son, Constantine V., called Copronymus, not only renewed his father's edict against the use of images, but prohibited the invocation of saints. Gregory III. also died in 741, and was succeeded by Zachary. After the death of Charles Martel, Zachary supported the ambitious designs of his son Pepin, who at that time governed France in the character of Mayor, but was afterwards raised to the throne and solemnly anointed king at Soissons (752). Zachary died the same year, and was succeeded by Stephen II., who lived only three days after his elevation, being followed by Stephen III.

This prelate invoked the aid of Pepin against Astolph, who had taken Ravenna and Pentapolis, intending to make himself master of Italy, and, after some negotiations, anointed Pepin anew with the holy unction, in 754, and also his two sons, Charles and Carloman, naming each of them Protector of the Roman people. In return for these honours, the French monarch promised to make a donation of the Exarchate and Pentapolis to the Romish church. Pepin advanced to Pavia in 755, and Astolph sued for peace; but having violated the conditions, taken several cities, and laid siege to Rome, Pepin crossed the Alps a second time, and Astolph again took refuge in Pavia (756). The emperor Constantine V., or Copronymus, in vain offered his mediation; Pepin pressed the siege of Pavia, and Astolph was compelled to submit. Before returning to France, Pepin renewed his donation to St. Peter, yielding to Stephen and his successors the Exarchate; Œmilia, now Romagna; and Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona, with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever. Thus was the sceptre added to the keys, the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the popes enriched with the spoils of the Lombard kings and the Roman emperors. Astolph was killed by accident in 756, when preparing to recover his conquests; and Pepin died in 768, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, having divided his kingdom between his two sons, Charles and Carloman.

LETTER 7.—Britain from the time it was relinquished by the Romans to the end of the Saxon Heptarchy. A.D. 409—827. Vol. i., pages 21—24.

§ 19. The Romans finally evacuated Britain in the fifth century; and they had no sooner departed than the Scots and Picts, supposed to be two tribes of native Britons,^a who had sought refuge from the Romans in the fastnesses of the north, invaded the island. Previous to their final departure, the Romans had assisted the Britons in rebuilding the wall of Antoninus, which extended between the friths of Forth and Clyde; but this proved no defence against their new assailants. The Scots and Picts laid the island waste with fire and sword; famine followed, and the Britons applied to Rome for aid. They wrote to Ætius, then consul, for the third time; and although his answer has not been chronicled, it is well known that they received no assistance, Rome being at that time threatened by its terrible enemy Attila.^b Numbers of the Britons fled over to Gaul, and settled in the province of Armorica, to which they gave the name of Brittany; some submitted to the Scots and Picts; and others, taking courage from despair, sallied forth from their woods and caves, cut many of their oppressors to pieces, and compelled the rest to retire into their own country. Being threatened by a new invasion, the Britons, by the advice of Vortigern, their principal authority, summoned to their assistance the Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons.^c

* Sir Francis Palgrave, one of the latest authorities on this subject, supposes the Scots to have been a branch of the great Celtic nation. At a very early period they established themselves in Ireland, called *Scotia*, or *Insula Scotorum*, by the writers of the sixth or seventh centuries, whence they invaded Britain, and joined the Picts in Scotland.—See *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, chap. i. p. 27.

^b The learned Sharon Turner (*History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. book ii. chap. vii.) disputes this view of the case, declares that the early Britons displayed a “magnanimous character,” and doubts whether they applied to Ætius at all. He says, edit. 1852, p. 156:—“Thus the authentic history from 407 is, that the barbarians, excited by Gerontius, assailed both Gaul and Britain; that Constantine could give no help, because his troops were in Spain; that Honorius could send none, because Alaric was overpowering Italy; that the Britons, thus abandoned, armed themselves, declared their country independent, and drove the barbaric invaders from their cities; that Honorius sent letters to the British states, exhorting them to protect themselves; and that the Romans never again recovered the possession of the island.” Sharon Turner places but little reliance on the accounts of this period given by Gildas, and repeated by Bede.

^c These Saxons were not the same people, nor had they the same

§ 20. The Saxons, a free, brave, independent people, were, when the Britons sent to implore their assistance, masters not only of the present Westphalia, Saxony, East and West Friesland, but also of Holland, Belgium, and Zealand. They readily responded to the request of Vortigern, and to the number of fifteen hundred, under Hengist and Horsa, two brother chiefs, said to be descended from Woden, their tutelary god, landed in the isle of Thanet, and entered into a league with the British princes (449).^d They marched against the Scots and Picts, who had made a new irruption, and advanced as far as Stamford, and routed them with great slaughter (449). The Britons did not foresee that their deliverers were to be their conquerors. The Saxons invited others of their countrymen to come and share in the spoils of the nation, and about five thousand readily accepted the invitation. They then pulled off the mask of friendship, and actually formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts against the people whom they had come over to protect. The Britons deposed Vortigern, who had rendered himself odious by his vices, and placed themselves under the command of his son Vortimer. Many battles were fought, in one of which Horsa was slain; but Hengist, being continually reinforced, defeated the Britons with terrible slaughter. Some of them took refuge in the rocks

origin, as the modern Germans. Sir F. Palgrave says (*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, chap. ii. p. 34):—"It is necessary, however, to remark, that the name '*Saxon*' appears rather to have been intended to denote a confederacy of tribes, than to have originally belonged to any one nation. Learned men have sought for the etymology of the term in the '*Seax*,' or short sword, a weapon with which they were armed. These and other suppositions, upon which I have not room to enlarge, are, however, after all, only ingenious sports and fancies. We possess but a very small number of authentic facts concerning the early history of the barbarian nations of the West; and though the general outline of their position upon the ethnographical map can be understood with tolerable precision, yet we must be always uncertain concerning the details." This author shows that the invaders, in this instance, were Jutes, from the peninsula of Jutland.

^d With reference to this event Sharon Turner remarks:—"The Saxons had, for nearly two centuries, been attacking Britain, with no greater successes than the half-naked Scoti from Ireland had obtained. They plundered where they arrived unexpectedly. They were defeated when they encountered a military or naval resistance. Hengist and Ella would not have been more fortunate than their depredatory countrymen who had preceded them, if the events of the day had not, by their agencies, conducted them and their successors from exile and piracy, to the proprietorship of the kingdoms of the English octarchy."—*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. book iii. chap. i. p. 217.

and mountains, and others joined their countrymen in Armorica, until Arthur, prince of the Silures, a British and Christian hero, appeared, worsted the Saxons in several engagements, and procured for his countrymen a long interval of tranquillity (542). But the success of Hengist and his followers induced other northern chiefs to flock to the island, until the Britons ultimately found themselves unequal to the contest, and retired to the mountains of Cornwall and Wales, where they formed independent principalities.

§ 21. The Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons (for they are mentioned under both of these denominations), thus became absolute masters of South Britain, which changed not only its inhabitants, but its language, customs, and political institutions. In the course of the long struggle, the Saxons established seven separate kingdoms, commonly called the Saxon Heptarchy (560). These were, Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumberland.* Jealousies and dissensions arose among the Saxon chiefs, which led to numerous wars, and after a variety of inferior revolutions, the seven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were united under Egbert, king of Wessex, in 827. His dominions were nearly of the same extent with the territory now called ENGLAND; a name given to the empire of the Saxons in Britain, immediately after the termination of the Heptarchy. The Anglo-Saxons had before this time been converted to Christianity by Augustine, a Roman monk. Still the grossest ignorance and superstition prevailed amongst them; reverence of saints and relics seemed to have supplanted the worship of a Supreme Being; donations to the Church were said to atone for every violation of the laws of society; and monastic observances were more esteemed than moral virtues. Superstitious attachment to the see of Rome was another evil. The Britons had conducted all ecclesiastical matters by their own synods and councils, acknowledging no subordination to the Roman pontiff; but the Saxons, having received their religion from Italian monks, were taught to look up to Rome. Pilgrimages to that city were considered the most meritorious acts of devotion, and were undertaken not only by noblemen and ladies of rank, but even by kings themselves, who resigned their crowns, imploring a safe

* What was called Northumberland, included the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia. Hence it was more properly an octarchy.

passport to Heaven at the foot of St. Peter's chair, and exchanging the purple for the sackcloth. Even in these dark times, England produced men equal to any of the age in which they lived. Offa, king of Mercia, was deemed worthy of the friendship of Charlemagne, and Alcuin, an English clergyman, instructed that monarch in the sciences, at the time that he was surrounded by all the literati of Christendom.

LETTER 8.—Government and Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.
A.D. 449—1016. Vol. i., pages 25 and 26.

§ 22. The Saxons transplanted into this island the principles of liberty which they had so highly cherished at home. Their original constitution was a kind of military democracy, in which the protection of the state was the voluntary care of its members, as every free man had a share in the government; and conquest was the interest of all, as all partook in the acquisitions. The government might have been somewhat different in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and might have also undergone several changes before the Norman Conquest; but we know, that at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, a Witenagemot, or assembly of the Wise Men. This most probably was composed of the nobility, the higher clergy, and all large holders of land. The Saxons were divided into three orders of men: the noble, the free, and the servile. The nobles were called *thanes*, and were of two kinds, the greater and lesser. The lower kind of freemen were denominated *ceorles*, and were chiefly employed in husbandry—whence a husbandman and *ceorle* came to be synonymous terms. The slaves or *villains*, the most numerous class in the community, were the property of their masters, and were consequently incapable of holding property themselves. They were of two kinds: household slaves, after the manner of the ancients; and rustic slaves, who were sold or transferred like cattle with the soil. Prisoners taken in battle were reduced to slavery by the laws of war.

§ 23. The higher nobility and clergy among the Anglo-Saxons possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their own territories, and could punish without appeal such as they judged worthy of death. Although the Anglo-Saxon government seems at last to have become in some measure aristocratical, it still retained much of the ancient democracy. All the freeholders assembled twice a year in the county

courts, or shire motes, to receive appeals from the inferior courts. In these courts, all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, were decided, the bishop and alderman, or earl, presiding over them. The case was decided by a majority of votes, the bishop and earl having no farther authority than to keep order. Their criminal laws were not severe, a compensation in money being fixed for murder. The prices of all kinds of wounds were also settled; and the punishments for robbery were various, but none of them capital. The ordeal by red-hot iron or boiling water was resorted to as a test of guilt. The same kind of proof, or others equally extravagant, existed among all the nations on the continent; and money, in like manner, was everywhere the atonement for guilt, both in a civil and an ecclesiastical sense.

CHAPTER II.

LETTER 9.—The Reign of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, King of France and Emperor of the West. A.D. 768—814. Vol. i., pages 27—35.

§ 24. GERMANY was anciently possessed by a number of free and independent nations, who bravely defended their liberties against the Romans, and were never totally subjected by them. This vast empire extended from Bohemia to the Baltic Sea and the German Ocean, and was governed by many independent princes, tributary to the French monarchs. Whenever the throne of France was rendered vacant by death, or the kings of France were engaged either in foreign or domestic wars, the Saxon princes threw off their allegiance, and entered the French territories. Charlemagne had to quell one of these revolts soon after his accession. The death of his brother Carloman left him sole occupant of Pepin's throne. His great and ambitious genius gave birth to projects which will render his name immortal. A prosperous reign of nearly half a century, abounding with military enterprises, political institutions, and literary foundations, offers, in the midst of barbarism, a spectacle worthy of more polished ages.

§ 25. Charlemagne and Carloman had married two daughters of Desiderius, king of the Lombards. Carloman left two sons by his wife Berta, but in 771 Charlemagne divorced his consort, and married Ildegard, a Suabian princess; Carloman's widow fled to Italy, and Desiderius, incensed against Charlemagne for divorcing his daughter, received Berta and her children, and having vainly endeavoured to excite Pope Adrian I. against Charlemagne, ravaged the papal territories and threatened to lay siege to Rome (772). Adrian immediately invited Charlemagne to the conquest of Italy, and that monarch responded to the call, besieged and took Verona, when Berta and her children fell into his power. Desiderius had shut himself up in Pavia, which was compelled to surrender (774), and

its fall terminated the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, after it had subsisted two hundred and six years.

§ 26. The rule of Italy was at this time shared by the Venetians, the Lombards, the popes, and the emperors of the East. The Venetians, remarkable for their trade to the Levant, had no town upon the continent. The pope was master of the Exarchate and Pentapolis; the dukedom of Naples, and some cities in the two Calabrias, were still held by the emperors of the East. All the other provinces of Italy, namely, the dukedoms of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, and the provinces of Liguria, Venetia, Tuscany, and the Cottian Alps, formed the kingdom of the Lombards. These Charlemagne claimed by right of conquest, and caused himself to be crowned king of Italy, with an iron crown, which is still preserved in the small town of Monza. Charles made little alteration in the government of Italy, allowing the people to live under their former laws. He contented himself with an oath of allegiance, to be taken annually, from the dukes. Charlemagne committed the boundaries of his new kingdom, and the territory of cities, to the care of counts. These boundaries were called *Marchæ*, or *Marches*, and those who had charge of them were styled counts of the Marches, or marquises; whence the title of marquis had its rise. He also sent commissaries, who were vested with higher powers, to examine into the conduct of the counts, whose province it was to administer justice over all the dominions of Charlemagne. That Italy might retain some shadow of liberty, he convened on each of his visits, a general assembly of the bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, to settle affairs of national importance.

§ 27. On his return to France, Charlemagne marched against the Saxons, and after a war of thirty years' duration, in which, led by their celebrated general Witikind, they struggled valiantly, they were totally subjected, and Germany became part of the empire of Charlemagne (804). Almost every year of his reign was signalized by some military expedition, and in addition to the Saxons and Lombards, he vanquished in several engagements the Avars, or Huns, plundered their capital, and penetrated as far as Raab, on the Danube (799). He likewise made an expedition into Spain, carried his arms to the banks of the Ebro, and re-established the Moorish governors under his protection. In repassing the Pyrenees, his rear-guard was defeated by

the duke of Gascony, at Roncevalles (778). Here fell the famous Roland, so celebrated in romance, and represented as a nephew to Charlemagne, though history only tells us that he commanded on the frontiers of Bretagne.

§ 28. Though engaged in so many wars, Charlemagne did not neglect the arts of peace, the happiness of his subjects, nor the cultivation of his own mind. Government, manners, religion, and letters were his constant study. He frequently convened the national assemblies for regulating the affairs both of church and state. His vigilance extended even to the most distant corner of his empire, and to all ranks of men. He was particularly attentive to the wants of the common people, and studied their ease and advantage. He repaired and formed public roads, built bridges, made rivers navigable, and projected a grand canal to open a communication between the German Ocean and the Black Sea, by uniting the Danube and the Rhine. This great prince was no less amiable in private life than illustrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond husband, and a generous friend. His house was a model of economy, and his person of simplicity and true grandeur. He was fond of the company of learned men, and invited them from all parts of Europe, forming in his palace a kind of academy. Alcuin, our learned countryman, was his companion and particular favourite. Charlemagne interfered injudiciously in religious matters, and a superstitious attachment to the see of Rome led him to engage in theological disputes and quibbles unworthy of his character. He presided at the council of Frankfort (794), and took a prominent part in the Iconoclast controversy.

§ 29. Leo III., the successor of Adrian I. in the papacy, invited Charlemagne to send some person to receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans, and in a revolt that occurred some years after took refuge with that monarch. Leo was speedily restored to his dignities, and on Christmas-day (800) publicly crowned Charlemagne, at Rome, emperor of the West. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor, than the title was universally acknowledged, and he received numerous embassies. Irene, empress of the East, made him a proposal of marriage, and the famous Haroun-al-Raschid ceded to him the keys of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and sent him costly presents. Towards the end of his reign Charlemagne was threatened by a new enemy, the Normans, who made a descent in Friesland, under Godfrey, their

leader (809). Charlemagne collected an army, and prepared to meet the invaders, but the assassination of Godfrey by one of his followers (810) prevented a battle. Having associated his son Louis with him in the empire (813), he died the next year, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the seventy-second year of his age. The glory of the French empire seemed to expire with him. He possessed all France, the greater part of Germany, a part of Spain, the Low Countries, and the continent of Italy as far as Benevento.

LETTER 10.—Empire of Charlemagne and the Church, from the Accession of his son Louis le Débonnaire, to the death of Charles the Bald. A.D. 814—877. Vol. i., pages 35—43.

§ 30. Louis le Débonnaire, though a prince of some abilities, was unable to support so great a weight of empire; and his piety and parental fondness, however amiable in themselves, enfeebled a character already too weak, and an authority never respected. Three years after his accession, he gave each of his three sons a share of the empire: but they quarrelled; and when their father endeavoured to place Charles the Bald, his son by his second wife, upon an equality with them, they actually rose in open rebellion against their parent (829). Louis being deserted by his army, submitted, but was restored to his dignity, and reconciled with his family. Fresh disputes arose, the sons again rebelled, Pope Gregory IV. supported their cause, Louis was deposed, and his son Lothaire proclaimed emperor in his stead (833). The unfortunate monarch was imprisoned in a monastery at Soissons, where he underwent the greatest humiliations; but his son Lothaire being universally abhorred, he was again restored to the throne (834), and he died at Ingelheim, near Mentz (840). Upon his death, Lothaire endeavoured to obtain possession of the whole empire, but was defeated at the sanguinary battle of Fontenay (841), by his brothers Louis and Charles, who were solemnly invested with the supreme authority. Lothaire managed to negotiate, the treaty of Verdun was concluded, and a new division of the empire made between the three brothers, by which Italy, France, and Germany became distinct states (843).

§ 31. Menaced by the Romans in one direction, and by the Saracens in another, the three brothers held a conference at Mersen, in 847, at which they settled certain constitutions relative to the succession, and other public matters. Lothaire took the habit of a monk, and died a

week afterwards, in 855, leaving his dominions to be divided amongst his children. Thus was the empire of Charlemagne weakened by repeated subdivisions, until it became, in the language of Shakespeare, "a stage to feed contention on." Foreign invaders conspired with civil despots to spread terror and disorder in every quarter; and the gradual rise of the power of the Church magnified these evils. A variety of circumstances show that the clergy now aspired to the right of disposing of crowns, which they founded on the custom of anointing kings. One usurpation led to another; abuse constituted right—a quibble appeared a divine law. Nicholas I. was indeed accused by the bishops of Treves and Cologne of making himself *emperor* of the whole world, and by his interference in the matrimonial affairs of Lothaire, and his attempts to domineer over other kings, he in some measure gave colour to the charge. Charles the Bald obtained the whole kingdom on the death of Louis II., in 875, and he crossed the Alps to receive the imperial crown. Charles, at the pope's request, advanced into Italy to expel the Saracens (877). A new enemy appeared in his nephew Carloman, who laid claim to the imperial crown. Charles, betrayed by his nobles, retired with precipitation, fell ill, and died in a miserable cottage, at a village called Brios, on Mont Cenis, aged fifty-four years (877).

LETTER 11.—The Normans or Danes before their settlement in France and England. A.D. 804—877. Vol. i., pages 43 and 44.

§ 32. The bravest of the tribes inhabiting Germany, on the reduction of their country by Charlemagne, fled into the ancient Scandinavia, now known as Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; carrying with them their violent aversion to Christianity. They mingled with the inhabitants in their various incursions upon the continent; these ferocious adventurers were known by the general name of Normans, and in their attacks upon Britain, by the common appellation Danes. The Normans preserved entire the religion of the ancient Scandinavians. Odin, whom the Saxons called Woden, was their supreme divinity. They painted him as the god of terror—the author of devastation—the father of carnage! and when successful, they sacrificed to him some of the captives taken in war. They believed those heroes would stand highest in his favour who had killed most enemies in the field; that after death the brave would be

admitted into his palace, and have the happiness of drinking mead out of the skulls of their slaughtered foes. In consequence of this belief, fatigues, wounds, combats, and perils, were the exercise of infancy and the sport of youth. Education, prejudice, manners, example, habit, all contributed to subdue in them the sensation of timidity, to make them covet danger and seem greedy of death. Such were the new foes which during the ninth century poured into Europe. Under Louis le Débonnaire, in 838, they threw all France into alarm; and under Charles the Bald, in 841, 851, 853, and 856, they committed frightful devastations. They pillaged Rouen twice, in 841 and 853; they surprised and burnt Paris in 856; they laid waste Aquitaine and other provinces, and reduced the French monarch to the greatest distress. England also experienced a variety of calamities from the incursions of these plunderers, until it found a protector in the great Alfred.

LETTER 12.—England, from the end of the Saxon Heptarchy, to the death of Alfred the Great. A.D. 827—900. Vol. i., pages 44—51.

§ 33. Egbert was a prince of eminent abilities and great experience. He had enjoyed a considerable command in the armies of Charlemagne, by whom he was much respected, and had acted successfully against the Normans and other enemies of the empire. Soon after his accession, the Heptarchy was strongly cemented into one monarchy. The Britons were humbled, the Scots and Picts wasted by continual wars with each other, and everything seemed to promise internal tranquillity, when those northern adventurers, the Normans or Danes, landed in the isle of Sheppey, pillaged it, and carried off their booty with impunity (832). They returned again and again, and at last entered into alliance with the Britons of Cornwall; but Egbert defeated the combined army at Hengston Hill, in Cornwall (835). Egbert died in 836, leaving the kingdom to his son Ethelwolf, a weak prince.

§ 34. Ethelwolf began his reign by dividing his dominions, delivering to his eldest son Athelstan the counties of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. The Danes returned with redoubled fury; and though often repulsed, and sometimes defeated, always succeeded in carrying off booty. Their vessels being small, easily ran up the creeks and rivers; they drew them ashore, and formed an intrenchment around

them, leaving them under a guard. They scattered themselves over the face of the country in small parties, making spoil of everything that came in their way—goods, cattle, and women. If opposed by a superior force, they retreated to their vessels, set sail, and invaded some distant quarter not prepared for their reception. In 851 they ventured, for the first time, to winter in England, and receiving in the spring a strong reinforcement of three hundred and fifty vessels, they advanced from the isle of Thanet, and burnt the cities of London and Canterbury. Ethelwolf made a pilgrimage to Rome in 855, taking with him his son Alfred, then only six years of age, and on his homeward journey he visited Charles the Bald, and married his daughter Judith (856). Soon after his return he granted the clergy a tenth out of all the produce of the land; thus establishing tithes in England. His son Athelstan died during his absence, and Ethelbald, his second son, formed the design of excluding his father from the throne. The kingdom was divided between father and son; the former died in 858, bequeathing the heritage between his two elder sons Ethelbald and Ethelbert. Ethelbald was a profligate prince, and died in 860. During his reign the Danes continued their depredations: he was succeeded by Ethelbert, who expired in 866, leaving the kingdom to his next brother, Ethelred. This monarch defended the realm with much bravery; but succumbed in the midst of the terrible struggle (871).

§ 35. Alfred, surnamed the Great, was just of age when he mounted the throne, and had no sooner buried his brother than he was compelled to take the field against the Danes. He at first gained some advantages, and fought several desperate battles; but was finally completely deserted by his subjects. In this dilemma he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity and assumed the habit of a peasant. When his enemies grew remiss, he collected his adherents, and erected a fortress at a place now called Athelney. He made frequent and unexpected sallies upon the Danes, and one of his generals overthrew them with great slaughter, and captured the *Raven*, their enchanted standard. Alfred, under the disguise of a harper, entered the Danish camp, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. Having observed their contempt for the English and their neglect of all military regulations, he assembled his retainers, fell suddenly upon them, and routed them with great slaughter,

at (Ethandune) Eddington (878). No less generous than brave, he granted them their lives on submission, and Guthrum and his followers embraced Christianity, and settled in East Anglia.

§ 36. This great prince established civil and military institutions in England, and put the kingdom in a state of defence. He took care that all his subjects should be armed and registered, and assigned them a regular round of duty : he distributed one part into the castles and fortresses, which he erected at proper places ; he appointed others to take the field on any alarm, and to assemble at stated places of meeting ; and he left a sufficient number at home, to cultivate the soil. The kingdom became one large garrison ; and the Danes no sooner landed in any quarter, than a sufficient force was ready to oppose them. Sensible that ships are the most natural bulwark of the island, Alfred created the English navy, and stationed a fleet of one hundred and twenty armed ships upon the coast. This great prince was, moreover, the father of English law and of English literature. In order to render the execution of justice more strict and regular, and to suppress the straggling bands of robbers that infested the kingdom, he divided all England into counties ; these counties he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings. Every householder was answerable for the behaviour of his family, of his slaves, and even of his guests, if they resided above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring householders, answerable for each other's conduct, were formed into one corporation, under the name of a tithing, decennary, or friburg, over which a person called a tithing-man, head-borough, or borsholder, presided. Nothing could be more liberal than his plan for the administration of justice. Smaller matters were decided by the borsholder and the decennary, while those of greater moment were brought before the hundred, consisting of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen. Their mode of decision claims attention : twelve freeholders were chosen, who, having sworn with the magistrate of the hundred to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of the cause. This is the origin of juries, or judgment by equals, an institution almost peculiar to the English nation. The next superior court to that of the hundred was the county court, which met twice a year, and consisted of all the freeholders of the county, who had an equal vote in the decision of causes. To the alderman and

bishop Alfred added a third judge in each county, under the name of sheriff, who enjoyed equal authority with the former two. In default of justice from all these courts, an appeal lay to the king himself in council. The better to guide magistrates, Alfred framed a body of laws, which, though now lost, served as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally esteemed the origin of our COMMON LAW.

§ 37. Alfred appointed regular meetings of the states of England twice a year in the city of London, which he repaired and beautified, and made the capital of the kingdom. He gave great encouragement to the pursuit of learning, invited the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe, and established schools. Alfred also founded, or at least repaired, the university of Oxford, and endowed it with privileges and revenues. Although he is said to have fought fifty-six battles by sea and land, he found time for study, and even for the production of books. He composed a variety of poems and stories, and translated the fables of Æsop from the Greek. He also made Saxon translations of the Histories of Orosius and Bede, and of the Consolations of Philosophy, by Boëtius. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds, and suffered no inventor or improver of any useful art to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity and industry to apply themselves to navigation, and to push commerce into the most distant countries; and he set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he employed in rebuilding the ruined cities and castles. This extraordinary man, one of the wisest and best princes that ever adorned the annals of any nation, died October 26, 900, or 901,^a after a glorious reign of twenty-nine or thirty years.

LETTER 13.—Empire of Charlemagne and of the Church, from the Death of Charles the Bald to that of Louis IV., when the Imperial dignity was transferred from the French to the Germans. A.D. 877—911, Vol. i., pages 51—54.

§ 38. The history of the continent of Europe towards the close of the ninth century is nothing but a series of calamities, disorders, and revolutions, which naturally produced anarchy. Louis II., or the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald, held the crown of France under the bishops and nobles (877). He died in 879, leaving his queen pregnant, and was succeeded by Louis III. and Carloman II., two sons

^a The year of his death is variously given by different chroniclers.

by a former wife, whom he had divorced. Louis III. died in 882, and Carloman II. of a wound received from a wild boar (884). Charles the Simple, born after the death of his father, being then only five years of age, the nobility elected Charles the Fat, son of Louis the German, thus uniting France, Italy, and Germany, under one sceptre. The Normans ravaged France and advanced upon Paris, which sustained a memorable siege. Charles made an ignominious treaty with his foes, and permitted them to winter in Burgundy, which so excited the nobles against him, that he was deposed in a diet of the empire (887), and he died soon after, neglected and in indigence. Germany and Italy fell under different rulers, and Count Eudes was elected to hold the crown of France, in trust for Charles the Simple, still a minor. Violence, treachery, and anarchy disgraced the period. Eudes died in 898 without having remedied the disorders of the state.

§ 39. Charles the Simple was now acknowledged king of France, and the nobles aspired openly to independence. A large and once well-regulated kingdom was divided into a multitude of separate principalities, altogether independent of the crown, or dependent only in name, whose possessors were continually at war, and exercised an intolerable tyranny over their vassals. The Normans took advantage of this state of weakness and anarchy to establish themselves in France. Rollo, one of their most illustrious leaders, and truly a great captain, after having spread terror over all the maritime provinces of Europe, took Rouen, fortified it, and made it his head-quarters (905). Charles offered him his daughter in marriage, with the province of Neustria as her dower. Rollo, having demanded more territory, embraced Christianity, assumed the name of Robert, did homage for the crown, and gave the name of Normandy to his new dominion (912). He encouraged agricultural industry, was rigidly exact in the administration of justice; and thus his band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader the ablest prince and the wisest legislator of the age in which he lived.

§ 40. While these things were passing in France, great alterations took place in the neighbouring states, and among the princes of the blood of Charlemagne. Arnulf, emperor of Germany, was succeeded, in 899, by his son Louis III.; by some called Louis IV. Another Louis, king of lower Burgundy, or Arles, invaded Italy, hoping to obtain the imperial crown (899). Louis III., the son of Arnulf, died

in 911, and the empire departed from the family of Charlemagne.^a

LETTER 14.—The German Empire, from the Election of Conrad I. to the Death of Henry the Fowler. A.D. 911—936. Vol. i., pages 54—56.

§ 41. Some historians are of opinion that the German empire does not properly commence till the reign of Otho the Great, under whose rule Italy was reunited to the imperial dominions; but the extinction of the race of Charlemagne in Germany, when the empire was wholly detached from France, and the imperial dignity became elective, seems the most natural period to fix its origin, though the first two emperors never received the papal sanction. Authorized by custom, the German nobles assembled at Worms on the death of Louis, and not deeming Charles the Simple worthy to govern them, offered the imperial crown to Otho, duke of Saxony. He declined it on account of his age, but recommended Conrad, count of Franconia, although his enemy, who was accordingly chosen by the Diet. The empire of Germany then comprehended not only modern Germany, but Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and portions of France and Italy. The reign of Conrad I. was one continued series of troubles, and in addition to civil strife, foreign invasions distracted the empire. The Huns ravaged the country and compelled him to accept a humiliating peace. He died in 918, when Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, because he took much delight in the pursuit of birds, was elected as his successor. Henry secured Lorraine for Germany, created marquises in imitation of Charlemagne, to guard the frontiers of the empire, improved and strengthened the fortresses, and instituted certain military games,

^a The student must remember that Charlemagne ruled over Italy, France, and Germany, as emperor of the West. At his death, in 814, he was succeeded by his son Louis I., or le Débonnaire, who died in 840, when the empire was divided between his three sons, Charles the Bald taking France, Lothaire I. Italy, with the title of Emperor, and Louis, Germany. Charles the Bald reunited Italy to France, on the death of his brother Louis, in 875. He died suddenly, in October, 877, and the connection between the two countries was again severed; but the Carlovingian race continued to reign in France until the death of Louis V., le Fainéant, in 987, when Hugh Capet was made king, and became the founder of the third race. The successors of Charlemagne in Germany became extinct much sooner, and it is to this the author refers in the present chapter. Louis III. died in 911, and he was the last of the German Carlovingians. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind, to avoid confusion.

or tournaments. He defeated the Hungarians, who had rebelled (934); and having secured the tranquillity of his subjects, both at home and abroad, he was invited by the pope and citizens of Rome to the conquest of Italy. Henry set out immediately, but was seized with apoplexy on his march and compelled to return. He died at Mausleben, in Thuringia, in 936, having first convoked the princes of the empire, and settled the succession upon his son Otho.

LETTER 15.—France, from the Settlement of the Normans to the Extinction of the Carolingian race. A.D. 912—987. Vol. i., pages 56 and 57.

§ 42. Charles IV., or the Simple, proved utterly incapable of governing France; numerous revolts occurred during his reign, and he was at last decoyed into a fortress, where he died in 929. Robert, count of Paris, had been elected king of France in 922, and having been killed in battle the very next year, Rudolph, duke of Burgundy, succeeded to his crown. This prince died without issue, and a kind of interregnum ensued, until Louis IV., or the Stranger, son of Charles the Simple, was recalled from exile in England, and placed on the throne (936). Hugh the Great, or the Abbot, count of Paris, about this time monopolized power, and like the ancient mayors of the palace, overshadowed the sceptre. On the death of Louis IV. from a fall from his horse, in 954, Hugh the Great was pleased to grant the deceased monarch's son Lothaire the title of king. Hugh the Great died in 956, but his power descended to his son Hugh Capet, who soon made a way for himself to the throne, and founded a new dynasty. Lothaire died in 986, and was succeeded by his son Louis V., who, under the direction of Hugh Capet, reigned fourteen months, and at his death in 987, the rule of the Carolingians, or the descendants of Charlemagne, terminated in France.

LETTER 16.—The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome and the Italian States, under Otho the Great, and his successors of the House of Saxony. A.D. 936—1024. Vol. i., pages 57—63.

§ 43. Otho I., or the Great, was elected at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 936, by the unanimous consent of the Diet, according to the promise made to his father, Henry the Fowler. This monarch defeated both the Hungarians and the Bohemians, who had revolted against his authority, and he became involved in many disputes with his own rebellious subjects.

Everhard, duke of Bavaria, having refused to do homage, on the pretence that he was not his vassal, but his ally, was expelled by Otho, who bestowed the duchy upon his uncle Bartoff. Otho at the same time created one of Everhard's brothers count palatine of Bavaria, and the other count palatine of the Rhine. This dignity was revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman and French emperors. The palatines were at first supreme judges, and gave judgment in the last appeal, in the name of the emperor. They were also intrusted with the government of the imperial dominions. Otho obliged the Danes to pay him tribute, and to receive baptism, as an earnest of their good behaviour.

§ 44. No sooner did Otho find himself in quiet possession of the North, than he directed his attention towards the South. Italy was torn by factions and ruled by tyrants. Rodolph II., king of the two Burgundies, had dethroned Berenger in 921, and had been himself dethroned by Hugh, marquis of Provence (926), whose son Lothaire was also dethroned by Berenger II. in 950. This Berenger kept Adelaide, the widow of Lothaire, in confinement. Otho entered Italy at the head of a powerful army, delivered Adelaide, married her, and obliged Berenger to take an oath of fealty, generously leaving him in possession of his kingdom (952). Otho's son, Ludolph, twice revolted against his father, but returned to his obedience, and was restored to favour. The young prince afterwards died in Italy, whither he had been sent by his father to humble the ungrateful Berenger, who had violated his faith (957).

§ 45. Berenger profited by the troubles into which the emperor was plunged, to make himself master of Lombardy. John XII., elected to the papal chair at the age of eighteen, being the first pope who changed his name on his accession to the pontificate, although young and sunk in debauchery, dreaded the tyranny of Berenger and his son Adelbert, and implored the aid of Otho, offering, in return for assistance, the papal sanction to the imperial crown, and the kingdom of Lombardy, from the Italian states (960). Otho having convoked a diet at Worms, where his son Otho was elected his successor, marched with a large army into Italy. Berenger fled. Otho entered Pavia without opposition, and was crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, by the archbishop, in the presence of the nobility and the clergy (961). Rome also opened its gates to Otho, and the pope crowned him emperor of the West, dignified him with the title of Augustus, and

swore allegiance to him on the tomb in which the body of St. Peter is said to be deposited (962). The emperor then marched in pursuit of Berenger, whom he seized and condemned to imprisonment for life (964). Meanwhile, the pope broke his oath with the emperor, and entered into a league with Adelbert. Otho suddenly returned to Rome; Adelbert fled, and a council deposed John XII., electing Leo VIII., a layman, as his successor (963). During the absence of Otho, a faction reinstated John XII., who was soon after assassinated in the arms of one of his mistresses (964). His party refused to acknowledge Leo VIII., and proceeded to elect Benedict V. Otho marched back to Rome, which he reduced, restored Leo VIII. and banished Benedict V. Leo VIII., with the Roman clergy and people, then passed the celebrated decree: "That Otho, and his successors in the kingdom of Italy, should always have the power of choosing a successor, of naming the pope, and of giving investiture to bishops" (964).

§ 46. The rival popes both died in 965, and John XIII. was elected. Otho had scarcely reached Germany when the Romans again revolted and expelled John XIII. Otho once more marched to Rome, and re-established the pope, treating the malecontents with great rigour (966). He retired to Capua, where he received ambassadors from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, who wanted to renew the old alliance between the eastern and western empires, and also proposed a marriage between the Princess Theophania and Otho's son (968). The Greek grew treacherous, ordered the nobles who came to receive the princess to be assassinated, whereupon Otho despatched an army into Calabria, defeated the Greeks, cut off the noses of the prisoners, and sent them to Constantinople. Peace was soon after restored, and the marriage between Theophania and young Otho solemnized in 972. The emperor returned to Germany covered with glory and success. He died at Mausleben, in 973, after a reign of thirty-six years; during which, by his generosity and courage, he justly acquired the appellation of OTHO THE GREAT, the conqueror of Italy, and the restorer of the empire of Charlemagne.

§ 47. Otho II., surnamed the Sanguinary, on account of the blood spilt during his reign, succeeded his father at the age of eighteen. His youth occasioned troubles which his valour enabled him to suppress. Rome broke into open rebellion. Benedict VI., who had succeeded John XIII. in

973, was murdered in prison, and three different popes were elected by three different factions (974). Benedict VII. and the imperial party prevailed, whereupon Boniface VII. went in person to Constantinople, and implored the Greek emperors, Basil and Constantine, to come and restore the throne of the Cæsars in Italy, and deliver the Romans from the German yoke. Otho II. entered Rome without opposition, and severely chastised the rebels; but in attempting to wrest Calabria from the Greeks, his army was cut to pieces, at the battle of Basientello, by the Saracens, whom the Greeks had called to their assistance (982). Otho II. died at Rome, while preparing to avenge this defeat, in 983.

§ 48. Otho III. succeeded his father when only twelve years of age. Having settled the affairs of the North, he marched into Italy, to suppress a rebellion that had broken out in Rome. He punished the rebels, and on the death of John XV. in 996, placed Gregory V. in the pontificate. He was deposed, and John XVI. made pope; but Otho restored Gregory V., and again received the allegiance of the citizens of Rome (998). Otho then returned to Germany; he was, however, soon summoned once more into Italy, in order to repel an invasion of the Saracens. While assembling his forces to crush a conspiracy, he was poisoned (1002). The empire sustained a great loss in the death of this prince, who was equally brave, resolute, and just. By a glorious reign of eighteen years, he caused the appellation *Infant*, which had been given him at his accession, to be changed into that of the *Wonder of the World*. As Otho III. left no children, several candidates laid claim to the crown. It was conferred upon Henry, duke of Bavaria, grandson of Otho II., who reigned under the title of Henry II. Although this prince quelled several revolts, he was scarcely equal to the duties of his high office, and he at one time entertained the idea of retiring into a monastery. He was crowned emperor of the West, at Rome, by Benedict VIII., in 1014; and he died in 1024.

LETTER 17.—England, from the Death of Alfred to the Reign of Canute the Great. A.D. 900—1016. Vol. i., pages 64—70.

§ 49. Alfred the Great was succeeded by Edward the Elder. The Danes supported Ethelwold, and civil war ensued. The pretender fell in battle (905), and Edward reigned till his death, in 924. His natural son Athelstan obtained the crown, and proved one of the most active and able of our ancient princes. He defeated the Scots, Welsh,

and the Danes, at the battle of Brunanburh (937), assisted in establishing Louis IV., or the Stranger, on the throne of France, and his alliance was sought by many continental princes. He died in 940, and was succeeded by his brother Edmund I. This monarch conquered Cumbria and bestowed it upon Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he should defend the north of the island against foreign invaders (945). He was assassinated by one Leof, in 946, when his brother Edred was made king. Though a brave and an active prince, he submitted to the priestly rule of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, commonly called St. Dunstan, whom he advanced to the highest offices of state. Monasteries had existed in England from the first introduction of Christianity among the Saxons. The monks were a species of secular clergy, who were at liberty either to marry or not, as they pleased. A superstitious devotion produced in Italy a new kind of monks, who secluded themselves from the world, renounced all claims to liberty, and made a merit of the most inviolable chastity. Dunstan laid hold of this circumstance to commence a reform, and celibacy was extolled as the universal duty of priests. On the other hand, the rivals of the regular clergy, known as the secular, who were numerous and rich, and possessed of the ecclesiastical dignities, defended themselves with vigour, and boldly maintained the sanctity of marriage. Thus the nation was thrown into a ferment. The power of the monks received a check by the death of Edred, in 955, and he was succeeded by his nephew Edwy, or Edwin, then only seventeen years old.

§ 50. Edwin married the beautiful Elgiva, his cousin, although within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the Church. This step involved him in a struggle with Dunstan, who, supported by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, despised and insulted the royal authority. These churchmen caused Elgiva to be seized, and after her face had been seared with red-hot iron, banished her to Ireland. On her return she was treated with inhuman cruelty, when death happily put an end to her sufferings (959). Dunstan and his party obtained a complete ascendancy. Edwin died during the year, and there is reason to believe, by unfair means. His brother Edgar was but sixteen years old when he mounted the throne, and his reign is one of the most fortunate in our annals. His wise precautions for securing public safety, and his vigilance and foresight, maintained

peace in his dominions. Edgar paid court to Dunstan and his monks; yet he was licentious, and in pursuit of his amours violated every law human and divine. Having heard of the beauty of Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devonshire, Edgar sent Athelwold, his favourite, to see if the young lady was indeed as fair as fame reported. Athelwold no sooner beheld Elfrida than he was inflamed with love. He reported her unfavourably to the king, courted her himself, and married her. Edgar learned the truth, and resolved to satisfy himself fully in regard to Elfrida's beauty. Dissembling his anger, he informed Athelwold of his intention of paying him a visit, and of being introduced to his wife. Athelwold was thunderstruck at the proposal, and begged his partner to conceal, as much as possible, her fatal beauty; but Elfrida, though promising compliance, decked her person with the most exquisite art. The king was captivated; he caused Athelwold to be assassinated, took Elfrida to court, and made her his wife (973). Edgar commuted the tribute of money imposed on the Welsh princes by Athelstan, into an annual tribute of three hundred wolves' heads, and is said to have reformed the coinage. He died in 975.

§ 51. Edward II., or the Martyr, Edgar's son, succeeded. Elfrida and the clergy attempted to set up Ethelred, then but seven years old. Edward's short reign was remarkable for a continual struggle between the monks and the secular clergy. He was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Elfrida, in 978. Ethelred the Unready was a prince without courage or capacity. Soon after his accession, England was again attacked by the Danes; Ethelred, instead of rousing his people to resistance, meanly compounded with the enemy, and bribed them to retire from his kingdom, by a tribute called the Danegeld tax (991). This shameful expedient invited, instead of repelling, the assailants; the Danes returned, and were again and again bribed to depart. At length Ethelred resolved to massacre the Danes who had settled in his kingdom. Secret orders were given, and the Danes destroyed without mercy. Even Gunilda, sister to Sweyn, their king, although she had married an English earl, and embraced Christianity, was barbarously butchered (1002). Sweyn, breathing vengeance for the slaughter of his countrymen, speedily landed in the west of England, and desolated the kingdom with fire and sword (1003). Tribute was again offered, but the Danes

continued their ravages, and Ethelred fled to his brother-in-law, Richard, duke of Normandy (1013). Sweyn died the next year, and Ethelred was recalled; but he was unable to resist Canute, Sweyn's son, and an army was raised, and the command conferred upon Edric and Prince Edmund. The former proved a traitor, and the latter retired to London. At this crisis Ethelred died, and was succeeded by Edmund, called Ironside, from his hardy valour (1016). This monarch defended his kingdom valiantly against the Danes; but, owing to the treachery and disloyalty of many of his nobles, he was at last compelled to conclude a treaty, by which Canute had the northern and Edmund the southern parts of the island. Edmund died soon after: he is said to have been murdered at Oxford; and his death made way for the accession of the Danish prince to the throne of England (1016).

LETTER 18.—France, from the Accession of Hugh Capet to the Invasion of England by William, Duke of Normandy. A.D. 987—1066. Vol. i., pages 70—74.

§ 52. Hugh Capet, one of the most powerful nobles of France, seized the crown on the death of Louis V. (987). He was acknowledged in an assembly of the nobles, and was anointed at Rheims, and he associated his son Robert in the government of the kingdom (988). He conducted affairs with great moderation and prudence, and established a new family, and in some measure a new government, with few circumstances of violence and without shedding blood. He died in the fifty-seventh year of his age and the tenth of his reign, and was quietly succeeded by his son Robert, a prince of a less vigorous genius, though not of a less amiable disposition (996). The most remarkable circumstance in his reign, was his excommunication by the pope. He had married Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree, and the Church having about this time made a sacrament of marriage, and laid a spiritual prohibition even to the seventh degree of consanguinity, Gregory V. undertook to dissolve the marriage, and ordered the king and queen to be separated, on peril of excommunication (997). Robert persisted in keeping his wife, and thereby incurred the sentence of excommunication (998); but he finally submitted, repudiated Bertha, and married Constance, daughter to the count of Arles. The latter years of his reign were embittered by the intrigues of this imperious queen, who

wished to place her youngest son Robert on the throne. Robert died 1031, and was succeeded by Henry I.

§ 53. Henry I. was twenty-seven years of age at his accession, and he displayed great prudence and sagacity. His mother Constance hated him, and raised such a formidable insurrection, that Henry was constrained to seek refuge in Normandy. He induced Robert, the duke, to espouse his cause, when the queen-dowager and her faction were humbled, and Henry restored to the throne. The succession to the duchy of Normandy next engaged his attention. Duke Robert thought fit to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and before his departure, assembled his nobles, and engaged them to swear allegiance to his natural son William, recommending him to the guardianship of Henry I. and Alain, duke of Brittany. Robert died on his pilgrimage (1035), when his licentious nobles broke out into personal quarrels, making the whole duchy a scene of war and devastation. Henry I. interfered at first against the claims of William; but he finally united his forces with those of the young duke, and, routing the malecontents at the battle of Val-de-Dunes, established him in the quiet possession of his heritage (1046). Henry I. died in 1060, and was succeeded by his son Philip. This prince being only eight years of age, Baldwin V., surnamed the Pious, earl of Flanders, was appointed regent. The only colour Baldwin gave for censure, was in permitting William, duke of Normandy, to raise forces in France and Flanders, for the invasion of England. In order to balance in some measure the increase of William's power, a close alliance was concluded between the crowns of France and Scotland. Baldwin died soon after, and left Philip in peaceable possession of his kingdom, when just fifteen years of age (1067).

LETTER 19.—England, from the Danish to the Norman Conquest.
A.D. 1016—1066. Vol. i., pages 74—82.

§ 54. Canute summoned a general assembly of the states of England, in order to fix the succession, and from them obtained full possession of the government. Robert, duke of Normandy, fitted out a fleet to restore the English princes, the sons of Ethelred, to the throne of their ancestors. Canute, to avert the storm, married Emma, Ethelred's widow, the mother of the young princes (1018). Having freed himself from the danger of a revolution, Canute wisely determined, by the equity of his administra-

tion, to reconcile the English to the Danish yoke. He sent back to their own country as many of his own followers as could safely be spared, restored the Saxon customs, and made no distinction between the Danes and the English in the distribution of justice.

§ 55. The first use that Canute made of the settled state of his kingdom was to visit Denmark (1019), where he obtained a victory over the Swedes, chiefly by the valour of the English under Earl Godwin. On another visit to Denmark he made himself master of Norway, by expelling Olaf from the kingdom (1028). In 1031 he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, and it is probable that on his return the incident that gives such a romantic character to his history occurred. Canute was the most powerful prince of his time, being sovereign of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and as such received the adulation of many courtiers. One day, as the tide was rising, he ordered his chair to be brought to the shore, and having seated himself, addressed the rapidly advancing waves: "Ocean! thou art under my dominion, and the land on which I sit is mine. I charge thee to approach no further! nor dare to wet thy sovereign's feet!" He sat some time, as if in expectation of submission; but as the sea advanced towards him, and the billows began to wash his feet, he turned to his courtiers, observing, that every creature in the universe is feeble and impotent, and that power resides only with ONE BEING, in whose hands are the elements, and who alone can say to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." Canute made an expedition into Scotland, and subdued Malcolm (1031). He died in 1035, leaving England to Harold Harefoot, Norway to Sweyn, and Denmark to Hardicanute.

§ 56. Harold I. reigned only four years, and was succeeded by Hardicanute (1039), who died in 1042, when the English shook off the Danish yoke, and summoned from Normandy, Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, surnamed the Confessor, to the throne. England was soon filled with Normans, who were distinguished by the royal favour, and had great influence in the national councils; and he is said to have given his kinsman William, duke of Normandy, hopes of succeeding to the English crown. The English, led by the powerful Earl Godwin, revolted, and although at first defeated (1051), finally prevailed, and reduced the king to accept conditions, the most important of which was that all foreigners should be banished (1052). Earl God-

win died in 1053, but his son Harold succeeded to his estates and power.

Siward, earl of Northumberland, whose authority in the north enabled him to be very useful in restraining the ambition of Godwin, died in 1055. His eldest son, Osbern, had been slain in battle, his second son, Waltheof, was too young to be intrusted with the government of Northumberland, and by Harold's influence, the dukedom was conferred on his own brother Tosti. He behaved so tyrannically in his high office that the people rose against him, expelled him, and elected Morcar duke (1065). Edward the Confessor was the first who *ouched* for the scrofula, hence denominated the king's evil. Posterity are much indebted to this prince for the body of laws which he compiled, and which, on account of their mildness, were long dear to our ancestors. Edward died without appointing a successor, January 5th, 1066.

§ 57. Though Edward left the succession undecided, Harold stepped at once into the vacant throne. Edgar Atheling, Edmund Ironside's grandson, the rightful heir to the crown, and William, duke of Normandy, were scarcely thought of; and the nation received their new monarch with joy. Tosti, who, on his expulsion from the dukedom of Northumberland, had taken refuge in Flanders, entered into a league with Hardrada, king of Norway, and invaded England with three hundred ships. They landed at the mouth of the Humber, and Harold hastened to the north and defeated the invaders in a sanguinary battle, in which both Tosti and Hardrada were slain. Harold had no sooner overcome these rivals, than he received intelligence that the duke of Normandy had landed with a formidable force in the south of England.

§ 58. The Norman prince founded his claim to the English crown on a pretended will of Edward the Confessor in his favour. This claim he fortified with an oath extorted from Harold when shipwrecked on the coast of France, importing that he would never aspire to the succession, and binding himself to support the pretensions of William. Harold replied to the Norman ambassadors who summoned him to resign the kingdom, that he was determined to maintain those national liberties with which he had been intrusted, and that the same moment should put a period to his life and to his sway. The time was favourable for William's ambitious projects. A military spirit had spread

over Europe; and the feudal nobles, whose minds were elated by their princely situations, readily embraced the most hazardous enterprises. The different continental monarchs permitted their vassals to embark in the expedition, and Pope Alexander II. pronounced Harold a perjured usurper, excommunicated him and his adherents, and sent the duke a consecrated banner, and a ring containing one of St. Peter's hairs. The Norman fleet, consisting of about seven hundred vessels, carrying 60,000 men, arrived safely at Pevensey, in Sussex, where the troops disembarked. Harold was at York when he received intelligence of the Norman invasion, and hastened by quick marches to London, where he halted a few days, and then advanced to meet the Normans, who had removed their camp to Hastings.

§ 59. Both armies awaited the conflict with impatience. The night previous to the battle was spent by the English in feasting, and by the Normans in fasting and prayer. At daybreak, William divided his army into three lines. The first consisted of archers and light-armed infantry; the second was composed of his bravest battalions, heavy-armed, and ranged in close order. The cavalry, with William at their head, formed the third line, and were so disposed that they stretched beyond the infantry, flanking each wing of the army. He commanded the signal to be given, and the whole army moved forward, singing the celebrated song of Roland, the nephew of Charlemagne. Harold, on account of his inferiority in numbers, had taken advantage of the rising ground, and made some trenches to secure his flanks, as if anxious to act upon the defensive. The king, dismounting, placed himself in the centre, at the head of his infantry, resolving to conquer or to die. The first onslaught of the Norman foot was terrible, and their archers did great execution on the serried ranks of the English. Harold's men received the shock undismayed, and after a furious struggle, the Normans began to give ground. Confusion was spreading from rank to rank, when William hastened with a select band to the relief of his broken legions. His presence restored the battle. Twice did the Normans allure the English from their advantageous position, by feigning a retreat, and attacking them with their cavalry as they descended into the plain; thus throwing them into disorder, and driving them back with loss to the hill. A large body of the English stood firm around their prince, determined to dispute the field to the last, when fortune decided a contest

which valour had left doubtful. Harold was pierced by an arrow, while bravely defending the royal standard at the head of his guards. His two gallant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, were slain, and the English, dispirited by the loss of their leaders, gave way on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans. Such was the famous battle of Hastings, which terminated the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in England, in which fifteen thousand of the Normans, and a much greater number of the English, found a glorious death (1066).

§ 60. Never has territory equally small in extent engaged the attention of mankind for so long a series of ages as the island of Britain. From remote antiquity it was visited by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, on account of its tin and other valuable productions. The Romans, in the height of their power, made themselves masters of the southern parts of the island, and preserved their footing for three hundred years. The long struggle with the Saxons, and their civil wars, impeded the progress of civilization; but no sooner was something like order restored under Egbert, than commerce and manufactures were cultivated, and prosperity commenced. These were cruelly injured by the piracy and predatory incursions of the Danes; yet England, even in those days, could boast of many large trading towns, containing freemen equal to the defence of the kingdom. William was indebted for his good fortune less to the rashness of the English monarch, his own conduct, or the valour of his troops, than to the unsettled state of the succession to the crown. The English nobility, on the death of Harold, naturally looked up to William, the kinsman of their princes, as their sovereign, their head, their centre of union. The duke of Normandy had triumphed over their elected king at Hastings, but not over their liberties.

LETTER 20.—Spain, the Saracens, and the Empire of Constantinople, during the Ninth, Tenth, and part of the Eleventh Centuries. A.D. 862—1068. Vol. i., pages 83—88.

§ 61. After the death of Abderahman, A.D. 787, dissensions amongst his children procured some relief for the Spanish Christians. The little kingdom of the Asturias, founded by Pelagius, increased under Alphonso III., surnamed the Great (A.D. 862). The kingdom of Navarre, founded some years before, became one of the most considerable Christian principalities in Spain. The Moors, however, still possessed

more than three-fourths of the country, including the most fertile provinces. The Spanish Christians were not more united than their enemies. In 938, Ramiro II., another Spanish hero, gained the celebrated victory of Simancas; and in 995 Almansor obtained a complete triumph over the Spaniards, on the banks of the river Elza. In the former battle, Ramiro had promised to make large donations to the church of St. James, at Compostella, in case of success, and "St. James" became the war-cry of the Spaniards; while, in consequence of the latter victory, the name of Almansor became terrible to the Christians. About the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abderahman being extinct, the kingdom of Cordova was dismembered, and almost all the great cities had their independent sovereigns. The Christian provinces were subdivided in the same manner, and poisonings, treachery, and assassinations abounded. In this dark and oppressive period, the people of Arragon shared the government with their sovereign; the representatives of cities and towns had a seat in their *Cortes*, or national assembly. The Arragonians also elected a grand judge, as supreme interpreter of the laws: his person was sacred, his jurisdiction almost unbounded, and he was answerable to the *Cortes* alone. He had also the singular privilege of administering the coronation oath, in the name of the people; and it became an established maxim in the constitution of Arragon, that it was lawful for the people to depose a king who violated his engagements, and to elect another in his stead.

§ 62. From the Arabs in Spain we pass naturally to those of Asia, and the neighbouring continent of Africa. The glory of the caliphate was obscured towards the end of the ninth century. The African governors threw off their allegiance, and religious quarrels augmented those of ambition. The Fatimites, a Mahomedan sect, founded an empire in Egypt (908), and Cairo became the seat of a new caliphate, and a flourishing city of commerce (969). Another fanatical sect revolted, and seized the provinces on the coast of Africa, which form the present kingdom of Morocco. The caliphs of Bagdad had received into their armies a body of Turks, or Turcomans, a Tartar tribe. These auxiliaries took advantage of the civil wars to deprive the caliphs of sovereignty, permitting them to retain the pontificate. A variety of sovereigns sprung up under the name of Sultans, who, invested with their dominions by the caliphs, left them very little authority.

§ 63. The empire of Constantinople, though much circumscribed on the eastern frontier, still extended over all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, and Illyricum. Nicephorus, who had dethroned Irene in 802, was an execrable tyrant. The Saracens robbed him of the isle of Cyprus (805), and the Bulgarians cut his army to pieces, beheaded him, and made a drinking-cup of his skull (811). A succession of weak princes followed, and intrigues, persecutions, and assassinations fill up the annals of the period. Constantine X., or Porphyrogenitus, who reigned from 911—959, was a protector of the sciences, and cultivated them with success. Zoë, daughter of Constantine XI., by her shameless amours and intrigues kept the empire in commotion from 1028 till her death, in 1050. She made her favourites emperors, removing them as soon as she grew tired of them, with ruthless barbarity. The empire experienced a short season of repose under Isaac Comnenus, one of the best of the Greek rulers (1057—1059). Constantine XIII., or Ducas, appointed his three sons emperors, leaving the regency to his widow Eudocia (1067); but she married her favourite Romanus, and raised him to the throne, under the title of Romanus IV., or Diogenes (1068). Yet the Greeks were still the most learned and polished people in Europe; and Constantinople, having never experienced the destructive rage of the barbarians, continued to be the largest and most beautiful city in Europe, and the only one in which any image of ancient manners or ingenuity remained.

LETTER 21.—Progress of Society in Europe, from the Settlement of the Modern Nations, to the Middle of the Eleventh Century. A.D. 476—1050. Vol. i., pages 88—94.

§ 64. The invaders wanted taste to appreciate Roman arts, laws, and literature, yet they generally embraced Christianity, engrafting upon it many of their own superstitions. This will account for the absurd mixture of violence, devotion, and folly which so long disgraced the Romish church, and formed the character of the middle ages. The Druids among the Gauls and Britons, the priests among the ancient Germans, and among all the nations of Scandinavia, possessed absolute dominion over the minds of men; and the early Christian priesthood blindly fostered this superstitious homage. The Christian emperors of Rome and Constantinople lavished on the Church privileges and immunities, and endeavoured to conciliate the favour of God by

the same means that were used to satisfy the justice of men, or by those which were employed to appease their fabulous deities. As the punishments due for civil crimes might, among the barbarians, be bought off by money, they attempted to bribe Heaven by benefactions to the Church. Thus the clergy became powerful, were often the arbiters of kingdoms, and disposed of the crown while they regulated the affairs of the state. The acts of their councils were considered as infallible decrees.

§ 65. As the interests of the clergy clashed with those of the laity, opposition and jealousy produced fresh disorders. The priests breathed forth frightful anathemas, and, to the thunder of the Church, joined the assistance of the sword. Although many of the clergy could scarcely read, they made a mystery of the most necessary sciences, and contaminated history and religion with lying chronicles and fabulous legends. Charlemagne and Alfred the Great endeavoured to dispel this darkness; and light and order distinguished their reigns. The ignorance of the West, especially amongst the laity, was so profound during the ninth and tenth centuries, that the clergy became the arbiters of almost all secular affairs. Marriages, contracts, wills, fell under their jurisdiction, and opened to them new sources of wealth and power. Letters began to revive in the eleventh century, when a scientific jargon, a false logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things, began to prevail. The disorders of government and manners kept pace with those of religion; and these seem to have attained their height about the middle of the tenth century. The feudal policy had created in each state a number of petty tyrants; and force decided all disputes. Europe became one great battle-field, in which the weak struggled for freedom, and the strong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle; they were tyrants at home and robbers abroad; and such was the insecure condition of society, that many voluntarily surrendered their liberty for bread and protection.

§ 66. From that gloomy era, a succession of causes and events may be traced, that contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and to introduce order and politeness. Among the first of these may be ranked chivalry. General insecurity prevailed, and the arm of the brave was the only shield of the weak. The licentious and tyrannic nobles, touched at last with a sense of natural equity, and swayed

by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs and the preservation of public safety. So honourable was the origin of this institution! The novice served in the house of some knight, first as a page, and then as an esquire; nor was he admitted to the supreme honour of knighthood until he had given many striking proofs of his valour and address. The ceremony of initiation was very solemn. This being performed, the candidate for knighthood took the usual oath to serve his prince, defend the faith, protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies, and to rescue, at the hazard of his life, widows, orphans, and all unhappy persons groaning under injustice or oppression. The candidate was then adorned with the armour and ensigns of chivalry; the king, or nobleman, then gave him the accolade, or dubbing, by three gentle strokes with the flat part of the sword, or with the palm of his hand, on the neck, saying, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight! be thou loyal, brave, and hardy."

§ 67. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristics of chivalry; and to these may be added religion. War was carried on with less ferocity, more gentle and polished manners were introduced, and a scrupulous regard to truth prevailed. Valour, seconded by so many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became almost irresistible. Chivalry was not, however, without its weak points. In Spain it gave birth to wild adventures, which have been deservedly ridiculed; in the Norman invasion it extinguished the liberties of England; it deluged Italy with blood; and at the call of superstition, and as an engine of papal power, desolated Asia under the banner of the cross. Yet it must never be forgotten that it taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, that it invigorated, while it softened, the human character, and extended the influence of woman in society. Its beneficial effects were strongly counterbalanced by other institutions of a less social kind. Persons of both sexes secluded themselves from the world; and the monastic life, that had its origin among the Christians of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, spread rapidly over Asia, Africa, and Europe. Many of these devotees took a vow of perpetual chastity, and nothing was deemed so meritorious as the building and endowing of monasteries. These enthusiasts not only suffered privations, but inflicted tortures on themselves; and not a few, under

the name of Stylites, or Pillar-saints, ascended the top of some lofty column, where they remained for years without any shelter from heat or cold. In the religious houses, devout persons of both sexes submitted themselves to meagre fastings, bloody flagellations, and other cruel austerities of discipline, too shocking to bear recital. Then monasteries for both sexes were introduced, and a relaxation of manners ensued. The monks, however, were still venerated, being often called from the lonely cell to fill the papal chair, to discharge the office of prime minister, and to regulate the interests of nations. Their spiritual reputation enabled them to trample upon authority. And if chivalry, by awakening a spirit of enterprise, had not roused the human powers to deeds of valour, and revived the passion for the softer sex, by connecting it with arms, and separating it from gross desire, Europe might have sunk under the tyranny of a set of men who pretend to renounce the world and its affairs, and Christendom have become but one great cloister.

CHAPTER III.

LETTER 22. — The German Empire, and its Dependencies, under Conrad II. and his Descendants of the House of Franconia. A.D. 1024—1125. Vol. i., pages 94—106.

§ 68. AFTER much deliberation and many disputes, Conrad II., duke of Franconia, surnamed the Salic, because born on the banks of the river Sala, was elected emperor (1024). The Lombards revolted as usual, when Conrad marched into Italy, subdued them, and was crowned by John XX. at Rome, in presence of Canute of England and Rodolph III. of Burgundy (1027). Conrad returned to Germany, had his son Henry, then twelve years old, solemnly crowned as his successor at Aix-la-Chapelle (1028), and then quelled some rather formidable insurrections. He afterwards defeated the Poles and the Hungarians, and on the death of Rodolph of Burgundy, inherited his dominions (1032). The Poles again revolted, and the bishop of Milan raised an insurrection in 1037; but Conrad triumphed over both, and returned to Germany, where he soon after died, leaving behind him the reputation of a just, generous, and magnanimous prince (1039). He was succeeded by Henry III., surnamed the Black, who waged successful wars against Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. The Pandolphi and the Ptolemei factions agitated Rome and Italy, and the former thrust Benedict IX., a boy of twelve years of age, into the papacy (1033). Three popes, elected by their several partisans, reigned in Rome (1044), when Henry marched into Italy, deposed them, and set up the first of the German pontiffs, Clement II. (1046). Henry and his empress having been crowned at Rome, proceeded to Capua, where the former entered into a treaty with certain Norman adventurers, who were fighting against the Greeks and the Saracens. The emperor had scarcely reached Germany when he received intelligence of the death of Clement II. (1048). Damasus II. succeeded him, but died soon after his elevation. Henry nominated one Bruno, a relative, who took

the title of Leo IX. Soon after his elevation, Leo waited on the emperor at Worms to crave his assistance against the Norman princes, then the terror of Italy (1052). Henry furnished the pope with an army, which was defeated by the Normans at the battle of Civitella (1053), who took Leo prisoner, but afterwards released him. Leo died in 1054, and another German bishop was soon after elected pope, under the name of Victor II. Henry made war upon the Hungarians, and then marched into Italy against his sister, by whose intrigues he was alarmed (1055). He concluded an alliance with Contarini, doge of Venice, about which time the Venetians and the Genoese were rivals in power and commerce, and he died soon after his return to Germany (1056).

§ 69. Henry IV. of Germany, surnamed the Great, was only five years old when he mounted the throne, and his mother Agnes governed as regent; but the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria carried off their nephew by stratagem, whereupon Agnes fled to Rome and took the veil (1062). Germany during the minority of this prince was harassed by civil wars, and Italy became, as usual, a prey to internal disorders. The famous Hildebrand was all-powerful at Rome, and he induced his creature, Nicholas II., in the second Lateran council, to pass the famous decree ordaining that for the future the cardinals should elect the pope (1059). On assuming the reins of government, Henry IV., determined to suppress the robberies and extortions practised by the duke of Saxony and his subjects, made war upon and conquered Saxony (1075). A fresh contest soon arose in Italy. On the death of Alexander II. in 1073, Hildebrand had been elected pope, under the title of Gregory VII. By feigning submission, he induced Henry to confirm the election, and then this haughty prelate pulled off the mask. He began his pontificate by excommunicating every ecclesiastic who should receive a benefice from a layman, and every layman by whom such benefice should be conferred. Gregory also proposed a crusade to deliver the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels. Gregory next assailed the right enjoyed by the emperor, in common with other princes, of nominating bishops and abbots, and giving them investiture by the ring and crosier (1075). He sent legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent, because he still exercised the right, in spite of its abrogation by the synod at Rome. Henry convoked an

assembly of princes and ecclesiastics at Worms in 1076, where, after mature deliberation, Gregory was deposed. The pope summoned the third Lateran council at Rome; excommunicated the emperor, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Deserted by many of his nobles and bishops, Henry resolved to seek absolution from the pope. He accordingly went suddenly into Italy, and presented himself, stripped of his robes and wrapt in sackcloth, at the gates of the fortress of Canosa, in the Apennines, in which Gregory VII. was spending his time in dalliance with the Countess Matilda. After waiting three days, suffering many indignities, Henry was at last admitted to the presence of the pope.

§ 70. Elated by the success of his schemes, Gregory VII. carried his arrogance too far, and demanded an abject submission. Henry retired to Reggio, where he found a strong party, and all Lombardy took up arms against the pope, while he was raising Germany against the emperor. Gregory made use of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany; and Henry left nothing undone to persuade the Italians to elect another pope. The Germans chose Rodolph, duke of Swabia, who was solemnly crowned at Mentz (1077). Henry set out for Germany, fought several battles with varied results (1080), while Gregory, seeing no hopes of his submission, excommunicated him for the second time, and confirmed the election of Rodolph, to whom he sent a golden crown. Henry summoned a council at Brixen, by which Gregory VII. was deposed, and Clement III. appointed in his stead. His rival, Rodolph, having been killed at the battle of Zeiz, by Godfrey of Bouillon, Henry set out for Italy; Rome was besieged for nearly three years, and was taken during Henry's absence in Germany (1084). Gregory VII. escaped, but died soon after in exile at Salerno (1085). The tranquillity of the remaining years of Henry's reign was disturbed by new pretenders and undutiful sons. Another pope, Pascal II., excommunicated Henry, and even incited his son to rebel against him (1102). Having by stratagem got his father into his power, he imprisoned him, endeavoured to force him to resign, and even denied him the common necessities of life. Henry managed to escape from his keepers; but while raising an army, he fell ill and died at Liege, in the forty-ninth year of his reign (1106). He was a prince of great courage and of excellent endowments both of body and

mind. He possessed a natural fund of eloquence and vivacity; and was an admirable pattern of fortitude and resignation.

§ 71. Henry V. caused his father's body to be dug up and treated with great indignity. He laid claim to the right of investiture, and invited the pope to settle the dispute at a conference. After carrying on war for some years in Hungary and Poland, he entered Italy and sacked Rome (1111); Pascal II. being made prisoner, he crowned Henry and confirmed him in the right of investiture. On the emperor's departure, a council in the Lateran cancelled and declared void the privilege, while another council assembled at Vienne and excommunicated Henry. The countess Matilda died in 1115, and her large estates in Italy were claimed both by Henry and the pope. The emperor took possession of Matilda's lands (1116), and once more entered Rome in triumph, and was crowned for the second time (1117). Pascal II. returned to Rome on the departure of the emperor, and died soon after, when the cardinals elected Gelasius II., and the emperor the archbishop of Braga, under the title of Gregory VIII. (1118). This gave rise to the Guelf and Ghibelin factions, the former supporting the papal and the latter the imperial cause. Gelasius took refuge in France, where he died (1119), and Calixtus II. was appointed in his place. The States of the empire, weary of the long quarrel between the popes and the emperors, supplicated Henry for peace. Negotiations were set on foot, and the long-agitated question of the right of investiture settled in these terms: "That for the future, the bishops and abbots shall be chosen by the monks and canons; but that this election shall be made in presence of the emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose: that, in case of a dispute among the electors, the decision shall be left to the emperor, who is to consult with the bishops on that subject; that the bishop or abbot elect shall take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, receive from his hand the *regalia*, and do homage for them; that the emperor shall no longer confer the *regalia* by the ceremony of the ring and crosier, which are the ensigns of a spiritual dignity; but by that of the sceptre, as more proper to invest the person elected, in the possession of rights and privileges merely temporal." Thus ended one of the most bloody quarrels that ever desolated Christendom. The manner of the election of popes remained unsettled, and or

the death of Calixtus II. (1124), two were again elected,—Cœlestine and Honorius II.; but the former voluntarily resigned. Henry V. died at Utrecht (1125). He was a wise, politic, and resolute prince. In 1110 he had married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Henry I., king of England, by whom he had no children, so that the empire was left without a head.

LETTER 23.—England, from the Battle of Hastings to the Death of Henry I. A.D. 1066—1135. Vol. i., pages 106—121.

§ 72. Immediately after the battle of Hastings, William marched towards London. A repulse, which a party of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, the easy submission of the inhabitants of Kent, and the burning of Southwark, all served to increase the terror of the defeat at Hastings. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, met William at Berkhamstead, and made submission to him; and before he reached London the principal nobles, with Edgar Atheling, the rightful heir to the crown, declared their intention of yielding to his authority. William was accordingly crowned in Westminster Abbey, in presence of many of both the English and Norman nobility and gentry; and everything wore the appearance of peace and tranquillity. Although William restored to most of the English nobles their lands and dignities, and confirmed the liberties and immunities of London and other cities of England, yet he took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans. He everywhere disarmed the inhabitants, built fortresses in the principal cities, bestowed the forfeited estates upon his most powerful leaders, and established funds for the payment of his troops. Having thus secured possession of the kingdom, he ventured to visit Normandy.

§ 73. During William's absence the English nobility and gentry revolted, and although he pardoned those that afterwards submitted to his mercy, public discontents increased. Edwin and Morcar, the potent earls of Mercia and Northumberland, having entered into a league with Blethin, prince of North Wales; Malcolm, king of Scotland; and Sweyn, king of Denmark; attempted to shake off the Norman yoke (1068). William disconcerted all the plans of the hostile chieftains by marching upon York before they were prepared for action, and they accordingly submitted to his clemency. The chiefs were pardoned, but their adherents were treated with great rigour, and forfeitures and

confiscations ensued. Many Englishmen fled into foreign countries, and Edgar Atheling himself, though caressed by William, escaped into Scotland, carrying thither his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. The sons of Harold, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, who had taken refuge in Ireland, assembled an army and landed in Devonshire, but, after several encounters, were compelled to re-embark (1069). In spite of the failure of this enterprise, all the north of England was soon in arms. The Norman governors of York and Durham were slain, a Danish army landed, and Edgar Atheling appeared from Scotland. York was burnt, and the Norman garrison put to the sword; but William succeeded in detaching the Danes from the cause, and thus quelled the insurrection. Although many of the nobility were pardoned, William showed no favour towards the English as a people. He ordered the fertile country between the Humber and the Tees to be laid waste, and thus sacrificed the lives of a hundred thousand of the inhabitants. Castles, manors, and estates were confiscated and given to Norman adventurers; the English nobles were treated with ignominy and contempt, and excluded from every road that led to riches or preferment.

§ 74. Power naturally follows property. This change of landholders alone gave great security to the Norman government, which William strengthened by new institutions. He introduced the feudal polity, which he found established in France and Normandy. The lands of England, with but few exceptions, he divided into baronies, and these he conferred upon his followers. The barons, who held immediately of the crown, assigned parts of their lands to other foreigners, denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission, in peace and war, which he owed to his sovereign. Not many of the native English were admitted into the first rank; the few who retained any landed property were therefore glad to be received into the second, and, under the protection of some powerful Norman, to load themselves and their posterity with a grievous servitude for their estates. His next regulations affected the church. He deposed Stigand (1070) and several other English bishops, by the aid of Ermenfroy, the pope's legate, and it became a fixed maxim of this and subsequent reigns, that no native should ever be advanced to any dignity—ecclesiastical, civil, or military. Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, was promoted to the see of Can-

terbury, yet William did not permit Rome to encroach upon the royal prerogative. When the imperious Gregory VII. required him to do homage, William bluntly refused, although he promised that *Peter's Pence*, a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, should be paid to the court of Rome as usual. The French tongue was at the same time introduced into the courts of judicature, the schools, and social circles of England; and to this we owe the great mixture of French still to be found in our language.

§ 75. William next quelled some disorders on the continent, and passed some time in Normandy, where his eldest son, Robert, openly aspired to independence, demanding immediate possession of Normandy and Maine (1076). Robert was defeated, and a reconciliation effected between father and son (1079). Peace enabled William to finish an undertaking that does honour to his memory. It was a general survey of all the lands of England; their extent in each district, their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and, in some counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and slaves of all denominations (1080—1086). This valuable piece of antiquity, called the Domesday Book, is still preserved in the Exchequer, and enables us to form an idea of the ancient state of England. William was fond of hunting, and caused the New Forest in Hampshire to be laid out. Hereward, the Anglo-Saxon warrior, gave William great trouble, and set the king at defiance in his stronghold in the island of Ely. This hero was celebrated in the Anglo-Saxon, and even Norman, popular songs of the time, and William at last purchased his friendship by a treaty of peace. In this reign the ecclesiastical courts were first raised into a separate branch of judicature, although the crown still retained the superior authority. His death was occasioned by a stupid quarrel. Philip I. of France, hearing of an illness that kept William in bed for some time, said, referring to his increasing corpulency, that he was surprised his brother of England should take so long a time to be delivered of his big belly. On his recovery, William laid the kingdom waste with fire and sword. His progress was arrested by an accident. As he was entering Mante, his horse plunged suddenly, and threw him against the pommel of the saddle. The bruise, in consequence of his former bad habit of body, brought on mortification, of which he died at a monastery near Rouen, in his sixty-third year

(1087). The spirit of William I., says a philosophical historian, was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence; and his exorbitant ambition, which lay little under the restraints of justice, and still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of reason and sound policy.

§ 76. William II., surnamed Rufus, or the Red, on account of the colour of his hair, succeeded to the crown of England, according to the dying commands of his father, while his eldest brother, Robert, took peaceable possession of Normandy. A rebellion broke out in England, which William quelled by the assistance of the native English (1088). William first made war upon his brother Robert (1090), and then united with Robert against their brother Prince Henry, who retired to St. Michael's Mount, but was finally compelled to capitulate (1091). Civil wars and commotions, many of them stirred up by his uncle Odo, a turbulent churchman, who aspired at the papacy, occupied much of William the Second's attention, from which he was in some measure relieved by the first crusade. His brother Robert embarked in this enterprise, having first mortgaged his dominions to William for ten thousand marks. Poitiers and Guienne were offered to him upon the same terms, when accident deprived him of life. He prepared a fleet and an army to escort the stipulated price, and to secure the possession of the prize. Before setting sail, he went to hunt in the New Forest, attended by Walter Tyrrell, a French knight. The latter fired suddenly at a stag, when the arrow, glancing against a tree, struck the king to the heart (1100). Without informing any one of the accident, Tyrrell put spurs to his horse, hastened to the seashore, and joined the crusade. William, though possessed of sound understanding, appears to have been violent and tyrannical. He was a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour, and an unkind and ungenerous relation. He built the Tower and Westminster Hall. In his reign the Danes made their last attempt upon England, and Anselm obtained the see of Canterbury, and became involved in disputes with the king.

§ 77. As William II. was never married, England belonged by right to his elder brother Robert, but Prince Henry seized upon the crown. To conciliate the nobles, he promised to remedy many grievous oppressions, to continue the laws of Edward the Confessor; and in order to establish himself more firmly upon the throne, he recalled Anselm,

who had been deprived of the primacy by William II., and married Matilda, niece to Edgar Atheling, and granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, the rightful heir to the crown. Robert returned suddenly from the Holy Land, and invaded England; but through the exertions of Anselm a reconciliation was effected between the brothers, Henry agreeing to pay an annual pension of three thousand marks, while Robert renounced his pretensions to the English crown (1101). These conditions being broken, Robert ventured imprudently into England, was badly received, and lost his pension (1103). He was afterwards seized and brought to England (1106); kept a prisoner in Cardiff Castle, Glamorganshire, where he died in 1134. Robert's son, William, supported by the king of France, and the counts of Anjou and Flanders, contested the duchy of Normandy with Henry, but was defeated (1119). The death of his only son William, who perished from shipwreck, on his return from Normandy, embittered the remaining years of Henry's life (Nov. 26, 1120). He died in Normandy, where he had latterly resided, in 1135, leaving his daughter Matilda, widow of the emperor Henry V., heiress of all his dominions. Henry was one of the most able and accomplished princes that ever filled the English throne, and his learning procured him the surname of *Beauclerc*.

§ 78. Under William I. the old Anglo-Saxon form of government was entirely changed. For this he substituted a rigid feudal monarchy, or military aristocracy, in which a regular chain of subordination and service was established; and which, like all feudal governments, was attended with a grievous depression of the body of the people, who became mere vassals of the nobles, from whose oppressive jurisdiction it was both difficult and dangerous for them to appeal. William I., by his artful and tyrannical policy, by attainders and confiscations, became proprietor of nearly all the lands in the kingdom, which he bestowed upon his Norman followers. The defects in the title of William II. and Henry I. induced them to listen to the complaints of their English subjects, and to redress some of their grievances. Thus restored to a share in the legislature, the English commonalty felt more fully their own importance, and, by a long and vigorous struggle, they finally wrested from the king and the nobles, all the other rights of a free people, of which their Anglo-Saxon ancestors had been robbed by the violent invasion and cruel policy of William the Norman.

LETTER 24.—France, under Philip I. and Louis VI., with some account of the First Crusade. A.D. 1060—1137. Vol. i., pages 121—126.

§ 79. Philip I. had been perfectly well educated, was not by any means deficient in capacity, but he always preferred his interests or his inclinations to his honour. For marrying Bertrade of Montford, duchess of Anjou, while her husband and his own queen were alive, he was excommunicated by Urban II. Gregory VII., among other vast ideas, had formed the project of uniting the western Christians against the Mahometans, and of recovering Palestine from the hands of the infidels; but his quarrels with the emperor Henry IV. impeded the progress of the scheme. A fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, revived the project of Gregory VII. He had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1094), and was so deeply affected with the dangers to which the Christian pilgrims were exposed, that, on his return, he hastened from province to province, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting both princes and people to this holy war (1095). Urban II. at first hesitated, doubtful of the success of the project, but at last entered into Peter's views, summoned a council at Placentia (1095), and another the same year at Clermont. At the latter, the whole assembly with one voice exclaimed, "It is the will of God." A *Red Cross* was ordered to be used on the sacred standard, and to be affixed to the right shoulder of the combatants, whence their expedition obtained the name of a *crusade*.^a

^a As much difference of opinion exists with reference to the crusades, the editor, with a view to assist the student and inquirer, has drawn up the following summary, based upon Michaud's work:—

The first crusade was preached by Peter the Hermit, and finally determined upon at the council of Clermont, convoked by Urban II., in 1095. Four roving bands, numbering about 200,000 pilgrims, under the leadership of Peter the Hermit, departed for the Holy Land in 1096, passing through Bulgaria. They committed great excesses, and but few of them reached their destination. Godfrey of Bouillon took the command of the military force, and speedily conquered Palestine. Jerusalem was captured July 15, 1099, when Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king, and several Christian kingdoms were founded in the Holy Land. Tasso made this crusade the subject of the "Jerusalem Delivered." Godfrey died in 1100, and his brother Baldwin was elected as his successor.

The second crusade was advocated by Eugenius III., preached by St. Bernard, and decided upon at the council of Vezelay, in 1146. The taking of Edessa by the Saracens, and the critical state of affairs among the Christians in Palestine, led to this enterprise. Louis VII. of

§ 80. Persons of all ranks took up arms with alacrity, and even women, concealing their sex beneath the disguise of armour, joined the throng. The number of adventurers became so great, that the more experienced leaders grew apprehensive lest the size of the armament should defeat its

France, and Conrad III. of Germany, embarked in this crusade (1147), which was altogether unsuccessful, and these sovereigns prepared to quit Palestine in 1148. Another party of crusaders joined the Spaniards against the Moors, and delivered Lisbon (1147), while Henry of Saxony led another band against the Slaves.

In 1180 Alexander III. endeavoured to arouse the sovereigns of Europe to undertake a third crusade. It was preached in France in 1185, and disastrous news from the East induced Clement III. to urge it more seriously in 1188. Frederic Barbarossa set off with his army in 1189, obtained some success, and was drowned in the following year. Richard I. of England, and Philip Augustus of France, departed for the Holy Land in 1192. Having won several victories, Richard concluded a treaty with Saladin in 1192, and was seized and imprisoned, in passing homewards through Germany, by the archduke of Austria. Milman says, "If possible, this crusade was even more disastrous, achieved less, and suffered more, than all before."

Cœlestine III. caused the fourth crusade to be preached. The emperor Henry VI. held a diet at Worms, and embarked in it (1196), but attempted first the conquest of Naples and Sicily, and died at Messina in 1197. After his death, divisions broke out among the Christian leaders, and this crusade terminated without securing the enfranchisement of Palestine.

The fifth crusade was set on foot by Innocent III., and Boniface of Montferrat was chosen commander in 1202. They took Constantinople (1203), made Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor (1203), and thus restored the Latin empire in the East.

Innocent III., at his death Honorius III., and afterwards Gregory IX., urged the sixth crusade; and after many delays Frederic II. of Germany embarked (1227) for Palestine, but was compelled by sickness to return. He set sail again in 1228, and reached Palestine, but divisions still prevailed among the Christians, and this crusade terminated disastrously.

The rapid progress of the Tartars aroused Europe to the seventh crusade. Innocent IV. decided upon it at the council of Lyons (1245), and Louis IX. of France joined the expedition in 1248, and remained in Palestine until 1254 without accomplishing any good results.

The eighth crusade was projected by Louis IX. (1267), and supported by Clement IV. The Greek empire had been restored in 1261, and the cause of the Christians greatly declined. In 1270 Louis landed in Africa, and died there soon after. Thereupon Charles of Anjou took the command. In this crusade Prince Edward, afterwards king of England, greatly distinguished himself. The Turks expelled the Christians from all the Christian cities along the coast of Palestine, and in 1453 established themselves at Constantinople. Several attempts were made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to organize a crusade for the purpose of expelling the Turks from Constantinople, but nothing of any consequence was effected.

object. They therefore permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at 300,000, to go before, under the command of Peter the Hermit and a knight called Walter the Moneyless (1096). These roving bands proceeded through Hungary and Bulgaria, followed by Godescald, a German priest, with other levies. In order to supply their numerous necessities, they fell first upon the Jews, and then upon the other inhabitants of the countries through which they passed. The Hermit and the remnant of his army, consisting of about twenty thousand starving wretches, reached Constantinople, and being joined by German and Italian vagabonds, committed great excesses. Having been transported by the aid of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, into Asia, the sultan of Nice^b fell upon the disorderly crowd, and slaughtered immense numbers. Peter the Hermit managed to get back to Constantinople, where he was regarded as a maniac (1096).

§ 81. In the mean time the more disciplined armies had arrived at the imperial city, and were safely transported into Asia. The soldiers of the cross, said to have amounted to the incredible number of 100,000 horsemen and 600,000 foot, were equal to the conquest of Asia, had they been united under one head, or commanded by leaders that observed any concert in their operations. The division of their commanders impaired their strength, although their zeal, their bravery, and their irresistible force still carried them forward. They took Nice (1097), and made themselves masters of Antioch (1098), and entirely broke the strength of the Turks, who had so long tyrannized over the Arabs. The caliph of Egypt thereupon recovered the authority over the caliphs of Jerusalem, and offered to treat with the Christians, but they demanded the unconditional surrender of the Holy City. They captured it by assault five weeks after commencing the siege, when the most atrocious cruelties were practised (1099). Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen king of Jerusalem, and other Christian princes settled in their new conquests. Urban II. and the queen of France died in the same year, whereupon Philip I., who had continued to live with the countess of Anjou, was absolved by the new pope from the sentence of excommunication. In 1100 he associated his son Louis with him in the government, and this young prince endeavoured to bring

^b This city, so celebrated in the middle ages, was called Nicæa. It was the capital of Bithynia.

the unruly nobles under subjection. Philip died in the habit of a Benedictine monk, in 1108.

§ 82. Louis VI., called *le Gros*, from the great size he attained in the latter part of his life, was thirty years old when he succeeded to the throne of France. For more than eleven years he waged a war with Henry I. of England, in which many battles were fought with various results. On the conclusion of peace in 1120, Louis devoted his attention to the internal policy of his kingdom, and effected many judicious reforms that tended to the restoration of tranquillity. Falling suddenly ill, he associated first his son Philip, and at his death, which happened soon after, Louis, with him in the government; and although he recovered, he would never after use any of the ensigns of royalty. This monarch died in 1137. He was the first to make use of the oriflamme as a royal standard, in his war against Henry I. of England, in 1124. Historians agree that a better man never graced the throne of France; and with the addition of certain qualities he might have made a better king.

LETTER 25.—The German Empire and its Dependencies, from the Death of Henry V. to the Election of Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa. A.D. 1125—1152. Vol. i., pages 126—128.

§ 83. As Henry V. of Germany left no issue, the German states elected Lothaire, duke of Saxony, who was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence of the pope's nuncio (1125). Lothaire II. compelled the Bohemians to sue for peace, and do homage; and afterwards marched into Italy, to re-establish Innocent II., the successor of Honorius II., in the papal chair, from which he had been expelled by one Cardinal Leonis, made pope under the title of Anacletus II. (1130). Lothaire entered Rome at the head of his army (1132), defeated the anti-pope, and was solemnly crowned by the pope whom he had restored (1133), and then returned into Germany, where he introduced the code of Justinian. In the mean time, the king of Sicily espoused the cause of the anti-pope, Anacletus II., and Innocent II. was constrained once more to appeal to Lothaire, who speedily rushed to his aid and re-established his authority (1137). On his way back to Germany, Lothaire was seized with a dangerous distemper, which carried him off (1137). This prince was distinguished by a passionate love of peace, and an exact attention to the administration of public justice.

§ 84. The duke of Franconia, nephew to Henry V., was elected emperor, under the title of Conrad III.; but the imperial dignity was disputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria, whose family name was Guelf, an appellation afterwards bestowed upon the enemies of the emperor. Henry the Haughty died during the contest, which was afterwards carried on by members of his family (1139). The imperial army was commanded by Frederic, duke of Swabia, the emperor's brother; and as he was born at Wibelung, in Franconia, the epithet Ghibelins was bestowed upon his party.^a Guelf and his principal followers were besieged in the castle of Weinsberg, and were obliged to surrender at discretion. The emperor granted the duke and his chief officers permission to retire unmolested; but the duchess, suspecting Conrad, begged that she and the other women in the castle might be allowed to come out with as much as each of them could carry, to be conducted to a place of safety. The request was granted, and, to the surprise of the emperor and his army, the duchess and her fair companions staggered forth each carrying her husband. Conrad was affected to tears, and an accommodation with Guelf and his adherents was the consequence of this act of female heroism (1140). A revolt broke out at Rome in 1145, the people being desirous of abolishing the temporal power of the pope. Lucius II. was killed in the tumult, but it was suppressed by his successor Eugenius III. (1146), who supported the second crusade. Conrad died in 1152; his son, Prince Henry, who had been named his successor, dying the year before, his nephew, Frederic Barbarossa, was unanimously elected at the diet of Frankfort.

LETTER 26.—France, under Louis VII., till the Divorce of Queen Eleanor, with some account of the Second Crusade. A.D. 1137—1152. Vol. i., pages 128—130.

§ 85. Louis VII., surnamed *le Jeune*, soon found himself involved in one of those civil wars which the feudal government rendered unavoidable; and having, in an expe-

^a Although these names originated in Germany, as described above, they were, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, transferred to the factions that divided Italy. During the numerous conflicts that ensued between the emperors and the popes, the adherents of the former were called Ghibelins, and those of the latter, Guelfs. The influence of the Ghibelins declined towards the end of the thirteenth century, but it afterwards revived. These names were still used as party distinctions throughout the fifteenth century.

dition into Champagne, taken Vitri, he ordered it to be set on fire (1143). Thirteen hundred persons, who sought refuge in a church, perished in the flames, and this made a deep impression upon the young king's mind, and prepared the way for a second crusade. The power of the Christians in the East gradually declined, the little kingdom of Edessa had been taken by the Turks (1144), and Jerusalem itself was threatened; Eugenius III. sent Bernard, abbot of Clairveaux, to preach the second crusade. Although Suger, abbot of St. Denis, then prime minister, endeavoured to dissuade Louis VII. from embarking in the holy war, the monarch determined upon going. Bernard preached the crusade with equal success in Germany, where thousands flocked to the sacred standard. The emperor of Germany and the king of France did not unite their forces, and the army of the former was drawn among the rocks, and cut to pieces; Conrad went to Antioch, and thence to Jerusalem, as a pilgrim (1148). Louis fell into a similar snare, and lost his army. His wife Eleanor was suspected of an amour with the prince of Antioch, at whose court her husband had taken refuge. Soon after his return, Louis annulled his marriage, and Eleanor espoused Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and heir presumptive to the crown of England (1152).

LETTER 27.—England, from the Death of Henry I. to the Accession of Henry II. A.D. 1135—1154. Vol. i., pages 130—132.

§ 86. The feudal barons did not favour female succession, so Matilda, daughter of Henry I., was set aside, and Stephen, count of Boulogne, grandson of the Conqueror, called to the throne. The earlier years of his reign were spent amidst the struggles and confusion of civil war, and in 1141 this monarch was made prisoner; but being soon after exchanged for Matilda's brother, the war burst out again with renewed violence. In 1152, Matilda's son, Henry Plantagenet, married Eleanor, whom Louis VII. of France had divorced. This brought him great accession of power, and he immediately invaded England. Stephen prepared to resist, but the leaders on both sides interfered, a treaty was concluded at Winchester (1153), by which it was agreed that at Stephen's death Henry should succeed to the kingdom of England, and William, Stephen's son, to Boulogne and his patrimonial estate. The Scotch, under David I., having invaded England, were defeated with great slaughter at the

battle of the Standard, fought near Northallerton, in Yorkshire (1138). It was so called from a high crucifix erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with them as a military ensign. During this reign the canon law was introduced into England (1140); and on the refusal of King Stephen to send bishops to the council of Rheims (1148), the kingdom was laid under an interdict. Stephen died in 1154. This prince is generally allowed to have possessed industry, activity, and courage to a great degree; and had he succeeded by a just title, would have been well qualified to promote the happiness and the prosperity of his subjects.

LETTER 28.—England during the Reign of Henry II., with an account of the affairs of France. A.D. 1154—1189. Vol. i., pages 132—142.

§ 87. The French monarchs naturally regarded with jealousy the increasing power of England on the continent, and, in order to resist it, Louis VII. maintained a strict union with Stephen. The sudden death of this ruler rendered abortive all his schemes. Henry was received with acclamation; he began his reign by re-establishing justice and good order, and voluntarily confirmed that charter of liberties which had been granted by his grandfather Henry I. The Welsh at first gave the new monarch much trouble, and when he had reduced them to obedience (1157), a quarrel broke out between him and Louis VII., relative to the county of Toulouse. The pope interfered, and the quarrel was settled amicably (1161). In this war Henry levied upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces remote from the scene of hostilities, a sum of money, in lieu of their service. This was called *scutage*, and each knight's fee was three pounds. Henry next turned his attention to the church, in which abuses of every kind prevailed. The clergy, among other inventions to obtain money, had inculcated the necessity of penance as an atonement for sin; they had also introduced the practice of paying large sums of money as a composition for such penances. The king computed that by this invention alone the priests levied more money from his subjects than flowed into the royal treasury. Henry ordered that a civil officer should in future be present in all ecclesiastical courts, whose consent should be necessary to every composition made for spiritual offences. The ecclesiastics openly claimed exemption, declaring that they were above the law. Determined to carry out this reform, Henry

raised Thomas à Becket, his chancellor, to the see of Canterbury (1162). Becket was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather confining within ancient bounds, all ecclesiastical privileges, and he was no sooner installed in the see of Canterbury, than he abandoned his sumptuous style of living, and became a rigid ascetic. He wore sackcloth next his skin, which he changed so seldom that it was filled with dirt and vermin; he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted upon it, and he daily washed the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents.

§ 88. This champion of the Church endeavoured to overawe his sovereign by the boldness and intrepidity of his measures; Henry, however, determined to effect the desired reformation, and an event soon brought matters to a crisis. A clergyman in Worcestershire, having seduced a gentleman's daughter, murdered the father; and Henry insisted that the murderer should be brought before the civil magistrate, while Becket maintained that no greater punishment than degradation should be inflicted (1163). Henry summoned an assembly of all the prelates of England, put to them this question, "Are you willing or not to submit to the ancient laws of the kingdom?" Their answer being equivocal, Henry convoked a general council of barons and prelates, at Clarendon (1164). The famous Constitutions of Clarendon were voted without opposition. They provided that no one holding under the crown should be excommunicated, or have his lands put under an interdict, without the king's consent; that appeals in spiritual cases should not be carried to Rome; that no clergyman should be allowed to leave the kingdom without the king's consent; that laymen should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses; and that ecclesiastics, accused of any crime, should be tried in the civil courts. The articles were reduced to writing, and accepted by Becket and the prelates. He set his seal to them, promised *legally*, with *good faith*, and without *fraud* or *reserve*, to obey them, and even took an oath to that effect. Henry forwarded them to Alexander III. to be ratified. The pope, perceiving that they clearly established the independence of England, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them. Thereupon Becket sought to obtain absolution, and the king, not to be defied with impunity, summoned Becket to give an account of his administration while chancellor, and to pay

the balance due from the revenues of all the prelaties, abbeys, and baronies, which had been subject to his management during that time.

§ 89. Becket withdrew into France, appealed to the pope, and sought the protection of the king of France. The exiled primate filled Europe with his complaints. He issued a censure against the king's ministers, abrogated and annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon, absolving all persons from the oaths which they had taken to observe them (1165). Henry employed the temporal weapons still in his power. He suspended the payment of Peter's Pence, and made some advances towards an alliance with the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, who was then at war with the pope. Both parties grew sick of contention, and several conferences were set on foot, which did not, however, lead to an accommodation. All difficulties were at last got over, and Becket was permitted to return on conditions both honourable and advantageous (1170). Elated by the victory which he had obtained over his sovereign, this insolent prelate set no bounds to his arrogance. He suspended the archbishop of York, and excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury, for having assisted at the coronation of Prince Henry, whom the king had associated with him in the royalty. These prelates waited upon the king at Bayeux, in Normandy, when some hasty words uttered by him induced four gentlemen of his household to set out, in order to revenge their sovereign's quarrel. They fell upon Becket in the cathedral at Canterbury, and assassinated him during the service, on the 29th of December, 1170. Instead of acting with becoming vigour, Henry betrayed the greatest consternation on hearing of this sad affair. Afraid of interdicts and excommunications, he sent a solemn embassy to Rome, maintaining his innocence, and offering to submit the whole affair to the decision of the Holy See. The pope, who did not sit very firmly upon the papal chair, forbore to proceed to extremities against Henry. Becket suddenly became a saint, numerous miracles were wrought by his relics, and his shrine not only restored dead men to life, but even cows, dogs, and horses. It is computed that above a hundred thousand pilgrims, in one year, paid their devotions at his tomb.

§ 90. Henry next undertook the conquest of Ireland, for which enterprise he had many years before obtained a bull from Pope Adrian IV. This island was peopled from

Britain, as Britain had been from Gaul, and the first inhabitants were of Celtic origin. The Danes had overrun the country, subverted the central power, and the island had in consequence become divided into a number of small principalities. The uncertain succession of the Irish princes was a continual source of domestic convulsion. Henry made a progress through the island, received the homage of these petty rulers, and annexed Ireland to the English crown (1171—1173). The pope sent two legates, Albert and Theodin, to investigate Henry's conduct in regard to the death of Becket; and the king came to an accommodation with them on easier terms than might have been expected. He promised to serve three years against the infidels, in case the pope should require it; and he agreed to permit appeals to the Holy See, in ecclesiastical causes, on a pledge being given that nothing should be attempted against the rights of his crown (1173). Henry seemed to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity, when his children, supported by the king of France and other continental princes, rebelled against his authority. He appealed to the court of Rome, and Alexander III. issued bulls against his foes. The king went barefoot to Becket's tomb, remained there fasting and praying, submitted to be scourged, and the next day received absolution (1174). A victory over the Scots was gained the same day by his generals, and the rebels deemed it impious to resist any longer a prince who seemed to enjoy the immediate protection of Heaven. Victorious on all sides, and absolute master of his English dominions, Henry hastened over to Normandy, where a peace was concluded with Louis, and an accommodation made with his sons.

§ 91. For some years Henry occupied himself with the administration of justice, and reforming the political institutions of the age. He endeavoured to maintain the Constitutions of Clarendon, making certain necessary alterations. He also passed a law that the goods of a vassal should not be seized for the debt of his lord, unless the vassal had become surety for the debt; and that, in cases of insolvency, the rents of vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself. This prince also divided England into six circuits, and ordered judges, after the example of the commissaries of Louis VI. and the *missi* of Charlemagne, to go and decide causes (1177). Henry also published a famous decree, called an *Assize of arms*, by which all

his subjects were compelled to defend the realm. In 1179 Louis VII., king of France, made a pilgrimage to Becket's shrine, and died the next year; whereupon his son, Philip II., surnamed Augustus, succeeded to the throne. Philip for some time abetted Henry's sons in their unnatural rebellion, but their rivalry seemed for a time to give place to the general passion for the relief of the Holy Land. Both assumed the cross, and imposed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all movables, on such of their subjects as remained at home (1188). Prince Henry, the king's eldest son, died without issue, in 1183, and his third son, Geoffrey, was killed in a tournament at Paris, in 1185; and in 1188 Philip II. of France induced Prince Richard, heir-apparent to the English crown, to rebel against his father's authority. This led to a war between France and England, in which Henry was unsuccessful, and made a peace. Broken-hearted at the undutiful conduct of his children, he died soon after, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, at the castle of Chinon (1189). The character of Henry, both in public and private life, is almost without a blemish; and his natural endowments were equal to his moral qualities. He possessed every mental and personal accomplishment which can make a man either estimable or amiable. Like most of his predecessors of the Norman line, he spent more of his time on the continent than in England. The English nobility went with him abroad, and the French nobility visited the island in his train; so that all foreign improvements seem by this time to have been transplanted into England.

LETTER 29.—The German Empire and its Dependencies, under Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa, with some account of the Third Crusade. A.D. 1152—1190. Vol. i., pages 143—147.

§ 92. Frederic I. had no sooner settled the affairs of Germany than he marched into Italy, to quell disturbances, and to be crowned by the pope, in imitation of his predecessors (1154). In that very year Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman that ever filled the papal chair, had been elected pope, under the title of Adrian IV. The emperor at first refused to submit to the Roman ceremonial, which required him to prostrate himself before the pontiff, kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead his white palfrey by the bridle the distance of nine Roman paces; but at length went through these ceremonies, and was crowned at Rome (1155). On his return to Germany a tumult broke out at

Rome, because the pope had crowned him without the consent of the senate and people, and much blood was spilt, while Adrian declared that he had conferred on Frederic the fief of the Roman empire (1157). Frederic again marched into Italy, and forced Adrian to put a milder construction upon his expressions. In 1156, William I., king of Sicily, wrung a treaty from the pope, by which it was agreed that Sicily should never have any legate, nor be subject to any appeal to the see of Rome, except with the king's permission.

§ 93. Frederic having quelled some tumults in Germany, hastened into Italy for the third time, where he found everything in confusion. On the death of Adrian IV. (1159), two opposite factions elected different popes,—Victor IV. and Alexander III. The emperor declared for the former, and as his rival was supported by several powerful monarchs, took up arms. Milan was razed to the ground (1162), several cities were destroyed, and Alexander sought refuge in France. Victor died in 1164; whereupon Alexander returned to Rome, while the emperor caused Pascal III. to be elected; and on his death (1168), a successor was found in Calixtus III. The cities of Italy formed what was called the Lombard league for the defence of Italy (1167), and built a new city, which they called Alexandria, in honour of the pope. Several encounters took place, and at last the pope, the Greek emperor, and the Lombards, coalesced against Frederic (1169). The imperial army, worn out by fatigues and diseases, was defeated by the confederates, at the battle of Legnano, and Frederic himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner (1176). About the same time it is said that his eldest son, Henry, was defeated by the Venetians, and taken prisoner. In honour of this victory, Alexander sailed into the Adriatic Sea, accompanied by the whole senate; and, after having pronounced a thousand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring as a mark of his gratitude and affection. Hence, according to some authorities, originated that ceremony which was annually performed by the Venetians, called *Wedding the Adriatic*. In consequence of these misfortunes, the emperor, having first rallied his troops and got ready for another battle, showed a willingness to treat, and repaired to Venice. There he acknowledged Pope Alexander III., consented to a truce for six years, kissed his feet, and held his stirrup while he mounted his mule (1177). This truce was followed

in 1183 by the treaty of Constance, by which the independence of the Lombard republics was secured.

§ 94. Calixtus III., the anti-pope, submitted to Alexander (1178), and the latter called the third Lateran council, which decreed, among other matters, that the pope must be elected by the college of cardinals, and that two-thirds of the votes should be required to make a lawful election (1179). On his return to Germany, Frederic became involved in a struggle with Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom he conquered (1180—1182). This powerful rebel had married the daughter of Henry II. of England, to which country he retired, and his wife bore him a fourth son, from whom the present house of Brunswick, and the royal family of England, are descended. In the mean time Saladin invaded Palestine, took Damascus and Aleppo in 1183, and Jerusalem in 1187; upon which nearly the whole of Palestine fell into his power. Gregory VIII., then pope, who only ruled two months, and his successor Clement III., ordered the third crusade to be preached throughout Christendom, and many princes raised the standard of the cross. Frederic put himself at the head of the armies (1188), and soon filled Asia with the terror of his arms (1190). The hopes of the Oriental Christians were suddenly overcast by the death of their champion, who was drowned in the river Calycadnus (Salef), on the 10th of June, 1190. Thus perished Frederic I., in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was a prince of a firm spirit and strong talents, who had the good of his country always at heart, and who supported the dignity of the empire with equal courage and reputation.

CHAPTER IV.

LETTER 30.—France and England, from the Death of Henry II. to the grant of the Great Charter by King John, with a further account of the Third Crusade. A.D. 1189—1215. Vol. i., pages 148—158.

§ 95. THE death of Henry II. of England was an event esteemed equally fortunate by his son Richard, and by Philip Augustus, king of France. Philip lost a dangerous and implacable enemy, and Richard got possession of the crown, which he had so eagerly pursued. These princes seemed to consider the recovery of the Holy Land as the sole purpose of their government; but the calamities of the former crusades taught them the necessity of trying another route to the Holy Land, and they determined to conduct their armies thither by sea. They met on the plains of Vezelay, at the head of 100,000 men (1190). Philip took the road to Genoa, and Richard that to Marseilles. Both were driven by stress of weather into Messina, and compelled to winter there. Intrigues with the king of Sicily nearly caused these rival monarchs to take up arms against each other. After leaving Sicily, the English fleet was assailed by a furious tempest and driven on the coast of Cyprus (1191). Isaac Comnenus, despot of that island, pillaged some stranded vessels, when Richard, who arrived soon after, vanquished and dethroned him, and conferred the sovereignty on Guy of Lusignan. In consequence of these transactions, Richard reached Asia later than Philip, but arrived in time to assist in the siege of Ptolemais, or Acre, which had already been carried on for two years. The place surrendered on the 17th of July, 1191.

§ 96. Philip Augustus returned to France after this triumph, leaving ten thousand of his troops with Richard, and having renewed his oath not to wage war in Richard's territories during his absence. Unmindful of this promise, he seduced Prince John, King Richard's brother, from his allegiance, and did all he could to blacken Richard's character. He declared that the English king was privy to

the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, who had been taken off, as was well known, by an Asiatic chief, erroneously called *The Old Man of the Mountain*, the prince of the *Ansayrii*, *Nassairi*, or the *Assassins*, a word which has found its way into most European languages, from the evil practices of these bold and determined ruffians, against whose toils no precautions could avail.^a Richard's heroic actions in Palestine were the best apology for his conduct. At the battle of St. George's day (1192), the right and left wings of the Christian army were both broken, and in danger of being utterly defeated, when Richard, who commanded in the centre, restored the battle, and gained a complete victory over Saladin. Ascalon and other Christian cities were soon after reconquered, and the crusaders advanced to Jerusalem, when all the leaders, except Richard, advocated an immediate accommodation. Richard, therefore, the same year concluded a truce with Saladin for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours—a magical number, suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war. Richard was shipwrecked near Aquileia, and in attempting to pass through Germany, in the disguise of a pilgrim, was arrested and thrown into a dungeon, by Leopold, duke of Austria (1192). Saladin died at Damascus in 1193.

§ 97. Philip Augustus employed force, intrigue, and negotiation against the dominions and person of his unfortunate rival. He made the emperor Henry VI., into whose power Richard had really fallen, the largest offers for the royal prisoner; he formed an alliance by marriage with Denmark, desiring that the ancient Danish claim to the crown of England might be transferred to him; and he invaded Normandy, while the traitor John endeavoured to make himself master of England. But Richard had zealous friends. The pope threatened to excommunicate the princes

* Sharon Turner says of these Assassins: "In Persia and Syria a strange description of people had resided for above a century (1170—1270), known by the name of Assassins. In Syria they lived in the mountainous country above Tortosa, but subordinate to the Persian chief. They are described as performing implicitly the orders of their sheik; and, by an anomalous depravation of their moral habits, they were frequently employed to murder those, whether Christians or Mahometans, with whom their leaders were dissatisfied."

¹ The word sheik, implying elder as well as chief, has occasioned, by its inaccurate translation, the idea of "the old man of the mountains," who has been said to be their sovereign.

who held him in captivity (1193), and he was at last released for a ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand marks of pure silver,—about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money (1194). Richard was received in England with acclamation, and immediately passed into Normandy with an army to punish Philip Augustus. During this war Richard pardoned his brother John, and concluded a treaty of peace with Philip. He was wounded by an arrow while surveying the castle of Chalus (1199). The wound, in itself trifling, was rendered mortal by the unskilfulness of the surgeon. Richard I. was most celebrated for his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage or intrepidity to a greater height; and for this he was called *Cœur de Lion*, or the *Lion-hearted*.

§ 98. John seized the crown, but the succession was disputed by Arthur, duke of Brittany, son of John's elder brother Geoffrey; and the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, with the king of France, espoused the youth's cause. John, however, managed to get Arthur into his power, and had him inhumanly murdered (1202). John's misfortunes commenced with this crime. The whole world was struck with horror at his barbarity, and he was from that moment universally detested. The Bretons waged implacable war against him, in order to revenge the murder of their duke, and Philip II. summoned John to trial before him and his peers, and on his non-appearance, declared him guilty of felony and parricide; whereupon all his foreign dominions were adjudged forfeited to the crown of France (1203). Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and part of Poitou, were annexed by Philip (1206). On his arrival in England in disgrace, John became involved in a quarrel with the pope. Innocent III. claimed the right of nomination to the see of Canterbury, and appointed Stephen Langton (1207), whose appointment John refused to acknowledge, and Innocent III. laid the kingdom under an interdict (1208). While this was passing in England, the pope published a crusade against the Albigenses, Christians in the south of France who were uncontaminated by the mummeries of Rome. Simon of Montfort attacked these unhappy people, and they were pursued under circumstances of great barbarity (1208—1229)^b. Innocent excommunicated

^b Of the modern Albigenses of France, the Rev. G. S. Faber supposes (Inquiry, book ii. chap. i.) the Paulicians of Armenia to have been the

John (1209), and in 1212 deposed him, giving the crown to Philip Augustus. This monarch collected a large fleet in order to take possession of the prize, and John prepared to resist. To avert the storm, John did homage to Pandulph, the pope's legate, with all the humiliating rites which the feudal law required of vassals before their liege lord and superior. John agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand

"theological ancestors." The latter sprang up in the seventh century, and were called Paulicians, from their special admiration of the great apostle of the Gentiles. Wearied by persecutions, they quitted Asia, and sought refuge in Europe; some of them finally settling in the south of France. They congregated in the neighbourhood of Albi, whence they were denominated Albigenses, Albigenses, or Albigeois. In the beginning of the eleventh century they began to attract the notice of the dominant church, and the council of Tours, in 1163, prohibited all intercourse with them. Retreat or protection was denied them; and all dealing with them forbidden. Dr. Gilly has laboured to show that both the Albigenses in France, and the Waldenses in the Italian valleys, were native Christians, who retained their faith unsullied amid prevailing corruption; and who thus form the connecting link between the Primitive church of the apostolic age and the Reformed church of modern times.—(Waldensian Researches.) He adds, "The terms Vaudois in French, Vallenses in Latin, Valdesi, or Vallesi, in Italian, and Waldenses in English ecclesiastical history, signify nothing more or less than 'men of the valleys;' and as the valleys of Piedmont have had the honour of producing a race of people who have remained true to the faith introduced by the first missionaries who preached Christianity in those regions, the synonyms Vaudois, Valdesi, and Waldenses, have been adopted as the distinguishing name of a religious community, faithful to the primitive creed, and free from the corruptions of the church of Rome." Faber adopts the same opinion, especially with regard to the Waldenses, and regards them as constituting a pure visible church, by which the ancient faith of Christianity has been preserved, through all the middle ages of innovating superstition, sound and uncontaminated. They have both been accused of Manicheism, though apparently without sufficient grounds; and the question has caused a keen controversy among learned writers. Though different communities, the one inhabiting the Alps and the other the Pyrenees and parts of France, they held pretty much the same tenets, had the Bible in their native tongue, and were as simple in their faith as in their manners and mode of life. In times of danger and persecution, they established intercourse and communication, and consequently have often been taken the one for the other. Roman Catholic despots and writers soon learned to apply the name Waldenses, or Albigenses, as a term of reproach to all seceders from the church of Rome; hence many have borne the appellation whose lives were not the mirror of the pure doctrines of Christianity. Innocent III. caused a crusade to be preached against them; thousands were ruthlessly slaughtered; and Simon of Montfort and other leaders fell in a vain endeavour to quench the light of truth, which these simple Christians kept burning in a dark and fanatical age.

marks of silver a year; namely, seven hundred for England and three hundred for Ireland (1213). During this shameful negotiation, Philip waited impatiently at Boulogne for the legate's return. Pandulph at length arrived, and informed Philip that he was no longer permitted to attack England, which had become a fief of the church of Rome, and its king a vassal of the Holy See. The French fleet was destroyed by that of England, and Otho IV. entered into an alliance with John against Philip. This was dissolved by the battle of Bouvines (1214), at which Philip gained a complete victory.

§ 99. The barons, disgusted at the submission of John to the pope, and the loss of their privileges, made common cause with the clergy and the people. They laid waste the royal domains, and reduced John to such extremities, that he was constrained to consent to hold a conference at Runnemedes, between Staines and Windsor, where, after a debate of some days, *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter, which secured very important privileges to every order of men in the kingdom, was signed and sealed (June 19, 1215). The better to secure the execution of this charter, twenty-five barons were chosen as conservators of public liberty, and no bounds were set to the authority of these noblemen, either in extent or duration. This august body, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, were empowered to compel the king to observe the charter, and in case of resistance, might levy war against him. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under penalty of confiscation of their property, to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons, and the freeholders of every county were to choose twelve knights to make report of such evil customs as required redress.

LETTER 31.—The German Empire and its Dependencies, from the Accession of Henry VI. to the Election of Rodolph of Hapsburg, founder of the House of Austria; with a continuation of the History of the Crusades. A.D. 1190—1273. Vol. i., pages 158—167.

§ 100. Henry VI. of Germany, surnamed the Severe, succeeded his father Frederic I. (1190). The death of his brother-in-law, William, king of Naples and Sicily, about the same time, opened additional prospects to Henry, as he inherited his dominions in right of his wife. These were usurped by Tancred, her natural brother, and after having been crowned emperor by Cœlestine III. (1191), Henry proceeded, though in opposition to that prelate's wishes,

who claimed Naples and Sicily as a fief of the Holy See, to the conquest of the kingdom. All the towns of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria fell before him; but he was obliged to abandon the siege of Naples, on account of a dreadful mortality that broke out among his troops; and all attempts upon Naples and Sicily, during the life of Tancred, proved ineffectual. After his return to Germany, the emperor incorporated the Teutonic Knights into a regular order, religious and military, and built a house for them at Coblentz (1191). With the money paid for Richard of England's ransom, Henry VI. prepared to attack Sicily. Tancred died about this time (1194), and with the assistance of the Genoese, the emperor effected his purpose. The empress, though nearly fifty, gave birth to a son, and Henry, determined to render the imperial crown hereditary, induced the Diet to pass a decree for that purpose, and to declare Frederic, while still in his cradle, king of the Romans (1196).

§ 101. Another crusade was preached soon after the death of Saladin, in which Henry VI. pretended to take part, although he only marched into Italy, to wreak his vengeance upon those who had rebelled against his authority, leaving to others the task of conducting the levies into Palestine. The cruelties perpetrated by the emperor almost surpass belief. He was taken ill of a fever, and died at Messina, in 1197. His son Frederic II., a minor, under the guardianship of his uncle Philip, duke of Swabia, succeeded. This arrangement was supported by the Ghibelins, but the Guelfs named Otho of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, emperor. Innocent III., made pope on the death of Cœlestine III. (1198), supported Otho, and excommunicated Philip and his adherents. Amid all these dissensions and troubles, another crusade was planned for the recovery of Palestine (1201). Baldwin, count of Flanders, was made commander, and the Venetians furnished ships, in return for money and territory. Under pretence of expelling a usurper, the crusaders attacked and took Constantinople (1203), and gave the city up to pillage. Tumults occurred, and the very next year it was again captured, Baldwin made emperor, the Greek empire divided, and Constantinople for the second time rendered subject to the pope. The Venetians obtained several important maritime districts, by which their commerce was greatly extended. Many princes of the imperial line of Comnenus remained, who did not lose their courage with

the overthrow of their empire. One of them, named Alexius, took refuge on the coast of Colchis, and founded the empire of Trebizond. Other Greeks entered into alliances with the Arabs, the Bulgarians, and even the Turks. Baldwin was defeated and made prisoner by the Bulgarians, who cut off his legs and arms, leaving him a prey to wild beasts (1205). His brother and successor, Henry, was poisoned in 1216. In 1261, Baldwin II. was driven from the imperial city, the rule of the Latins overthrown, and the Greek empire re-established.

§ 102. The civil war in Germany terminated in favour of Philip, and Otho took refuge in England (1206). Philip proposed an accommodation with the pope, but before it could be carried into effect, he was assassinated at Bamberg, by the count palatine of Bavaria (1208). Otho immediately returned to Germany, married Philip's daughter (1209), and was crowned at Rome by Innocent III., after yielding the long-disputed inheritance of the Countess Matilda, and confirming the rights and privileges of the Italian cities. Otho afterwards revoked these concessions; whereupon Innocent III. excommunicated him (1210), and Frederic, then only fifteen years old, was elected emperor, by a diet of the German princes. Otho entered into an alliance with John, king of England, against Philip Augustus, which was dissolved by the defeat of their army at the battle of Bouvines (1214). Otho retired into Brunswick, lived in obscurity, although not actually deposed, and died in 1218. Frederic II. was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (1215), and universally acknowledged emperor. Innocent III. died in the next year; but just before his death extorted a promise from Frederic that he would undertake a crusade to the Holy Land.

§ 103. The emperor excused himself from the performance of his promise, until he should have regulated the affairs of Italy; but an infinite number of nobles and their vassals flocked to the fifth crusade, and Andrew, king of Hungary, was made generalissimo (1217). Honorius III. advocated the crusade with great eagerness; and in 1219, John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, captured Damietta, and threatened Cairo. Cardinal Albano,^a a Spanish Benedictine, joined the crusaders with reinforcements, and demanded to be made general. Appeal was made to the pope, who ordered the king of Jerusalem to serve under the Benedictine. John of Brienne immediately

^a Named Pelagius.

resigned, and the cardinal led the Christian army between two branches of the Nile, just at the time that river was beginning to overflow its banks (1221). The sultan flooded their camp, by opening the sluices, and while he burned their ships on one side, the Nile rose on the other, and threatened to swallow up their army. In order to extricate themselves from this danger, Damietta was restored; and the leaders of the crusade bound themselves not to serve against the sultan of Egypt for eight years. Frederic II. was now the only hope of the Christians: he had been crowned by Honorius III. at Rome in 1220; and that prelate, on hearing of the disastrous treaty, threatened excommunication if he did not instantly join the crusade. This Frederic refused to do, and a quarrel ensued between him and the pope. Honorius III., finding he could not intimidate this monarch, became submissive, and tendered apologies. A reconciliation followed, and a solemn assembly was held at Ferentino (1223). Frederic pledged himself to join the crusade within two years, to marry Yolante, daughter of John of Brienne, receiving the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dowry: and since that time the kings of Sicily have taken the title of king of Jerusalem. The emperor married Yolante in 1225, and a secret league against his authority, which had been formed in Lombardy, having been dissolved, Honorius reminded him of his vow. Frederic promised compliance; but Honorius died in 1227. Gregory IX., his successor, pursuing the same line of policy, urged his departure, and actually excommunicated him for refusing. The animosity between the Guelfs and Ghibelins revived, and Italy afforded a scene of war and desolation, in which assassinations and poisonings of princes became common occurrences.

§ 104. Frederic resolved at last to perform his vow (1228), when the pope actually prohibited his departure until he should have received absolution for his offences against the Church. Frederic paid no heed to this command, but sailed, and concluded a treaty with the sultan of Egypt, by which Jerusalem and many other cities in Palestine were restored to the Christians, and in return, the emperor granted the Saracens a truce for ten years (1229). Frederic returned to Italy, and soon reduced the cities of Lombardy that had revolted during his absence. He resisted the papal tyranny, and the pope incited his son Henry to rebel against his father (1234). The strife was waged furiously,

both with the sword and the pen, and Gregory ordered a crusade to be preached against the emperor (1240). The two factions of the Guelfs and Ghibelins continued to rage with greater violence than ever, involving cities, districts, and even private families, in troubles, divisions, and civil butcheries, no quarter being given on either side. Gregory IX. died in 1241, and was succeeded by Cœlestine IV., who only lived eighteen days after his election. The papal chair remained vacant twenty months, when Innocent IV. was elected (1243). This prelate attempted to obtain from Frederic a treaty upon his own terms, but failing, fled to Lyons, excommunicated the emperor, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. The German bishops—for none of the princes would assist—elected Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, emperor (1246). He died in 1247, when William, count of Holland, was appointed in his stead. In the mean time the pope renewed the crusade against Frederic, which was proclaimed by the Preaching Friars, since called Dominicans, and the Minor Friars, known by the name of Cordeliers or Franciscans, a new militia of the court of Rome, which about this time began to be established in Europe. This pontiff even engaged in conspiracies against the life of the emperor, for which reason the latter is said to have chosen the Mahometan guards. Fortune seemed to desert Frederic. He was defeated before Parma (1248), and retired into his kingdom of Naples, to recruit his army, where he died in 1250. He was a prince of great genius, erudition, and fortitude; and notwithstanding all the troubles he had to encounter, he built towns, founded universities, and gave a kind of new life to learning in Italy. A long interregnum followed between his death and the election of Rodolph (1273), in which several competitors contended for the crown. During this interval, Denmark, Hungary, and Holland entirely freed themselves from the homage they were wont to pay the empire; and several German cities established a municipal form of government. Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic united for their mutual defence, and formed the Hanseatic League.^b They were

^b With reference to the Hanseatic League, Hallam remarks:—"The origin of this is rather obscure, but it may certainly be nearly referred in point of time to the middle of the thirteenth century, and accounted for by the necessity of mutual defence, which piracy by sea and pillage by land had taught the merchants of Germany. The nobles endeavoured to obstruct the formation of this league, which, indeed, was in great

afterwards joined by eighty others, in a kind of commercial republic. Italy also, during this period, assumed a new form of government; and the freedom for which the cities of Lombardy had so long struggled, was confirmed to them for a sum of money.

LETTER 32.—England, from the Grant of the Great Charter to the Reign of Edward I. A.D. 1215—1272. Vol. i., pages 167—174.

§ 105. John sent the Great Charter to the pope, who issued a bull annulling it; whereupon John revoked the grant, hired foreign mercenaries, the rapacious and notorious Brabançons, and pulled off the mask. Langton, however, refused to publish the sentence of excommunication against the barons. The Brabançons devastated the kingdom, and the barons offered to acknowledge Prince Louis, eldest son of the king of France, provided he would send an army to assist them (1216). Philip, in spite of interdicts and excommunications, consented and persevered, and John was soon deserted by his mercenaries, mostly Frenchmen, who refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy. Overwhelmed with grief and vexation, this unworthy monarch retired to Newark, where he died (1216). His character is a compilation of vices, equally mean and odious, ruinous to himself and destructive to his people. Henry III., only nine years of age, succeeded his father, the earl of Pembroke being chosen protector; and power could not have been placed in better hands. Having expelled the French (1217), he made Henry renew the Great Charter (1218). This great and good man died in the midst of his useful labours (1219); and Henry on coming of age proved a weak and contemptible prince, whose folly again involved England in civil broils.

§ 106. Henry offended his subjects by his partiality for measure designed to withstand their exactions. It powerfully maintained the influence which the free imperial cities were at this time acquiring. Eighty of the most considerable places constituted the Hanseatic confederacy, divided into four colleges, whereof Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic were the leading towns. Lubeck held the chief rank, and became, as it were, the patriarchal see of the league; whose province it was to preside in all general discussions for mercantile, political, or military purposes, and to carry them into execution. The league had four principal factories in foreign parts,—at London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod; endowed by the sovereigns of those cities with considerable privileges, to which every merchant belonging to a Hanseatic town was entitled.”—*Middle Ages*, chap. ix., part ii.

foreigners, upon whom he lavished all his favours. He made an unsuccessful expedition into France in 1230, and having renewed the attempt in 1242, was defeated by Louis IX., and lost the remainder of his territories in Poitou. This unworthy monarch submitted entirely to the dictation of the pope. All the chief benefices of the kingdom were given to Italians, and non-residence and pluralities were carried to such a height, that Mansel, the king's chaplain, is said to have held, at one time, seven hundred ecclesiastical livings. The pope exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices; the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues, without exception; the third of such as exceeded one hundred marks a year; and the half of those held by non-residents. He also claimed the goods of all intestate clergymen, and pretended a right to inherit all money gained by usury. Under pretence of offering the crown of Sicily to Henry's son (1253), the pope induced that monarch to contribute money and treasure for its conquest. But the English at last interfered, refusing to grant the necessary supplies (1255). In 1236 the Parliament had assembled at Merton and unanimously rejected the canon law; so that even in these dark times the nation would not submit to the papal yoke.

§ 107. The struggle between the barons and the king was waged throughout this reign. Under the direction of Simon of Montfort, earl of Leicester, a man of great talents and boundless ambition, a meeting, called the "Mad Parliament," was summoned at Oxford (1258), when the "Provisions of Oxford" were passed. Twelve barons were selected from among the king's ministers, twelve more were chosen by the Parliament, and to this council unlimited authority was given to reform the state. Leicester and the new council enjoyed the supreme power for three years, but they did not faithfully discharge their duty, and Urban IV. absolved the king and all his subjects from the oath which they had taken to observe the Provisions of Oxford (1261). Civil war ensued, and at the battle of Lewes (May 14, 1264), Simon of Montfort defeated the king, taking him and the princes prisoners. Montfort now openly aspired at power, and, fearing opposition, summoned a new parliament, more democratic in its character. He ordered not only two knights to be returned for every shire, but also citizens and burgesses from the boroughs. Thus did this ambitious man introduce a second order of men into the national council, and lay the foundation of representative government in

England (1265). The royalists again took up arms; Montfort was slain at the battle of Evesham (Aug. 4, 1265), and the rebellion of the barons crushed. The victory was used with moderation, and none of the national liberties were suppressed. In 1270 Prince Edward joined the crusades, in which he greatly distinguished himself. The Saracens employed an assassin to murder the young prince, who wounded him in the arm, but paid for his treachery with his life. Yielding to the solicitations of his father, Edward quitted the Holy Land; but Henry died before his son reached England (1272). Henry III. was a weak prince; hence arose his negligence with respect to promises; and for the sake of present convenience, he was easily induced to sacrifice the lasting advantages to be derived from the trust and confidence of his people.

LETTER 33.—France, from the Death of Philip Augustus to the end of the Reign of Louis IX., with some account of the Last Crusade. A.D. 1223—1270. Vol. i., pages 174—178.

§ 108. Philip Augustus reunited many fine provinces to France at the expense of England; even attempted the conquest of our island, and at his death left his kingdom nearly double its former size (1223). Louis VIII., his successor, spent most of his short reign in the crusade against the Albigenses,^a and died in 1226, leaving the kingdom to his youthful son, Louis IX., commonly called St. Louis. His mother, Blanche of Castile, administered the regency with prudence and firmness; and the young king no sooner came of age than he was universally acknowledged to be the greatest prince in Europe. The chief defect in his character was subserviency to the papal authority, and he carried this so far as to favour the tribunal of the Inquisition. Being seized with a dangerous illness, he made a vow to engage in a new crusade (1244). He spent four years in preparations, and at last set sail for Cyprus, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, and almost all the knights of France (1248). The Moguls, or Western Tartars,^b under Genghis-Khan, had

* During this sanguinary crusade, the terrible tribunal of the Inquisition was instituted. St. Dominic, or St. Domingo, the founder of the religious order of the Dominicans, in 1215 received a commission from Pope Innocent III. to judge and deliver to judgment, apostate, and relapsed, and obstinate heretics; and this was the commencement of that pernicious system by which so much innocent blood has been shed. The council of Toulouse, in 1229, established the infamous tribunal on a sure basis.

^b This word is properly "Tatars."

just before this time overrun Asia. This wonderful conqueror died in 1227, when preparing to complete the conquest of China. His empire was divided among his four sons; and one of his grandsons drove the Turks out of Anatolia, put an end to the rule of the caliphs of Bagdad, and spread terror to the very gates of Constantinople. The Karismians, retreating before the Moguls, overran Syria and Palestine, and in 1243 captured Jerusalem, putting the inhabitants to the sword. The Christians, however, still possessed Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Ptolemais, and other cities.^c

§ 109. Such was the situation of the East, and of the Oriental Christians, when St. Louis set out for their relief. This prince wintered at Cyprus, and then sailed for Egypt, landed near the city of Damietta, which surrendered (1249). The crusaders were defeated at the battle of Massoura (April 5, 1250), at which Louis and many of his nobility were made prisoners. A treaty was concluded, by which Damietta was restored, in consideration of the king's liberty, and a thousand pieces of gold paid for the ransom of the other prisoners. Louis remained four years longer in Palestine without effecting anything of consequence. The distracted state of France, and the death of the queen-mother, at last induced him to return (1254). Having repaired by judicious reforms many of the evils caused by his absence, he got ready for a new crusade. In 1270 he suppressed the wager of battle, and provided for a regular administration of justice. The same year he landed in Africa, and besieged Tunis, hoping to convert the king. In this object he failed: the plague broke out in his army, to which, after losing one of his sons, he fell a victim. His son and successor saved the remains of the French army from the Moors, for which he received the surname of the Hardy.

LETTER 34.—Spain, from the middle of the Eleventh to the end of the Thirteenth Century. A.D. 1035—1312. Vol. i., pages 178—181.

§ 110. Ferdinand I., son of Sancho, surnamed the Great, king of Navarre and Arragon, reunited to his dominions Old Castile, together with the kingdom of Leon (1035). The history of Don Roderigo, surnamed the Cid, who actually married Ximena, whose father he had murdered, is

^c The Karismians, called by Gibbon "shepherds of the Caspian," had settled on the lower Oxus and Caspian Sea; and the Mogul Tartars are supposed to have issued from the farthest regions of Chinese Tartary. About this time they established themselves in Russia.

worthy of notice. The numerous kings of Spain were attended by many independent lords, who came on horseback completely armed, followed by several squires, to offer their services to the princes and princesses engaged in war. These rulers girded their lords with a belt, presented them with a sword, with which they gave them a slight blow on the shoulder: hence the origin of knights errant, and of the number of single combats, which so long desolated Spain. Of all the Spanish knights, the Cid distinguished himself most eminently against the Moors. He overcame several Moorish kings; and having fortified the city of Alcazar, he erected a petty sovereignty (1087). Before this he had captured Toledo, when all New Castile and Madrid, then a small place, had fallen into the hands of the Christians (1084). The Cid also subdued Valencia; and, although few Spanish princes were so powerful, he continued faithful to his master Alphonso, while he governed Valencia with the authority of a sovereign. He died in 1099, and was buried at Burgos.

§ 111. Alphonso, surnamed *el Batallador*, took Saragossa from the Moors (1118); but being defeated by them at Fraga (1134), he died of chagrin, leaving Navarre and Arragon to the Knights Templars.^a Alphonso VII., king of Castile, rescued these states from the divisions that afterwards beset them, and assumed the title of emperor of Spain. The Spanish Christians might easily have expelled the Moors;

^a Several military orders were established during the Crusades. Of these the most celebrated were the Knights of the Temple, founded by Sir Hugh de Pagano, in 1118; those of the Hospital of St. John, instituted in 1124; and the order of the Teutonic Knights, in 1191. The two former devoted themselves more particularly to the deliverance of the Holy Land, and became both affluent and powerful. Arms were their profession; they had no country but Jerusalem, and no family but that of Jesus Christ. St. Bernard was the patron saint of the Templars, and their order was favoured by several popes, and approved of by a council. They at first prospered greatly, performed prodigies of valour, but their discipline was relaxed, and they became corrupted. They quitted the East with immense spoils; were afterwards accused, unjustly it seems, of having entered into an alliance with the infidels, of having blasphemed the Christian religion, and given up the Holy Land to the Saracens. Upon these charges their grand master, and all their knights in France, were seized, by order of Philip IV., in 1307. In 1310, the Templars were acquitted by some councils, and by others condemned to be burnt alive. At the council of Vienne (1311 and 1312) the order was suppressed, and several more of the unfortunate Templars were given over to the flames; and in 1314, Molay, their grand master, was burnt alive, at Paris.

and at length they united in the league of Mallen (1209), impelled by a sense of common danger, and they also implored the assistance of other Christian princes of Europe. The Moors had been reinforced by an army of one hundred thousand men, and a terrible conflict occurred. They were entirely defeated on the plains of Tolosa (July 16, 1212); but the Christians did not follow up their victory so vigorously as they might have done. Another Spanish conqueror appeared in Ferdinand III., called the Saint, who took Cordova, and part of Andalusia (1236); subdued the province of Murcia, and captured Seville (1247). Spain justly reverences the name of Ferdinand III. as one of the deliverers of his country; he died in 1252. His immediate successors did not accomplish much. Ferdinand IV. took Gibraltar in 1308. He is called by Spanish historians the Summoned; and the reason assigned for it is rather remarkable: when in a fit of anger, he had ordered two noblemen to be thrown from the top of a rock, they summoned him to appear in the presence of God within a month; at the end of which time he died (1312).

LETTER 35.—Progress of Society in Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. A.D. 1100—1300. Vol. i., pages 181—185.

§ 112. The progress of refinement during these two centuries was slow, being often altogether obstructed by monastic austerities, theological disputes, ecclesiastical broils, and the disorders of feudal anarchy. Society, however, made many beneficial advances before the close of this period. The influence of the spirit of chivalry on manners was great and singular; it enlarged the generousities of the human heart, and soothed its ferocity. But being unhappily blended with superstition, it became the means of violence; armed one half of the species against the other, and precipitated Europe upon Asia. Yet the Crusades, though barbarous and destructive in themselves, were followed by many important consequences, equally conducive to the welfare of the community and of the individual. The commercial effects of the Crusades were not less considerable than their political influence. Ships were required, trade was fostered, and commerce extended. The Italian cities grew rich, powerful, and obtained extensive privileges. Some of them erected themselves into sovereignties, others into corporations or independent communities; and

their establishment may be regarded as the first great step towards civilization in modern Europe.

§ 113. The effects upon government were as great as upon manners. A community of interests led to a community of rights. The inhabitants of cities having obtained personal freedom, and municipal jurisdiction, soon aspired at civil liberty and political power; and the commons obtained a place in the national assemblies. The villains or slaves were enfranchised; and the odious names of master and slave abolished. New prospects opened, new incitements were offered to ingenuity and enterprise. An approach was also made towards a more regular administration of justice. Trial by ordeal and by duel were abolished in most countries before the end of the thirteenth century, and attempts were made to restrain the practice of private war—one of the greatest abuses in the feudal policy, and one which struck at the foundation of all government. The accidental discovery of a copy of Justinian's Pandects led to a reform of the law. The study of the Roman law had the effect of causing colleges and universities to be founded; and academical titles and honours were soon after invented. A false taste unhappily infected these seminaries; but study, although at first misdirected, roused the human mind. Some ages indeed elapsed before taste, order, and politeness were restored to society; but anarchy and barbarism gradually disappeared with ignorance; the evils of life, with its crimes; and public and private happiness grew daily better understood; until Europe came to enjoy all those advantages, pleasures, and tender sympathies which are necessary to alleviate the pains inseparable from existence, and soothe the sorrows allied to humanity.

CHAPTER V.

LETTER 36.—England during the Reign of Edward I., with an Introduction to the History of Scotland ; some Account of the Conquest of that Country by the English, and the final Reduction of Wales. A.D. 1272—1307. Vol. i., pages 185—194.

§ 114. EDWARD I. succeeded his father in 1272, observed the Great Charter, and by an exact distribution of justice and a rigid execution of the laws, at once gave protection to the inferior orders of the state, and diminished the arbitrary power of the nobles. Thus the condition of the kingdom was soon wholly changed ; order and tranquillity were restored to society, and vigour to government. In 1276, Edward undertook an expedition against Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had before joined the rebellious barons. Llewellyn retired to the hills of Snowdon, and was at length compelled to submit (1277). Fresh disputes arose, Edward again attacked Wales, when Llewellyn was defeated and slain by Roger Mortimer, one of the English king's generals (1282) ; and the next year Wales was finally subdued and annexed. In this conquest Edward behaved very cruelly, and ordered all the Welsh bards to be put to death, from a belief, and no absurd one, that he could more easily subdue the independent spirit of the people when their minds ceased to be roused by the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, preserved in the traditional poems of those minstrels, and recited or sung by them on all public occasions and days of festivity. In 1284, Queen Eleanor gave birth to a son, afterwards Edward II., at Caernarvon Castle, from which circumstance the eldest son of the king of England takes the title of prince of Wales.

§ 115. When William, king of Scotland, was taken prisoner by Henry II., he agreed to do homage to the English monarch for his kingdom (1174). Richard I. renounced this claim, which Edward I., taking advantage of the embarrassed state of affairs in Scotland, thought fit to revive. On the death of Alexander III. in 1286, without issue, his grand-daughter

Margaret, "the fair maid of Norway," a child, succeeded; but she died on her passage from Norway, in 1290, when Robert Bruce and John Balliol disputed for the crown. The parliament of Scotland chose Edward umpire, and he summoned all the Scottish barons to attend him in the castle of Norham (1291), when he induced them to acknowledge Scotland as a fief of the English crown, and swear fealty to him as their sovereign or liege lord. Having obtained possession of the kingdom, Edward gave judgment in favour of Balliol, who renewed the oath of fealty to England and mounted the throne (1292). Balliol refused to attend in London at a summons from Edward (1293), and seemed to aspire at independence.

§ 116. Edward was at the same time at war with France, and in order to obtain supplies, he was induced to follow the example of the earl of Leicester, and summon the lower orders of the state to the public councils. The former precedent had been discontinued in all succeeding parliaments. Writs were accordingly issued for two deputies to be sent from every borough, provided with sufficient powers to vote supplies (1295). Balliol having been absolved from his oath of fealty by the pope, entered into a league with the king of France, when Edward marched into Scotland and reduced him to submission (1296). Edward brought the Scotch crown, sceptre, and coronation-stone to London, imprisoned Balliol in the Tower of London, and left Scotland under the government of the earl of Warrenne. Edward was not equally successful in his efforts to recover Guienne, and an army sent over for that purpose, failed in the attempt (1297). The king experienced great difficulty in obtaining supplies, especially from the clergy. Boniface VIII. by a papal bull, forbade ecclesiastics to pay taxes imposed by temporal princes; Edward retaliated, put them out of the protection of the law, and so miserable did their condition become, that they were compelled to submit (1296). Still the supplies were not adequate to the expenses of the war, and when Edward levied some arbitrary taxes, the barons and the people rebelled, and obliged him to confirm the Great Charter, with an additional clause, that no taxes should be raised without the consent of parliament (1297). In the next year, a truce of two years was made with France; the pope then mediated, and Guienne was restored to England.

§ 117. In the mean time Scotland had rebelled, and found

a deliverer in William Wallace, who drove the English out of that country. Edward II. was in Flanders when intelligence of this revolt reached him. He hastened home, collected an army, and defeated the Scotch at the battle of Falkirk (July 22, 1298), with great slaughter. The contest was, however, waged furiously for some time, the Scotch appealed to the pope, and in 1305 Wallace was taken prisoner, and executed upon Tower Hill. Robert Bruce, son of the former competitor for the Scotch crown, of the same name, was now made king of Scotland, and he again expelled the English (1306). As Edward was advancing with a large force to avenge the defeat, he sickened and died at Carlisle, enjoining, with his latest breath, his son and successor to prosecute the war, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom (1307). As a legislator, Edward the First's merits were undoubtedly great, and have justly obtained for him the honourable appellation of the English Justinian. The numerous statutes passed during his reign settle the chief points of jurisprudence; and, as Sir Edward Coke observes, truly deserve the name of establishments, because they have been more constant and durable laws than any made since. Yet we cannot ascribe these reforms to a love of equity in Edward, for in all his transactions, he always desired to have his hands free.

LETTER 37.—England during the Reign of Edward II., with an Account of the Affairs of Scotland. A.D. 1307—1327. Vol. i., pages 194—199.

§ 118. No prince ever ascended the English throne with greater advantages than Edward II. In 1308 he married the daughter of the king of France, and was soon after crowned at Westminster. Instead of prosecuting the conquest of Scotland, he gave himself up entirely to a favourite, one Piers Gaveston, who had been banished by Edward I. This foolish conduct aroused the barons to revolt, and they compelled him to send Gaveston out of the kingdom. In 1309 Edward recalled his favourite, when the barons again rebelled, and Gaveston was once more banished. Edward recalled him in 1311, and the next year Gaveston was made prisoner by the barons, and executed. Robert Bruce, who had liberated Scotland, frequently invaded England, and Edward, at last aroused from his lethargy, marched with an army into Scotland, but was defeated at the battle of Bannockburn (June 25, 1314), which secured the independence of Scotland. Wales rebelled, an insurrection

broke out in Ireland, and the factious conduct of the nobility distracted the king. Edward had adopted a new favourite, Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, which involved him in fresh troubles with his turbulent barons. After several conflicts, Edward and his favourites triumphed at Borough-bridge (1322), and several of the most formidable of the king's enemies were tried and executed.

§ 119. In 1323, Edward made another unsuccessful invasion of Scotland, whereupon he entered into a truce of thirteen years. In the next year Queen Isabella went to France, in order to settle the quarrel between Edward and the king of France, respecting Guienne. In that country she formed a guilty intimacy with Roger Mortimer, a powerful Welsh noble, who had been condemned for high treason, but who managed to effect his escape. The wicked pair plotted to overthrow the Despensers (1325). On her arrival in England, the king was entirely deserted and fled to Wales (1326). The Despensers were seized and executed, and the king was confined in Kenilworth Castle. The parliament deposed Edward II., and placed his son, Edward III., then only fourteen years of age, on the throne, under the regency of his mother (1327). Edward II. was removed to Berkeley Castle, where he was afterwards assassinated under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. Thus perished Edward II., and it is difficult to imagine a man more innocent and inoffensive, or a prince less fitted to govern a fierce and turbulent people.

LETTER 38.—The German Empire and its Dependencies, from the Election of Rodolph of Hapsburg to the Death of Henry VII. A.D. 1273—1313. Vol. i., pages 199—205.

§ 120. Under the able government of Rodolph of Hapsburg, the disorders that had prevailed during the interregnum were suppressed, and peace and security re-established in Germany. He assembled a diet at Augsburg, in 1275, at which Ottocar, king of Bohemia, who had seized the duchy of Austria, refused to appear to do homage, and was put to the ban of the empire. Although associated with several German princes, he was compelled to submit, relinquish the contested territories, and do homage (1276). His wife, a Russian princess, induced him to renounce the treaty, when a battle ensued at Marchfeld (Aug. 26, 1278), in which Ottocar was slain, and Austria annexed to the dominions of the house of Hapsburg. Italy caused this ruler serious dis-

quietude. The last years of his life were spent in establishing the grandeur of his family in Austria. He could not procure the election of his son Albert, duke of Austria, to be king of the Romans, and this, together with the death of his son Rodolph, broke his heart (1291). He was a prince of great valour, sagacity, and probity; and raised the empire from a state of misery and confusion, to the enjoyment of peace, policy, and riches.

§ 121. After an interregnum of nine months, caused by the dissensions of the German princes, Adolphus of Nassau was raised to the imperial throne (1292). The reign of this prince was one continued scene of trouble, and at last terminated in his deposition. Albert, duke of Austria, was elected by the princes of the empire, and Adolphus disputing the legality of the proceeding, was slain, at the battle of Rosenthal (July 2, 1298). During these two reigns the Jews were persecuted with great cruelty, and numbers killed by the Christians. Albert was solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. In this reign Switzerland commenced the struggle for her independence. In consequence of the tyrannical proceedings of the German governors appointed by Albert, Underwald, Schwitz, and Uri formed a confederation (1308) for their deliverance. The other cantons afterwards joined in this confederacy, which gave birth to the republic of Switzerland. During the contest, Albert was assassinated by his nephew John (1308). The blow was struck in the presence of the court and army, on the banks of the river Rus, near Switzerland. No sovereign was ever less regretted. The imperial throne remained vacant for seven months, when the electors assembled at Frankfort, and named Henry VII., count of Luxemburg (1309).

§ 122. The successors of Frederic II. seem to have lost sight of Italy, but Henry VII., as soon as he had settled the affairs of the North, determined to re-establish the imperial authority in that country. For this purpose a diet was held at Frankfort (1310), where proper supplies were granted for the Roman expedition. Italy was still divided by the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibelins, but their contest was no longer the same. It was not now a struggle between the empire and the priesthood, but between faction and faction, inflamed by mutual jealousies and animosities. Clement V. had been compelled to leave Rome. The Colonna and the Ursini factions and the Roman barons divided the city; and this division was

the cause of the long abode of the popes in France. Sicily had fallen under the rule of the house of Arragon, in consequence of the famous massacre, called the Sicilian Vespers, which delivered that island from the French (1282). The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country (1308). The old league of the Italian cities no longer existed. The Florentines and the Genoese made war upon the republic of Pisa. Every city was also divided into factions: Florence between the Blacks and the Whites (1300) (by the former, Dante was banished in 1301); and Milan, between the Visconti and the Turriani. In the midst of these troubles Henry VII. appeared in Italy, and was crowned king of Lombardy, at Milan (1311). Having subdued Italy, he died at Buonconvento, in Tuscany, of poison, administered, as it is commonly supposed, by a Dominican friar, in the sacramental wine (1313).

LETTER 39.—France, from the Death of Louis IX. till the Accession of the House of Valois. A.D. 1270—1328. Vol. i., pages 205—210.

§ 123. Philip III., surnamed the Hardy, succeeded his father, Louis IX., in 1270. The most remarkable feature in his reign, is the interest which he took in the affairs of his uncle, Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily.^a By his boundless ambition, and the severity of his government, Charles rendered himself and his family odious to the Sicilians. John di Procida, a proscribed adherent of the deposed house of Swabia, instigated by the Greek emperor, and other enemies of Charles, who viewed his rising power with jealousy, secretly fanned the flames of discontent, and laid the train of a general revolt. On the vigil of Easter-day, a young Sicilian damsel was insulted by a French soldier, and a countryman stabbed the offender to the heart. A tumult ensued, in which about two hundred Frenchmen were slain on the spot; and the cry, "Kill the French,"

^a Charles aspired to the crown of the Two Sicilies, and wrested the prize from Manfred, at the battle of Benevento (February 26, 1266). He then endeavoured to achieve conquests in Africa, Greece, and Palestine. Louis IX. restrained the ardour of his more warlike brother, and induced him to join that crusade in which he himself fell a victim. At the death of Louis IX., Charles entered into a league against the Greek empire, and assembled a fleet and an army in the Italian seaports. The dreadful insurrection, known as the Sicilian Vespers, averted the blow from the Greek empire, and precipitated Charles of Anjou from his throne.

passed from mouth to mouth. The famous Sicilian Vespers had commenced, which ended in the expulsion of Charles of Anjou. Peter of Arragon was named king of Sicily, and Philip III. made war to win back the crown for his uncle Charles, and to obtain Arragon and Valencia for his own son, Charles de Valois. In this attempt he was unsuccessful, and the loss of his fleet and supplies affected him so deeply, that he died at Perpignan, in 1285. Peter of Arragon and Charles of Anjou both died during the same year. Philip III. was the first French monarch who granted letters of nobility, which he bestowed upon Ralph the Goldsmith; and in so doing he restored the ancient constitution of the Franks.

§ 124. The reign of Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, forms an era in the history of France, by the civil and political regulations to which it gave birth; the institution of the supreme tribunals, called Parliaments, and the formal admission of the Commons, or third estate, into the general assemblies of the nation. Although Edward I. had mediated between this prince and his enemies, and effected an accommodation, Philip commenced hostilities against Edward, while the latter was engaged in a war with Scotland (1293). He soon became involved in a struggle with Boniface VIII., one of the most ambitious of the Roman bishops. This prelate by a papal bull prohibited the clergy from granting any aids or subsidies to princes without his leave (1296). Philip replied by an edict, forbidding any of the French clergy to send money abroad without the royal permission. Philip was excommunicated the very next year, and the French clergy ordered to repair to Rome. Philip burnt the pope's bull, prohibited the clergy from leaving the kingdom, and seized upon the temporalities of those who disobeyed the order. This monarch then assembled the States-General, who acknowledged his independent right to the sovereignty of France, and disavowed the pope's claim (1302). It was on this occasion that the representatives of cities were first summoned to the national assembly in France. Philip then entered into a league with some Italian malcontents, who seized Boniface VIII., and treated him so ill, that he died soon after (1303).

§ 125. Benedict XI. was the next pope, but his mild and temperate measures caused him to be assassinated (1304). The cardinals kept the papal chair vacant for some months, and then conferred the tiara upon Clement V. With his

assistance Philip suppressed the Knights Templars, who had grown rich and relaxed the severity of their discipline. They had abandoned the rules of monastic life, and spent their time in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. The grand master and all the knights in France were imprisoned, and their possessions seized (1307); many of them were put to the rack, and others were burnt alive. In 1309 the papal see was removed to Avignon; and a general council, assembled at Vienne, in Dauphiny (1311 and 1312), suppressed the order of the Knights Templars, and their possessions were divided among several sovereigns, while the Hospitallers took a large portion. Philip again attempted to unite Flanders to the French crown, and failing, he fell into a languishing consumption, which carried him off, in the forty-seventh year of his age (1314). He was certainly a prince of great talents; and, notwithstanding his vices, France ought to reverence his memory. By fixing the parliaments, or supreme courts of judicature, he secured the ready execution of justice to all his subjects; and though his motive might not have been the most generous for calling the third estate into the national council, he by that measure put it into the power of the French nation to establish a free government.

§ 126. Louis X., surnamed Hutin, or the Quarrelsome, succeeded, and after various acts of injustice and cruelty, the most flagrant of which was the execution of his prime minister, Marigni, he attempted to annex Flanders, failed, and died in 1316. A violent dispute arose with regard to the succession on this monarch's death. His posthumous son John, by his second wife, only lived eight days, and a daughter by his first wife claimed the crown. The states of the kingdom assembled, and by a solemn decree declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. This is called the Salic law, because it is supposed to form a clause in the Salic code, the body of laws of an ancient tribe among the Franks. Philip V., surnamed the Long, brother to Louis X., was proclaimed king; he died in 1322, and was succeeded by his brother Charles IV., surnamed *le Bel*, or the Fair. He quarrelled with his brother-in-law Edward II. of England, respecting Guienne, and died in 1328. As this monarch left no male issue, Philip of Valois, the next male heir, was unanimously placed on the throne.

LETTER 40.—England, Scotland, France, and Spain, during the Reign of Edward III. A.D. 1327—1377. Vol. i., pages 210—224.

§ 127. During the earlier years of Edward the Third's reign, Roger Mortimer and the guilty queen-mother monopolized power, put the young king's uncle, the earl of Kent, to death, and imprisoned many of the prelates and the nobility. Edward resolved to assume the reins himself, and by the aid of some of his nobles, Mortimer was arrested and executed, and the queen imprisoned (1330). She languished out five-and-twenty years in sorrow rather than penitence, at Castle Rising, in Norfolk. Edward immediately redressed the grievances of the people, and provided for the strict administration of justice. In 1332, Edward Balliol was crowned king of Scotland at Scone; but was afterwards driven into England by Sir Archibald Douglas. Edward III. rushed to the rescue, defeated the rebels at the battle of Halidown Hill (July 19, 1333); besieged and took Berwick, and annexed it to England; while Balliol was restored and did homage to Edward as his superior lord. The Scotch grew dissatisfied with their king, and again rebelled (1334). Edward soon reduced them to obedience, and once more set Balliol upon the throne. Another revolt ensued the very next year with precisely the same results.

§ 128. Through his mother Isabella, sister of Charles IV. or *le Bel*, Edward founded a claim to the crown of France. It was at once disregarded, the title of Philip of Valois recognized and acknowledged, and Edward did homage to Philip for Guienne. The claim would in all probability never have been revived, had it not been for the intrigues of Robert of Artois, who had married Philip's sister. He had fallen into disgrace at the court of France, and, taking refuge in England, excited Edward against his brother-in-law. Philip thought he should be wanting in the first principles of policy, if he abandoned Scotland; and Edward pretended that he must renounce all claim to generosity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert of Artois. Alliances were formed on both sides, and great preparations were made for war. The Flemings had at that time risen to great importance, and Edward sought their alliance. They had recently revolted against their nobles, under the leadership of James Van Artevelde, a brewer of Ghent (1336), who ruled that province. This democratic ruler was a terrible despot. Edward landed with a large army in Antwerp in 1338, and

assumed the title of king of France. The first campaign produced nothing but conferences and mutual defiances, and Edward, distressed for want of money, was obliged to disband his army and return to England. Having promised to redress grievances and to grant privileges to the boroughs, Edward raised supplies; and on his return to Flanders, attacked the French fleet, took two hundred and thirty French ships, and killed thirty thousand men. This was the only important result of the second campaign; and as Philip refused a challenge to decide the matter by single combat, by an action of one hundred against one hundred, or by a general engagement, Edward found it necessary to conclude a truce for one year (1340).

§ 129. The truce would in all likelihood have been converted into a solid peace, had it not been for an unexpected circumstance. The count of Montfort seized the duchy of Brittany, in opposition to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew, went over to England, and offered to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the said duchy. An alliance was immediately formed, and on the capture of the count of Montfort soon after, his wife, Jane of Flanders, the most extraordinary woman of her time, retrieved the affairs of Brittany. She defended herself valiantly in Hennebonne; Edward sent Robert of Artois with a reinforcement, and afterwards went to her assistance himself. Robert was killed before Vannes (1342); and Edward concluded a truce for three years, on honourable terms for himself and the countess (1343). This truce was soon broken, Edward ravaged Normandy, and approached the gates of Paris; but at the advance of Philip retreated towards Flanders. On approaching the river Somme, Edward found all the bridges either broken down or strongly guarded. The English king crossed the river in a brilliant manner, drew up his troops near the village of Cressy, and awaited the attack of the French. His army was divided into three lines; the first being commanded by the prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. The battle began about three, and continued till towards evening, when the whole French army fled (Aug. 25, 1346). Forty thousand of the French are said to have fallen, and the victory is in a great measure attributed to some pieces of artillery, which were on this occasion used by the English for the first time. John, king of Bohemia, for some years

blind, fell in the French ranks ; and as a memorial of this triumph, his arms and crest *Ich dien*, have been retained by the prince of Wales. Edward continued his march towards Calais with his victorious army.

§ 130. David Bruce, king of Scotland, invaded England with an army of fifty thousand men, during Edward's absence. Philippa advanced to meet him with twelve thousand men. She gave the command to Lord Percy ; a fierce engagement ensued at Neville's Cross, near Durham (Oct. 17, 1346), when the Scotch were broken and driven off the field with great slaughter. Fifteen thousand of them were slain, and the king himself taken prisoner. After this victory, Philippa joined her husband before Calais, where she was received with great enthusiasm. Calais fell, after an obstinate siege of twelve months (Aug. 4, 1347). The terms of the capitulation were severe. Six of the principal citizens were required to carry the keys of the city to the English camp, bareheaded, barefooted, and with ropes about their necks, like malefactors doomed to die. Eustace de St. Pierre nobly volunteered for this perilous service, and the number of voluntary victims was speedily completed. Edward, exasperated at the stout resistance of the place, ordered these noble fellows for immediate execution, but Philippa threw herself upon her knees before her husband, and obtained their release. The inhabitants were expelled, and it was peopled anew with English subjects. A truce was soon afterwards concluded with France, and Edward returned in triumph to England. The order of the Garter, by some said to have been instituted by Richard I. (1192), and by others, by Edward I., was at all events revived in this reign (1349).

§ 131. A terrible plague swept over Europe in 1348, and in London alone 50,000 are said to have perished. Philip of Valois died in 1350, without having re-established the affairs of France, which his unsuccessful war with England had thrown into great disorder. His son, John II., or the Good, succeeded. Charles, king of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, a scion of the royal race, induced the king's son Charles to rebel against his father. This prince was the first that bore the title of Dauphin, from Dauphiny, which was in 1349 ceded to Philip of Valois, on condition that the heirs to the French throne should bear the arms and name of that province. Charles, however, relented ; invited the king of Navarre and other noblemen of the party to a

feast at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John (1355). Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. But this stroke of severity in the French monarch, and of treachery in the Dauphin, did not restore the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles the Bad, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt revolted, and had immediate recourse to England. The truce between the two kingdoms, never very rigidly observed, had now expired, and war was again renewed. Encouraged by the success of the first campaign, the prince of Wales penetrated into the heart of France, with an army of only twelve thousand men. John, provoked at the insult, advanced to meet him with sixty thousand combatants. The French king overtook the English at Maupertuis, near Poitiers, when the Black Prince, by his courage and prudence, defeated the French, and took their king prisoner (Sept. 19, 1356). Edward treated his royal captive with great humanity, serving at his table, as if he had been one of his retinue. The prince of Wales conducted the royal prisoner to Bordeaux, and after concluding a truce for two years, brought him over to England (1357). Here John met a brother in affliction, David of Scotland, who had been nearly eleven years in captivity. Edward consented to restore David Bruce to liberty for a ransom of one hundred thousand marks sterling.

§ 132. France was violently distracted. In 1356 the Dauphin convoked the States-General, when a struggle commenced between these rival powers. Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, headed the populace. At the meeting of the States-General in 1357 he dictated terms to the Dauphin, and appointed thirty-six commissaries, taken from among themselves, to administer the finances, and direct affairs in concert with the prince. The Dauphin afterwards endeavoured to evade these terms and to get up a demonstration in his favour, when Marcel became actual king of Paris. He caused two marshals of France to be massacred, and detained the Dauphin in captivity. The latter escaped, and with the nobles, prepared to take revenge. Then followed the general rising of the French peasantry, known as the insurrection of *La Jacquerie*, so called from the cant phrase *Jacques bon homme*, applied to men of that class (1358). The gentry were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy. Their castles were destroyed,

their wives and daughters insulted and then murdered. The king of Navarre escaped from prison, put himself at the head of the malcontents, and acted with such barbarity, that all the French who wished to restore peace to their desolated country turned their eyes towards the Dauphin. The turbulent Marcel was slain in attempting to deliver Paris to the king of Navarre. The capital immediately returned to its duty, the mutinous peasants were dispersed or put to the sword, some of the military bands experienced the same fate, and France began to reassume the appearance of civil government (1360).

§ 133. The truce for two years had no sooner expired, than Edward invaded France anew, with all the military force of England. John, tired of his long captivity, had agreed to a shameful treaty, which was rejected unanimously by the States-General and the Dauphin, in 1359. After having pillaged many towns, and levied contributions upon others, Edward concluded the treaty of Bretigni (May 8, 1360). It stipulated that John should pay three millions of gold crowns for his ransom; that Edward should renounce all pretensions to the crown of France; and while Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, possessed by his ancestors, were to be ceded by Edward, other provinces and cities were given as an equivalent. John returning to England in order to adjust certain matters in this treaty, sickened and died, at the palace of the Savoy, in 1364. He was succeeded by his son Charles V., surnamed the Wise. This prince first turned his attention to home affairs, and by the valour and firmness of Bertrand du Guesclin, defeated the king of Navarre, and reduced him to terms (1364). He also settled the affairs of Brittany, by acknowledging the title of Montfort, who did homage for his dominions. On the conclusion of the peace with England, a multitude of disbanded military adventurers, under the name of *Free Companies*, became a terror to the inhabitants of France. They refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life to which they had become accustomed by the continual wars of the period, and maintained possession of the principal strongholds of the kingdom. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character commanded these ruffians, nearly forty thousand in number, and by discipline and training, they bore the appearance of regular armies, rather than of bands of robbers. An opportunity at last presented itself for the employment of these adventurers.

§ 134. Alphonso XI., king of Castile, who, in 1343, after a siege of nineteen months, had wrested Algesiras from the Moors, was succeeded in 1350 by his son Peter I., surnamed the Cruel. This prince caused his father's mistress, Eleonora of Guzman, to be put to death (1351), murdered many of his relatives and nobles, and had his queen, Blanche of Bourbon, of the royal blood of France, to whom he was married in 1353, first imprisoned (1354), and then poisoned (1361). Henry, count of Trastamara, natural son of Alphonso XI., by Eleanora of Guzman, and consequently Peter the Cruel's brother, having failed in an attempt to gain the crown, took refuge in France. The continued tyranny of Peter the Cruel induced him to revive that claim, and he obtained permission from Charles V. of France to enlist the *Free Companies* in his service (1365). Led by Du Guesclin, this army prevailed over the king of Castile, who took shelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the Black Prince. The latter levied an expedition, recalled the Free Companies from the service of Henry of Trastamara, and defeated his forces at Najara (April 3, 1367), and restored Peter to the throne of Castile. This despot had been restrained from perpetrating great cruelties by the Black Prince, and he refused the stipulated pay to his English deliverers, whereupon Edward abandoned him to his fate. Henry of Trastamara again invaded Castile, defeated Peter, near Toledo (March 14, 1369), and slew him with his own hand, in resentment of his cruelties. Though illegitimate, Henry was honoured with the crown of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity.

§ 135. In the mean time the affairs of the Black Prince fell into disorder. The Spanish expedition put him to so much expense, that he imposed a new tax upon his foreign principality. The nobility murmured, and carried their complaints to the king of France, as lord paramount, who, as the renunciations in the treaty of Bretigni had never been made, seized the opportunity to renew his claim of superiority over the English provinces. He summoned the Black Prince to appear in his court at Paris, and the latter replied, that he would attend at the head of sixty thousand men. War was renewed between France and England (1369), and, on account of the declining health of the prince of Wales, the French were victorious in nearly every action. The Black Prince was compelled to throw up the command, and the English were in a few years stripped of all their

ancient possessions in France, except Bordeaux and Bayonne, and of all their conquests except Calais (1369—1373). Edward the Black Prince died in 1376, and his father expired, in the fifty-first year of his reign, in 1377. The domestic government of Edward was even more worthy of admiration than his foreign victories. By the prudence and vigour of his administration, England enjoyed a longer internal repose than she had done at any former period. Edward gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness. Charles V. of France died in 1380, when France as well as England fell under the government of a minor.

LETTER 41.—The German Empire and its Dependencies, from the Election of Louis of Bavaria to the Death of Charles IV. A.D. 1314—1378. Vol. i., pages 224—229.

§ 136. On the death of Henry VII., emperor of Germany, an interregnum of fourteen months ensued, when Louis of Bavaria was elected by a majority of the princes, and Frederic, duke of Austria, by a faction. A furious civil war, which long desolated Germany and Italy, was the consequence of this opposition. It was at last agreed to settle the dispute by thirty champions, fifteen against fifteen. They engaged in presence of both armies, and contended with such fury, that in a short time not one of them was left alive. A general action followed, in which the Austrians were worsted; but the victory was not decisive. Another battle was, soon after, fought at Mühl-dorf, or Ampfing, in which Frederic, duke of Austria, was taken prisoner, and the imperial crown fixed upon the head of Louis IV. (September 28, 1322). In the course of these struggles the Swiss defeated Leopold of Austria at the battle of Morgarten (November 16, 1315), and secured their independence. The alliance which the three cantons had entered into for ten years was converted into a perpetual league, to which the other cantons acceded.

§ 137. Louis IV. found a new antagonist in John XXII., who, through the influence of the French king, had been elected pope in 1316. This haughty prelate, the son of a cobbler, declared the election of Louis void; proceeded to excommunicate and then depose the new emperor, and endeavoured to get Charles the Fair, of France, appointed in his stead. The attempt miscarried, and Louis marched into Italy; was crowned first at Milan (1327) and then at

Rome (1328), deposing John XXII., and raising Nicholas V. to the papal chair. The next year Louis was recalled into Germany, on account of the disturbed state of the country, when John XXII. recovered his authority, and imprisoned his rival. This turbulent pope, who first invented taxes for dispensations and mortal sins, died immensely rich in 1334, just as Louis was preparing to assemble a general council, in order to depose him for the second time. He was succeeded by Benedict XII., who confirmed all the bulls which had been issued by John against the emperor. Louis endeavoured to negotiate, but the influence of the French king prevailed, and the sentence of excommunication was renewed. The princes of the empire, ecclesiastical as well as secular, in a diet at Frankfort, established that famous constitution by which it was irrevocably decreed, "that the plurality of the suffrages of the electoral college was sufficient, without the sanction of the pope, for the settlement of the imperial dignity; that the pope had no superiority over the emperor, nor any right to approve or reject his election; and that to maintain the contrary was high treason." The absurd claim of the popes to the government of the empire during a vacancy was disallowed, and the right declared to belong, by ancient custom, to the count palatine of the Rhine (1338). Germany enjoyed peace for some time, which was disturbed by Benedict's successor, Clement VI., elected in 1342. He began his pontificate by renewing all the bulls issued against Louis, naming a vicar-general of the empire in Lombardy, and inciting Italy to shake off the emperor's authority. Louis tried to settle matters by negotiation; but the papal conditions were so unreasonable, that they were rejected with disdain by a diet of the empire (1343), which further incensed Clement; and he caused Charles of Luxemburg, son and heir of John, king of Bohemia, to be elected by a faction (1346). Louis, however, retained the throne till his death (1347), when Charles of Luxemburg succeeded, reigning under the title of Charles IV.

§ 138. A singular scene was about this time exhibited in Italy. In 1347, Nicola di Rienzi, a private citizen of Rome, set himself up as the restorer of the Roman liberty and power. He was made tribune, effected many reforms, committed many follies, and was compelled to flee. After several years of exile, some passed in prison, he returned to Rome; and being appointed senator (1354), was afterwards assassinated by the

patrician faction. Terrible scenes occurred in Naples and Sicily, which continued to be ruled by foreigners. Robert of Anjou, though he failed in his attempt to recover Sicily, made Naples a flourishing kingdom. He died in 1343; when his grand-daughter Joan, married to Andrew of Hungary, was crowned without her husband. This unfortunate prince was soon after strangled (1345), and his widow married Louis, prince of Tarentum (1347). The king of Hungary took up arms to avenge his brother, and advanced upon Naples, when Joan and her husband sought refuge in Provence. She visited Clement VI. at Avignon, sold the pontiff that city and its territories, of which she was sovereign, for eighty thousand florins in gold, which were never paid; and by his intervention regained the kingdom of Naples (1348). Having settled the affairs of Germany, Charles IV. went to Rome, to receive the imperial crown from the new pope, Innocent VI., to whom he made the most abject submission (1355). He not only discouraged and rejected the proffers of the Ghibelins, but affected to treat them as enemies to religion, and actually supported the Guelfs. On his return, Charles assembled a diet at Nuremberg, in order to settle disputes with reference to the number of electors. The famous constitution called the Golden Bull was promulgated as the fundamental law of the empire, in the presence, and with the consent, of all the princes, bishops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities (1356). The seven electors named were the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg.^a The famous edict was proclaimed with imposing ceremonies. The latter part of the reign of Charles IV. was distinguished by no remarkable transaction, except the sale of the imperial jurisdictions in Italy, which were alternately resumed and sold. Charles was reputed a good prince, but a weak emperor. He was an encourager of learning, and founded the university of Prague. He died in 1378, and was succeeded by his son Wenceslaus.

^a The electors were declared equal to kings; conspiracy against them was to be considered high treason, and many privileges were accorded. The imperial elections were fixed to take place at Frankfort, and the emperor was to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the archbishop of Cologne. In fact, the instrument clearly defined the prerogatives of the electoral college.

LETTER 42.—England, from the Death of Edward III. to the Accession of Henry V., with some account of the affairs of Scotland during that period. A.D. 1377—1413. Vol. i., pages 229—235.

§ 139. Richard II., son of Edward the Black Prince, was only eleven years old at his accession; and his three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, administered the affairs of his kingdom. In order to remedy the ruinous deficit caused by the long wars with France, the English parliament found it necessary to impose a capitation, or poll-tax, of three groats a head, upon every person, male or female, above fifteen years of age (1379). This did not fail to excite discontent, and the insolent conduct of one of the tax-gatherers led to a revolt. The offender was slain, the people took up arms, and under the leadership of Wat Tyler, assembled on Blackheath, and marched into the city of London, committing various acts of violence (1381). The young king went out to learn their desires; they required a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market-towns, without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands instead of the services due by villenage. Wat Tyler, in making these demands, brandished his sword in a menacing manner, and this so incensed William Walworth, lord mayor of London, that he levelled the rebel to the earth. His associates prepared to take vengeance; when Richard, with great presence of mind, put himself at their head, and peaceably dismissed them, after granting their demands. The promise given by this vigorous act, when only sixteen years of age, was not, however, fulfilled. Richard made a foolish expedition into Scotland (1385), and on his return abandoned himself entirely to a favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, whom he made marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland, with a parliamentary grant of the sovereignty of that kingdom for life (1386). A civil war was the consequence; in which the royal party was defeated, and Richard obliged to resign the government into the hands of a council of fourteen, appointed by the Parliament.

§ 140. Richard was soon entirely reconciled to his uncles, and again exercised the regal power. Many intrigues were carried on, and it is said that the duke of Gloucester aspired to the crown, when he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and banished (1397). He died soon after, at Calais, under circumstances that justify the suspicion of foul play. Some noblemen of his party were executed, and others were

imprisoned, or banished. The dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, having quarrelled, appeared to settle the dispute by single combat, whereupon they were banished by the king, the former for ten years, and the latter for life (1398). On the death of the duke of Lancaster, father to the exiled Henry duke of Hereford, Richard seized the estates (1399). While Richard was absent in Ireland, quelling an insurrection, the duke of Hereford landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and was speedily joined by numerous adherents. Directly Richard heard of the invasion he landed at Milford Haven, with twenty thousand men. Being deserted by the greater portion of his troops, he surrendered, was deposed by the Parliament, and sent prisoner to Pontefract Castle; while the duke of Hereford ascended the throne, under the title of Henry IV.

§ 141. Henry was believed to have strongly imbibed the principles of Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, who, during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., preached the doctrine of reformation, and became the first mover in the great convulsion that followed. Finding himself possessed of the throne on so precarious a title, this prince abandoned his liberal views, considering superstition a necessary engine of public authority. He accordingly permitted a law to be enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm, by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate, before the whole people. William Sautré, a clergyman in London, was condemned by the Convocation, at Canterbury, for denying transubstantiation, and burned at Smithfield (1401):^a he was the first martyr in England. Owen Glendower, a descendant of the ancient princes of Wales, raised an insurrection in that country, and the Scotch invaded

^a 2 Hen. IV., c. 15. Sufficient attention has not been paid by historians to the struggles of our early reformers, to the stand that was made through the dark ages by our ancestors against the aggressions of Rome, and the preservation of the true faith in our island. Had it not been for the labours of Wickliffe, and other noble-minded Englishmen, the reformation in Germany would not, in all probability, have been accomplished. Our courageous ancestors scattered the grain which produced so rich a harvest; and by enforcing the true doctrines of Christianity, giving the Bible to the people in the vulgar tongue, and protesting against transubstantiation and other deadly errors, prepared the way for the final emancipation of the human mind. Their writings spread over Europe, and aroused continental Europe to action.

England. The latter were repulsed by Henry, and pursued by him to Edinburgh (1401).

§ 142. The Northumberland Percies again routed the Scotch, who had made another irruption into England, with immense slaughter, at Homedon Hill (1402). Henry sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners, and this so offended that powerful nobleman, that he entered into an alliance with the Scotch malcontents, and attempted to effect a junction with Owen Glendower. Before he could accomplish this, he was encountered by the king, near Shrewsbury, and a terrible conflict ensued. Harry Percy, called Hotspur, was slain, and this decided the day. The royalists prevailed (July 21, 1403); Henry prince of Wales distinguished himself greatly in this, his first field. Northumberland was pardoned, but was afterwards concerned in another revolt, and slain, at Bramham (1407). The prince of Wales defeated Owen Glendower, at Monmouth, on the 11th of May, 1405, when that chieftain took refuge in the mountains, where he soon after died. Henry devoted the remainder of his reign to the regulation of the affairs of his kingdom; which he at length brought into order, by his valour, prudence, and address. He died at Westminster, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign (1413). He left behind him the reputation of a wise prince and a prudent king, but a bad man; and yet, if we consider the circumstances in which he was involved, we can hardly conceive how any one could carry his ambition to the same height, and transmit a throne to his posterity, with less violence to humanity.

LETTER 43.—The German Empire and its Dependencies, from the Accession of Wenceslaus to the Death of Sigismund. A.D. 1378—1437. Vol. i., pages 235—241.

§ 143. Wenceslaus, at the age of seventeen, succeeded his father, Charles IV., in the government of the empire and the throne of Bohemia, when the Church experienced one of those violent contests so disgraceful to Christianity (1378). The cardinals, on the death of Gregory XI., raised Urban VI. to the papal chair; but they afterwards annulled the act, protesting that improper influences had been brought to bear upon them, and appointed Clement VII. Hence arose the great schism of the West. They waged a keen contest, in which all Europe was deeply interested. During these troubles Wenceslaus appointed the marquis of Moravia

his vicar-general in Italy; he held a diet at Nuremberg, and another at Frankfort, at which Urban VI. was acknowledged by the German bishops and archbishops; and Wenceslaus and the princes of the empire engaged to protect him in the papacy. Wenceslaus afterwards retired to Aix-la-Chapelle, and neglected the affairs of the empire to such a degree, that the princes and towns of Germany were obliged to enter into associations for their mutual defence (1381).

§ 144. Italy was at the same time torn in pieces by the schism in the Church. Clement VII., who had taken Rome from his rival, was in his turn expelled, and retired to Avignon (1378). Urban VI. used his victory like a tyrant; he first vented his rage on Joan, queen of Naples, who had espoused the cause of Clement (1380). Urban induced Charles de Durazzo, the heir to the throne, and the only remaining descendant of the house of Anjou in Naples, to endeavour to wrest the kingdom from her. The scheme succeeded, and Joan was made prisoner and cruelly smothered (1382). Thus perished the famous Queen Joan, who had been celebrated by Petrarch and Boccaccio. While one gallant woman thus sank beneath the arm of power, another triumphed over all opposition. Margaret, called the Semiramis of the North, ascended the throne of Denmark, on the death of her son Olaf IV. (1387). The Swedes offered her the crown, she accepted it, marched against Albert, their king, and dethroned him (1389). Wenceslaus, by his debaucheries, extortions, and barbarities, continued to disgust his subjects, and the electors assembled at the castle of Laenstein, on the Rhine, deposed him, and appointed Henry of Brunswick in his stead (1400). This prince was basely murdered before his coronation by Count Waldeck, and the electors chose Rupert or Robert, Count Palatine of the Rhine. Thereupon Wenceslaus retired to his kingdom of Bohemia, over which, after one or two rather severe lessons, he ruled with greater moderation. The new emperor's first expedition was against Galeazzo Visconti, who wielded great power in Italy. The enterprise miscarried, and the emperor returned to Germany, where he devoted his attention to the security and aggrandizement of his dominions. Galeazzo died of the plague in 1402.

§ 145. Bohemia was involved in fresh disorders by the preaching of John Huss, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, and was excommunicated by the pope. The publication of this sentence was followed by troubles and

sedition (1411). The Roman church not only suffered from these innovations, but continued distracted by the violent schism already mentioned. On the death of Urban VI. in 1389, it was continued by the election of Boniface IX., and again renewed when Clement VII. expired in 1394, by the elevation of Benedict XIII. Boniface IX. died in 1404, when the Roman cardinals named as his successor Innocent VII.; and as Benedict XIII. refused to resign, the schism continued. Innocent VII. died in 1406, and Gregory XII. received the suffrages of the cardinals. Various councils were summoned by the two parties, a diet was called in Frankfort, but the schism could not be healed. The cardinals called a council at Pisa; but the two popes refused to appear, and were deposed. Alexander V. being elected by the cardinals, was received by the greater part of Europe as the *true* pope. By this the schism was increased, and three popes, instead of two, contended for supremacy (1409). Alexander V. died in 1410; John XXIII. was elected in his place, and the three popes launched forth denunciations at each other. The emperor died the same year, when Sigismund, brother of Wenceslaus and king of Hungary, received the suffrages of a majority of the electors. Sigismund having visited Italy, convoked a council at Constance, for the settlement of the schism of the Church. This council met on the 5th of November, 1414; John XXIII. presided, and although he at first, in compliance with the request of the fathers of the council, resigned the pontificate, yet he afterwards repented of this step, and made his escape in the disguise of a postilion. The fathers deposed him, and decreed that a council was superior to the pope. Thereupon John XXIII. yielded, and Gregory XII. soon after tendered his resignation (1415); but Benedict XIII., who was a Spaniard, obstinately refused to submit to the authority of the council.

§ 146. The affair of John Huss was next discussed. He had made many converts, and among them Jerome of Prague, a learned man, who advocated the new doctrines with enthusiasm and success. The master and his distinguished convert had been summoned to appear before the court of Rome (1413), which they refused to do; but being furnished with a safe-conduct by Sigismund, condescended to attend the council of Constance. John Huss was accused of heresy in thirty-nine articles, degraded, and delivered over to the secular judge, who condemned him

and his writings to the flames. This noble martyr died with great constancy (1415). After the execution of John Huss, the council returned to consider the course to be adopted with reference to Benedict XIII., who had taken refuge in Spain. Sigismund volunteered to go and obtain his renunciation; but Benedict's obstinacy proved invincible. During Sigismund's absence in Spain, Jerome of Prague was brought to trial before the council. Having endeavoured to make his escape, he had been caught, and brought back to Constance loaded with chains. This noble reformer at first solemnly abjured the opinions of Wickliffe and Huss, but he afterwards revoked his recantation, and suffered death at the stake with heroic constancy (1416). The council proceeded against Benedict XIII. for contumacy, deposed him, and elected Martin V. (1417). The new pope returned to Italy, attended by Sigismund and a numerous train. The council of Constance broke up after its forty-fifth session, having put an end to the schism in the Church (April 22, 1418). The Hussites, under Ziska, revolted on account of the prohibition of the cup to the laity at the sacrament; they forced the town-house and murdered the magistrates. This made such an impression upon Wenceslaus, that he was seized with apoplexy and died in a few days (1419). His brother Sigismund, emperor of Germany and king of Hungary, succeeded, and became involved in a terrible contest with the Hussites, by whom he was several times defeated. Ziska continued master of Bohemia till his death (1424); he had ordered a drum to be made of his skin, which was long the symbol of victory. A priest named Procopius, surnamed the Shaven, succeeded him, and valiantly defended the cause of the Hussites, both in the field and in the council-chamber; he played a bold part at the council of Basle, assembled in 1431, and fell in battle in 1436. By the treaty of Iglau, concluded the same year, the Hussites obtained a general amnesty, the right of using the cup in the communion, and a confirmation of many of their privileges. Sigismund enlisted the Hussites in his army, led them against the Turks, who had then entered Hungary, and defeated them with great slaughter. Sigismund died in 1437, having nominated as his successor, Albert, duke of Austria, his son-in-law. The electors ratified his choice, and the house of Hapsburg have ever since held the imperial throne. Although Sigismund possessed many respectable qualities, he was a narrow-minded bigot.

CHAPTER VI.

LETTER 44.—France, from the Death of Charles V. to the Invasion of that Kingdom by Henry V. of England. A.D. 1380—1415. Vol. i., pages 241—244.

§ 147. AT this period both France and England were under the government of minors; and the jealousies between the three uncles of Charles VI., the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, distracted the affairs of France more than the rivalry between the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, the three uncles of Richard II., had disturbed those of England. The duke of Anjou died in 1384, and, on assuming the reins of government, Charles showed signs of genius and spirit which revived the hopes of his countrymen. This promising state of affairs was, however, of short duration, for, in 1392, Charles was attacked by fits of melancholy madness, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority. History scarcely affords any parallel instance of a court or country more corrupt, and more miserable, than that of this unfortunate monarch and his subjects, in consequence of his infirmity. Power fell again into the hands of the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who excluded the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, from any share in the government. The duchess of Orleans, however, obtained a complete ascendancy over Charles; and the duchess of Burgundy caused it be rumoured, that she and her husband had bewitched the king.

§ 148. In the midst of these disputes Philip, duke of Burgundy, died (1404), when his son, John the Fearless, endeavoured to monopolize power as his father had done. But the duke of Orleans resisted; and at length the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and enter into a league of mutual amity (1407). This new friendship was pledged before the altar, and confirmed by the sacrament, yet John of Burgundy made it the cover of the basest treachery, and had his rival assassinated in the streets of Paris. He afterwards avowed and justified

the action, and was brought before the parliament of Paris, where John Petit pleaded in the duke's defence,—that the duke of Orleans was a tyrant, and deserved death. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans, took up arms against the duke of Burgundy, and the kingdom was once more convulsed by civil war. The two parties were called the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. The latter name was given to the adherents of the young duke of Orleans from his father-in-law, the count of Armagnac, who became the life and soul of the league. Terrible scenes ensued. The heads of the university of Paris about this time began to rise in importance, as they were frequently consulted by both parties. John, duke of Burgundy, armed a chosen body of five hundred journey-men butchers or skinners, who took the name of *Cabochiens* from John Caboché, their leader. The Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters, the people ranged themselves on one side or the other, and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either faction. When this contention was at the height, Henry V. of England prepared to maintain his claim to the throne of France by force of arms (1415).

LETTER 45.—England and France, from the Invasion of the latter Kingdom by Henry V. to the Death of Charles VI. A.D. 1415—1422. Vol. i., pages 244—248.

§ 149. On succeeding to the throne of England, Henry V. discarded his former lawless associates, and received, with marks of favour and confidence, his father's ministers. His first care was to banish, as much as possible, all party distinctions. The Lollards, or disciples of Wickliffe, had become a formidable body, headed by Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a nobleman of great military talents. Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, eager to prosecute, demanded permission from the young king to proceed against Lord Cobham. This was at first refused; but as Lord Cobham proved obstinate, Henry at last consented, and the Lollard nobleman was condemned to the flames, but managed to make his escape. Provoked by persecution, Lord Cobham engaged in a conspiracy, many of his followers were put to death, and he himself, after a variety of distresses, was burnt as a heretic (1414).

§ 150. The Lollards being thus silenced, Henry prepared to invade France. He accordingly set sail from

Southampton, and landed near Harfleur, with six thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand infantry, chiefly archers (1415). Harfleur was immediately invested, and taken by assault, after a siege of nearly six weeks, when the garrison were put to the sword (September 26). The fatigue of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so much wasted the English army, that Henry was obliged to think of returning to England. Having dismissed his transports, he could only escape by land by way of Calais, and as a French army intercepted his line of route, he offered to exchange Harfleur for a safe passage to that place. This was refused; and when Henry set out, his troops were harassed by the enemy, and his supplies of provisions cut off. The whole French army took up a position in the plains of Azincour, or Agincourt, and Henry found that it was impossible for him to advance without fighting a battle. The enemy were four times more numerous than the English, and were commanded by the Dauphin and all the princes of the blood. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward III. at the battle of Cressy, and of the Black Prince at Poitiers, and he followed the prudent example set by those commanders. He drew up his army on a narrow piece of ground, between two woods, which guarded each flank, and in that position patiently waited for the attack. The French rushed impetuously to the assault, fell into confusion, and were defeated. During the battle some gentlemen of Picardy had seized upon the English baggage, and this caused an alarm, which induced Henry to give orders for the slaughter of the prisoners. As soon as he found that all was safe, counter orders were issued (Oct. 15). Seven princes of the blood were slain, and five taken prisoners. Fourteen thousand Frenchmen were made captive, and ten thousand left upon the field of battle, while Henry's loss was barely a thousand men. Henry could make but little use of the victory, so he agreed to a suspension of hostilities, and returned to England to raise fresh supplies of men and money.

§ 151. In the mean time France was exposed to the furies of civil war, and the Burgundian and Armagnac factions deluged the country with blood. Henry V., having recruited his forces and finances, landed in Normandy at the head of 25,000 men, and carried everything before him (1418). He continued to negotiate with the rival factions: the two parties treated with each other, and all things seemed settled

to their satisfaction, when the duke of Burgundy was slain by the Dauphin's party, during a conference at Montereau (August 18, 1419). In consequence of this, and the progress of Henry's arms, the queen and the new duke of Burgundy concluded the famous treaty of Troyes; the principal articles of which were, that Henry should marry the princess Katherine of Valois,—that her father, Charles VI., should enjoy, during his lifetime, the title and dignity of king of France,—that Henry V. of England should be declared and acknowledged heir of the French monarchy, and be intrusted with the present administration of the government,—the French princes and people were to swear allegiance, and all agreed to unite their forces against Charles, the pretended dauphin (May 24, 1420). The treaty was solemnly ratified, Henry married Katherine, and France was tranquillized. A son was born soon after, but Henry V. fell ill with a fistula, and, through the want of skill of the surgeons, died at Vincennes (August 31, 1422), leaving the regency of France to the duke of Bedford, that of England to the duke of Gloucester, and the care of his son to the earl of Warwick. Henry V. possessed many eminent virtues, and his abilities were equally conspicuous in the cabinet and in the field. Charles VI. of France died soon after Henry (October 22), and the Dauphin was crowned at Poitiers, as Charles VII., Rheims, the usual place for the coronation, being in the hands of his enemies. Katherine of Valois, Henry's widow, married Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, said to be a descendant of the princes of that country (1425). She bore him two sons, the eldest of whom was created earl of Richmond, the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, raised to distinction by this alliance, afterwards ascended the throne of England.

LETTER 46.—The affairs of France and England, from the Accession of Charles VII. to the Expulsion of the English from the Continent. A.D. 1422—1453. Vol. i., pages 249—253.

§ 152. Charles VII., the rightful heir to the French throne, was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and familiar manners, and of a just and sound, though not vigorous understanding. The duke of Bedford administered the regency for the youthful Henry VI. of England, with valour, prudence, and generosity. Sensible of the advantages possessed by Charles VII., he took care to strengthen the English interest by fresh alliances

with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and by releasing James I. of Scotland from captivity, and marrying him to the daughter of the earl of Somerset, hoped by these means to enlist the sympathies of the Scotch on his side (1423). The duke of Bedford did not, in these negotiations, neglect the operations of war. Having reduced almost every fortress on this side of the Loire, he defeated the combined French and Scotch armies at Verneuil (Aug. 27, 1424). The city of Orleans was so situate between the provinces commanded by the king of England and those possessed by Charles VII., that it opened an easy entrance to either, and the duke of Bedford exerted himself strenuously to gain this point of vantage. After the battle of Herrings (Feb. 12, 1429), Charles felt inclined to abandon the place, but was prevented by the remonstrances of his queen, Mary of Anjou, and his mistress, the fair Agnes Sorel. A new deliverer, also a female, now appeared.

§ 153. In the village of Domremi, on the borders of Lorraine, lived a country girl named Joan of Arc; she was beautiful, and united good sense and humility with religious enthusiasm; she declared that she had received a mission from Heaven to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the invaders. No sooner was she brought before the king at Chinon, than she offered to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims, to be crowned and anointed; Charles accepted her aid. She was armed *cap-à-pie*, placed on horseback, and shown to the people. The English at first affected to speak with derision of the maid and her mission, but their minds were nevertheless powerfully impressed with superstitious awe. Joan entered Orleans, displayed her consecrated banner, and actually obliged them to raise the siege (May 8, 1429). Having defeated the English in several encounters, she induced Charles to set out for Rheims, and though the road was in the hands of the enemy, all opposition proved fruitless; the English retired from the place, and Charles was crowned and anointed as Joan had promised (July 17). The name of the Maid of Orleans was now upon every tongue, for she had not only promised, but had actually performed wonders.

§ 154. The duke of Bedford in this crisis acted with great energy. He renewed his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, brought the young king of England over to Paris, and had him crowned and anointed there (Dec. 17, 1429). The Maid of Orleans declared, after the coronation of Charles,

that her mission was accomplished, and demanded permission to retire. This was however refused, and she threw herself into Compiègne, then besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. She was taken prisoner in a sally (May 24, 1430), and the duke of Bedford ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court, for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and other evil practices. She was found guilty, sentenced to the flames, and died heroically at the stake in Rouen, Jan. 14, 1431. The English power in France immediately declined. The duke of Burgundy deserted the English interest (1432), and formed an alliance with the French king (1435); the duke of Bedford died soon after (Dec. 14), and the violent disputes which prevailed in the court of England, between the duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort, paralyzed the efforts of the nation. The intrigues of the latter met with a temporary success, and by his influence Henry was contracted to Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem. She was the most accomplished princess of that age, and seemed to possess those qualities calculated to enable her to exert a salutary ascendancy over Henry: the marriage was solemnized in 1445. Cardinal Beaufort had resolved upon the ruin of his powerful rival, the duke of Gloucester; his duchess, daughter of Richard, Lord Cobham, was accused of the crime of witchcraft, and it was pretended that she exercised her arts in a dangerous manner upon the young king. She was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer imprisonment for life. The people sympathized with her in her misfortunes, and her husband was then treacherously murdered (1447). Charles VII. effected a great reformation in the state of affairs in France. The English were expelled from all their possessions on the continent, except Calais, and, although no peace or truce was concluded between the two nations, the war was in a manner at an end (1453).

LETTER 47.—The German Empire and its Dependencies, from the Death of Sigismund to the Accession of Maximilian. A.D. 1437—1493. Vol. i., pages 254—257.

§155. Albert II., the successor of Sigismund, died suddenly of dysentery, while engaged in an expedition against the Turks, in Bulgaria (1439); whereupon his cousin, Frederic of Austria, the third of that name, was made emperor, and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were settled on

Albert's infant son, Ladislaus. Frederic endeavoured to heal a fresh schism that had broken out in the Church, by the election of two popes, Eugenius IV. and Felix V. (1440). The council of Basle was then sitting,^a for the reformation of the Church universal, both in its head and in its members; and finding Eugenius IV. unwilling to submit to its authority, deposed him and appointed Felix V. in his stead. These rivals carried on the contest for some time, and on the death of Eugenius IV. in 1447, the council of Basle named Nicholas V. as his successor. Felix V. resigned in 1449, and under the pontificate of Nicholas V. peace was restored to Italy.

§ 156. Frederic next visited Italy, where he was crowned king of Lombardy, and married to the king of Portugal's sister, Eleanora. They received the imperial crown from Nicholas V. (1452). The Hungarians and the Bohemians revolted, and compelled Frederic to give up young Ladislaus, who was crowned at Buda and at Prague (1453). The progress of the Turks, who had taken Constantinople, and thus annihilated the Roman empire of the East (1453), alarmed all the princes of Christendom, and several diets were called for the purpose of organizing defence. John Huniades, a famous Hungarian general, received a reinforcement of troops from the German princes, and compelled the Turks, under Mahomet II., to raise the siege of Belgrade (1456). The death of Ladislaus in 1457 gave rise to a dispute for the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary. George von Podiebrad was chosen king of the former, and Matthias of the latter country (1558); but the emperor contested these nominations, and a long civil war ensued. Frederic IV. died in 1493, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. No emperor had reigned longer, and none less gloriously.

LETTER 48.—England during the Contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, until the Accession of the Tudor Line. A.D. 1450—1485. Vol. i., pages 257—269.

§ 157. Henry VI. of England traced his descent from the duke of Lancaster, third son of Edward III.; and a new competitor for the crown appeared in Richard, duke of York, a descendant of the duke of Clarence, second son of that

^a This celebrated council not only condemned many Roman Catholic practices, but absolutely deposed the pope, and elected another in his place.

monarch. Richard had therefore the best claim, and he was very popular. The queen and the earl of Suffolk monopolized the government, and the murder of the duke of Gloucester, in which both were known to have been concerned, rendered them obnoxious to the nation. The earl of Suffolk was impeached in parliament, and the king, in order to save him, banished him for five years. His enemies, fearing his recall, had him seized near Dover, and his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat (1450). The duke of Somerset, his successor in authority, was sent to the Tower, and as the king, about this time, fell into a distemper, the duke of York was made lieutenant of the kingdom, and the Parliament named him protector (1454). Henry soon after recovered, annulled the regency of the duke of York, and released Somerset from the Tower. War broke out between these formidable rivals, and a battle was fought near St. Alban's (May 22, 1455), in which the Lancastrians were defeated, and the duke of Somerset and the earl of Northumberland slain. The king was made prisoner, and the duke of York again assumed the protectorship. The Yorkists took the white rose as their party emblem, and the Lancastrians the red; and although these parties were apparently reconciled, and went in solemn procession to St. Paul's (1458), the truce was not of long duration. The Yorkists gained another victory at Blore Heath (Sept. 23, 1459); but the desertion of Sir A. Trollop from their army, near Ludlow, for a time prostrated their hopes.

§ 158. The duke of York fled to Ireland, whence he was summoned by the earl of Warwick, governor of Calais, who had landed in Kent, and collected a large army. This was the most extraordinary man of the time; and from his singular influence and importance, he obtained the appellation of the *King-maker*. The Lancastrians met with a sanguinary defeat at Northampton (July 10, 1460), where Henry was again made prisoner and carried in triumph to the capital. A parliament met forthwith at Westminster, and after much deliberation between the Lords and Commons, the duke of York was named heir to the throne. Henry was to retain the title of king during his life, but the government was to be administered by Richard. The latter did not long enjoy this settlement; for Queen Margaret, who had fled to Scotland, returned with a formidable army. The duke met the queen near Wakefield, was defeated and slain (December 24, 1460), and several of his supporters were

taken prisoners and beheaded. Margaret advanced towards London, encountered Warwick, and fought the second battle of St. Alban's (Feb. 17, 1461), in which she was again victorious. Warwick fled to London, and the king was released from captivity. In the mean time Edward, the young duke of York, had vanquished the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross (Feb. 2, 1461), near Ludlow; he managed to effect a junction with Warwick at London, and the queen fled once more to the north. Edward was received in the capital with extraordinary enthusiasm, being declared king, under the title of Edward IV. Margaret, who was not idle in the north, had in a short time raised an army of 60,000 men. Warwick hastened to meet her with 40,000, and gained the bloody battle of Towton (March 29, 1461), whereupon the king and queen took refuge in Scotland.

§ 159. Scotland was at this period in a sadly distracted condition. On the murder of James I. in 1437, his son James II., then a minor, succeeded to the throne. This prince was killed by the bursting of a cannon, at the siege of Roxburgh Castle (Aug. 3, 1460), and his son James III. being then only seven years of age, a contest ensued for the regency. Margaret induced the Scottish council to assist her, then went to France and obtained troops. Her motley army was defeated at Hedgeley Moor (April 24, 1463), and again at Hexham (May 15). Margaret with difficulty escaped with her son to Flanders, whence she retired to France, while Henry, after remaining concealed some time in Lancashire, was eventually taken prisoner and thrown into the Tower (1464). The young king, rid of his enemies, plunged freely into pleasures and amusements, which proved fatal to his repose and the stability of his throne. Having resolved to marry, he had cast his eyes upon Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France, and induced the earl of Warwick to go to Paris, to negotiate the match. While this was in progress, Edward conceived a passion for Lady Elizabeth Grey of Groby, whose husband, Sir John Grey (Lord Ferrers), was killed at the second battle of St. Alban's; and finding the charming widow impregnable to all assaults, married her privately, at her father's seat in Northamptonshire. Warwick, highly incensed at this treatment, intrigued first with the duke of Clarence, king Edward's brother, then with Margaret, the exiled queen, and taking advantage of popular discontent, had Edward deposed, and Henry VI. once more placed upon the throne (1470). Warwick fell

into disfavour. Edward, who had fled to Holland, landed at Ravenspur (March 25), entered London (April 11), committed Henry VI. to the Tower, and with the assistance of the fickle duke of Clarence, won the hard-fought battle of Barnet (April 14, 1471), in which Warwick found a soldier's grave. Many of the Lancastrian leaders were slain, and a great slaughter attended the pursuit. Queen Margaret, and her son Prince Edward, then eighteen years old, landed at Weymouth on this disastrous day; and having raised an army in the west, were totally routed by Edward IV. at Tewkesbury (May 4, 1471). The queen was sent to the Tower, where her husband had just been killed by the duke of Gloucester, and her son Edward was inhumanly murdered after the defeat at Tewkesbury. The hopes of the house of Lancaster being thus extinguished, Edward IV. once more gave himself up to pleasure and amusement, from which he was at length aroused by the call of ambition.

§ 160. Edward had formed the design of endeavouring to regain those provinces in France lost by his predecessors. In 1475 he landed at Calais, and although the duke of Burgundy failed to give the support which he had promised, Louis XI. was so alarmed, that he entered into a treaty of peace. The French king stipulated to pay Edward immediately 75,000 crowns, and 50,000 crowns a year during their joint lives. Louis XI. very nobly insisted upon the release of Margaret, who returned to France, where she died in 1482. While making preparations for another French war, Edward was seized with a violent distemper, which carried him off (1483). Edward displayed more vigour than prudence, and was consequently less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they became apparent. Edward IV. left two sons, the prince of Wales, now Edward V., in his thirteenth year, and Richard, duke of York, in his ninth. Their uncle Richard, duke of Gloucester, who in 1478 had plotted the death of his own brother, the duke of Clarence, and had assisted in the murder of Prince Edward, after the defeat at Tewkesbury, made himself protector. This wicked tyrant speedily caused all persons who stood in the way of his own advancement to be removed, Earl Rivers and Lord Hastings amongst the rest, and committed others whom he dreaded to the Tower. Even Jane Shore, a mistress of the late monarch, was condemned to walk barefoot through the city, to do penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's, for adultery, and afterwards

perished from destitution. Richard openly aspired to the crown, declared that his two nephews, as well as Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, were illegitimate, and that he alone was the true offspring of the duke of York. By threats and promises, he induced certain favourites and a portion of the rabble to demand his elevation to the throne; and he at once acted as sovereign, under the title of Richard III.

§ 161. In 1473, Richard had married Anne, daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Prince Edward, Henry the Sixth's unfortunate son. She died, not without suspicion of foul play, in 1485, whereupon he applied to the pope for a dispensation to marry his niece, Elizabeth of York. But his career of guilt approached its termination. The murder of the princes in the Tower by Sir Robert Brackenbury (1483) excited the indignation of certain noblemen. Moreover, a new claimant for the throne appeared, in Henry, earl of Richmond, grandson of Owen Tudor and Katherine of France, widow of Henry V. This prince sought to strengthen his interest by a match with Edward the Fourth's daughter Elizabeth, whose hand the usurper Richard also coveted. The earl of Richmond had landed in England in 1483; but being disconcerted by the failure of the duke of Buckingham's conspiracy, and the death of that nobleman, retired for awhile into Brittany. Having received numerous invitations, he again landed at Milford Haven, on the 7th of August, 1485, and on the 22nd was fought the battle of Bosworth Field, in which Richard III. was slain. Although a blood-thirsty tyrant, he was brave, and he died as a brave man should do, sword in hand. The battle was decisive, the king being slain, and his army routed and dispersed. The victor was proclaimed king, as Henry VII.; and thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, members of which had for more than three centuries filled the throne of England.

LETTER 49.—France, from the Expulsion of the English by Charles VII. to the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. A.D. 1453—1494. Vol. i., pages 269—274.

§ 162. Charles VII. no sooner found himself in quiet possession of France, by the expulsion of the English, than he devoted himself to the cares of government. He endeavoured to repair the ravages of war by promoting the arts of peace, and to secure the tranquillity and good

order of his kingdom by wise regulations. A regular army was established, and a tax levied for its support. By the pragmatic sanction promulgated at Bocanges in 1438, the liberties of the Gallican church, as defined by the council of Basle, were secured, the superiority of general councils over popes was recognized, and other rights were established. The last days of this prince were embittered by the revolt of his son, and he is supposed to have starved himself to death from apprehension of poison. He died in 1461, and was succeeded by his treacherous son Louis XI. His rapacity caused the nobles to rebel; they formed the League of the Public Good, and a battle was fought at Montlhéry (July 16, 1465). The treaty of Confians was the result, by the conditions of which Louis XI. never intended to abide. Louis convoked the States-General at Tours in 1468, and induced them to annul the treaty; he then became involved in a quarrel with Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, who took the king prisoner, and placed him in the castle of Peronne. Again Louis pretended to submit, signed the treaty of Peronne, and thus obtained his liberation.

§ 163. The subsequent portion of this monarch's reign was one continued scene of executions, wars, and negotiations. His brother Charles was taken off by poison, and several other noblemen were put to death; the children of the duke of Nemours, then infants, were placed under the scaffold on which their father was executed, and his blood allowed to fall upon their heads (1478). The powerful duke of Burgundy was killed at the battle of Nancy (Jan. 5, 1477), whereupon Louis seized part of his dominions, hoping to obtain the whole of them by marrying the dauphin, Charles, to the duke's only daughter. The lady preferred Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederick III., to a child in his seventh year. Hence arose new wars, and France and Austria long struggled in the Low Countries for supremacy. Louis concluded a truce, but he managed to retain Burgundy. Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Bar, were soon after left to him by Charles, count of Maine, the last prince of the house of Anjou, who died without issue (1480). Louis enlarged his kingdom, and expired, after suffering great torments, in 1483. His character is one of the most complicated in history. He obtained the end which he proposed by his policy, but at the expense of his peace and reputation. His life was a jumble of crimes and contradictions. He was the first monarch

who, in France, assumed the title of *Majesty and Most Christian*.

§ 164. Charles VIII. was in his fourteenth year when he succeeded, and a contest ensued for the regency. The death of the duke of Brittany, soon after the defeat at St. Aubin (July 28, 1488), still further complicated matters, as Brittany was the only great fief which remained disunited from the crown of France. Charles VIII. had been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian. That prince lost his wife about this time, and the Bretons applied to him for aid, offering him the hand of the late duke's only daughter and heiress, Anne, which was accepted and the marriage was celebrated by proxy. Both marriages were, however, dissolved by the French king and his ministers, and Charles married the duchess himself, and thus united Brittany to France (1491). Maximilian was highly incensed; for he not only lost the woman to whom he had been espoused, but had his daughter Margaret sent back to him, after she had been for seven years treated as queen of France. A league was formed between Maximilian, Henry VII. of England, and the king of Spain (1491). Henry landed with a fine army at Calais, on the 6th of October, 1492, but Charles purchased peace by making concessions, and the formidable alliance was dissolved. He determined to vindicate his title to the kingdom of Naples, and having made peace with his neighbours, set out for Italy (1494).

LETTER 50.—The Progress of the Turks, and the Fall of the Greek Empire. A.D. 1261—1453. Vol. i., pages 274—279.

§ 165. The Greeks recovered their empire from the French in 1261, but it was in a mangled and impoverished condition. In the mean time the Turks, whose force had been broken by the Mogul Tartars, strengthened themselves in Asia Minor, and overran Thrace. Othman, from whom the present sultans are descended, and who was the founder of the Ottoman empire, erected a government in Bithynia. His successors continued to advance, and in 1361 Amurath took Adrianople. It was this sultan who first organized the *Janisaries*. In order to create a body of devoted troops to serve as a body-guard, he ordered his officers to seize annually, as imperial property, the third part of the young males taken in war. After being instructed in the Mahometan religion, inured to obedience by severe discipline, and

trained to warlike exercises, these youths were formed into regular bands, distinguished by the names of *Janisaries*, or new soldiers. Favoured by their sovereign, they soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies, and their valour brought victory to their standards. The Greek empire was almost reduced to the boundaries of Constantinople, when the Christian princes of Europe, alarmed at the progress of the Turks, came forward to the defence. They besieged Nicopolis, on the Danube, where they were attacked by Bajazet, and routed with great slaughter (Sept. 28, 1396). Constantinople was threatened, but the emperor, Manuel II., purchased peace by paying tribute, and another storm having arisen, the Turks were summoned away by a new danger.

§ 166. The dominions of the Mogul Tartars, under Genghis Khan and his immediate successors, extended from the Volga to the river Ganges, in India, and the frontier of China. Timour the Tartar, commonly called Tamerlane (born 1336), subdued almost as great an extent of territory as his victorious predecessor, and even gave a blow to the empire of the Turks. He had conquered Persia, India, and Syria, when the Greek emperor and some Mahometan princes invited him into Asia Minor, as the only potentate able to deliver them from the tyranny of Bajazet (1402). Tamerlane sent ambassadors to Bajazet, marched into Asia Minor, and the terrible battle of Angora was fought near Ancyra (July 28, 1402), in which the sultan was defeated and made prisoner. In consequence of this victory, Tamerlane became master of Prusa, the seat of the Turkish empire. Having ravaged Asia Minor, and pillaged the principal cities, the Tartar conqueror retired. Delivered from the Tartar foes, the Turks renewed the attack upon Constantinople (1423). John VI. endeavoured to unite the Greek and Roman churches; and though an ostensible union was signed, July 6, 1439, it did not lead to a real accommodation.

§ 167. The Turks were diverted from Constantinople by their wars in Hungary, and having been defeated, concluded a solemn truce of ten years, to which the sultan swore upon the Koran, and the king of Poland and Hungary upon the Gospels (1444). The Turks retired into Asia, and the pope's legate incited Ladislaus to violate the truce. The pope released him from his oath, declaring that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," one of the most pernicious doctrines of

the church of Rome. The Turks prepared to repel the invasion, overcame the Christian army at Varna (Nov. 10, 1444), when both the erring king and the treacherous legate were slain. Amurath once more resigned the rod of empire, but was compelled to resume, owing to the defection of one Scanderberg, an Albanian prince. He did not complete this conquest, but dying in 1451, was succeeded by his son Mahomet II. Though only twenty-one years of age when he mounted the Ottoman throne, he had conceived the design of making Constantinople the seat of his empire, and nothing could divert him from that purpose. So vigorously did he press the siege, that, in spite of a gallant resistance, the city was taken (1453). Constantine XIV., the last Christian emperor, perished in the final struggle. Mahomet II. afterwards made himself master of the whole of Greece, and threatened Venice, and even Rome itself. All Europe trembled at his motions, and well it might; for Europe, unless united, must have submitted to his sword. Death surprised the conqueror in his fifty-first year (1481). His descendants still possess the finest country in our quarter of the globe.

LETTER 51.—Spain, from the Death of Peter the Cruel to the Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella. A.D. 1369—1492. Vol. i., pages 280—283.

§ 168. After the death of Peter the Cruel, Spain was long agitated by civil wars and dissensions, and nothing worthy of notice occurred until the accession of his sister Isabella, and her husband Ferdinand of Arragon, to the throne of Castile, in 1474. They were persons of great prudence, and, as sovereigns, highly worthy of imitation; yet they do not seem to have merited all the praises bestowed upon them by Spanish historians. They neither loved nor hated each other; were seldom seen in company together; had each a separate council, and frequently displayed jealousies in their administration. About the middle of the thirteenth century, the cities of Arragon, and, after their example, those of Castile, had formed themselves into an association, called the Holy Brotherhood. Its objects were the suppression of outrages, the punishment of offenders, and the establishment of order. This institution Ferdinand and Isabella supported, as a salutary check upon the nobility. But they also allowed the introduction into their dominions of the terrible court of the Inquisition

(1480); and in a few years thousands of their subjects felt its fury.

§ 169. The death of Ferdinand's father, John II., in 1479, led to the union of Castile and Arragon. Of all their possessions in Spain, the Mahometans only retained Granada. Ferdinand made several efforts to subdue this Moorish kingdom, and early in 1492 captured Granada, and thus put an end to the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after a duration of nearly eight hundred years. A persecution of the Jews, who engrossed the wealth and the commerce of Spain, followed. In 1492, after vain attempts in England, and seven years spent in fruitless applications at home, Christopher Columbus had obtained from Ferdinand and Isabella the means of going upon his first voyage of discovery. In 1496, Joanna, second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was married to Philip, second son of the emperor Maximilian I., archduke of Austria, and sovereign of the Netherlands. This marriage paved the way for the transfer of the Spanish dominion to the house of Austria.

CHAPTER VII.

LETTER 52.—England during the Reign of Henry VII.
A.D. 1485—1509. Vol. i., pages 283—291.

§ 170. HENRY VII., the first prince of the house of Tudor, having had his title confirmed by the Parliament, very wisely united the claims of York and Lancaster, by marrying the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. (1486). Still his sympathies were with the Lancastrians, and the injustice with which he treated the Yorkists led to several conspiracies. The insurrection of Lord Lovel and the Staffords was put down by the duke of Bedford in 1486. One Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, personated the earl of Warwick, then kept a close prisoner by Henry. The attempt was made in Ireland, the inhabitants of Dublin with one consent tendered their allegiance to Simnel, as the true Plantagenet, and all Ireland followed the example set by the capital. Henry VII. was a good deal alarmed, and held frequent consultations with his ministers and counsellors relative to the measures most proper for the safety of his kingdom, and the means of discovering the origin of the imposture. The queen-dowager had some share in it, and was confined in the nunnery of Bermondsey for life, while the earl of Warwick was taken from the Tower, led through the streets of London, and exposed to the view of the populace at St. Paul's. Several noblemen joined in the conspiracy; and Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, despatched troops to support the cause of the pretender. These accessions of strength induced the leaders of the rebellion to invade England; but they were defeated at the battle of Stoke, near Newark (June 6, 1487), where many of their chiefs fell, and Simnel was taken prisoner, and afterwards employed as a turnspit in the king's kitchen.

§ 171. Henry having thus restored tranquillity to his kingdom and security to his government, entered into a treaty with James III. of Scotland, and offered to mediate in the quarrel between France and Brittany, the last inde-

pendent fief of the French monarchy. The Bretons were compelled to submit, and Henry then prepared to interfere. In 1492 he landed at Calais with a splendid army. He soon after entered into the treaty of Etaples, by which the French monarch agreed to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, and a yearly pension of twenty-five thousand crowns. A new danger had in the mean time arisen. The old duchess of Burgundy caused a report to be circulated, to the effect that her nephew, Richard duke of York, had escaped from the Tower, when his elder brother Edward V. was murdered. She fixed upon Perkin Warbeck, the son of an obscure Fleming, to personate that prince, and from his resemblance to Edward IV., he was well calculated to pass off as his son. Perkin landed in Cork, played his part well, and was received with enthusiasm. He then went to France, and thence, in consequence of the treaty of Etaples, to Flanders. Henry VII. combated this formidable conspiracy by all the means in his power; and having discovered some members of the nobility in correspondence with the pretender, had them arrested and put to death. Warbeck attempted to land in Kent, but failed (1494); thence he proceeded to Ireland, where his reception was by no means cordial, and he took refuge with James IV. of Scotland. He was well received, and contracted a marriage with Katherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley (1495). James of Scotland furnished him with an army, and they invaded England; but were compelled to retire. Warbeck at last appeared in Cornwall, where an insurrection had broken out; and here was induced to surrender on a promise of pardon (1498). Having plotted with the earl of Warwick to escape from the Tower, he was hanged at Tyburn, on the 16th of November, and the last of the male line of the Plantagenets was beheaded on the 28th of the same month (1499).

§ 172. Henry, after long negotiations, concluded a marriage between Arthur, prince of Wales, and Katherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (1501). The prince died soon after, and Henry VII. compelled his second son Henry to enter into a contract with the widow. Another alliance was also celebrated in the same year, between Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, and James IV. of Scotland. The situation of Henry's affairs both at home and abroad was now in every respect fortunate. Avarice was his ruling vice, and with ministers who seconded his rapacity, his sole purpose seemed to be to amass money.

Philip, duke of Austria, and Joanna his wife, being cast upon the English coast, on their way to assume the government of Castile, were entertained by the king (1506). He concluded a treaty of commerce with them highly beneficial to England, and stipulated for the surrender of the earl of Suffolk, who had taken refuge in Flanders. His rapacity increased with age; but overcome by the terrors of death, he ordered, in a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He fell a victim to consumption, and died at his favourite palace of Richmond, in 1509. His reign was on the whole fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. Henry was a prince of great talents, both civil and military; he put an end to the civil wars, maintained order in the state, repressed the exorbitant power of the barons, and indirectly increased the consequence of the commons, by enabling the nobility to break their ancient entails.

LETTER 53.—A general View of the Continent of Europe, from the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. to the League of Cambray. A.D. 1494—1508. Vol. i., pages 291—297.

§ 173. It will in future be often impracticable to give a separate history of all the principal European states, by reason of the new system of policy which was adopted about the beginning of the sixteenth century; and in consequence of which an union of interests became necessary, in order to form a balance of power. The system took its rise from the political state of Europe at that time, and was perfected by the Italian wars, which commenced with the expedition of Charles VIII., in support of his claim to the kingdom of Naples (1494). Although his army did not exceed 32,000 men, he overran all Italy, entered the chief cities, and surprised Pope Alexander VI. in the castle of St. Angelo. This base prelate submitted, and seconded all the French king's projects. He put to death Zizim, brother to Bajazet II., who had been some time in his power, and then crowned Charles VIII. emperor of the East (1495). Alphonso II., king of Naples, fled at the French monarch's approach, and took refuge in a cloister. Charles entered Naples in triumph; but while celebrating his success, several Italian princes and states, among which were the pope, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, supported by the emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, entered into a league against him. These confederates

assembled an army of 30,000 men, and though Charles could only muster about 10,000, he gained the battle of Taro (July 6, 1495). This opened to him a safe retreat to France, although he lost all his conquests in Italy almost as rapidly as he had gained them. A Spanish army reconquered Naples, and Ferdinand II., brother to Alphonso II., was placed upon the throne. Charles VIII. died soon after his return to France, while planning another expedition (1498), and was succeeded by the duke of Orleans, grandson of Charles VI., as Louis XII., commonly called the *Father of his People*.

§ 174. Louis XII. was in his thirty-sixth year when he ascended the throne of France, and he immediately assumed the title of king of the Two Sicilies, and duke of Milan. The latter he claimed in right of one of his grandmothers, daughter of John Galeazzo Visconti, first duke of that territory, who had stipulated, in the marriage contract of his daughter Valentina, that, on the failure of male heirs in the family of Visconti, the duchy should descend to the posterity of Valentina and the duke of Orleans. The Visconti family became extinct in 1447, but the house of Orleans had been prevented from making good their claim, and the descendants of Francis Sforza, a soldier of fortune, filled the ducal throne. At the time of Louis the Twelfth's accession to the French monarchy, Alexander VI. was engaged in two great designs; one being the recovery of territories which he declared belonged to the papal see, and the other the exaltation of his son Cæsar Borgia. He was accordingly flattered when Louis XII. applied to him for a divorce from his wife, the daughter of Louis XI., immediately granted it, and sent his son Cæsar Borgia with it into France, with power to treat on the subject of the Italian claims (1498). Louis XII. married Anne of Brittany, the queen dowager, and prepared to vindicate his rights in Italy.

§ 175. Having settled home affairs, Louis crossed the Alps, and made himself master of the duchy of Milan, while his allies, the Venetians, occupied the territory of Cremona (1499). France and Spain then entered into an alliance to conquer Naples, disputed about the division of the spoil, the French were expelled, and Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, secured the entire possession of the kingdom for Spain. Alexander VI. was still pursuing his nefarious schemes, when suddenly overtaken by death in 1503. He left behind him a more detestable memory in Europe than

Nero or Caligula had done in the Roman empire. Cæsar Borgia lost all the fruits of the crimes committed by parent and son, while the Church profited by them. He was slain in endeavouring to recover his possessions in 1504. Louis XII. made another ineffectual attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, and at length engaged, by the treaty of Blois (1505), to pay Maximilian a large sum for the investiture of that duchy, and to give his daughter in marriage to Maximilian's grandson, Charles of Austria, with Brittany, Burgundy, and all his Italian dominions as her dowry, in case he died without male heirs. The States-General of France refused to ratify this latter article, and the Princess Anne was affianced to the count of Angoulême, presumptive heir to the throne (1506). The balance of power was soon after happily arranged among the principal European states, when general tranquillity was disturbed by the schemes of an ambitious pontiff (1508).

LETTER 54.—Europe, from the League of Cambray to the Death of Louis XII. A.D. 1508—1515. Vol. i., pages 297—303.

§ 176. Julius II., who established the temporal dominion of the popes, had formed the project of driving all foreigners out of Italy, but wished in the first place to humble Venice. This republic took its rise during the inroads of the barbarians, in the fifth century. The small islands in the Adriatic Sea afforded an asylum to the neighbouring inhabitants, who lived by fishing, and afterwards became rich and powerful by commerce. The civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries, but had one striking defect; it wanted some counterpoise to the power of the nobles, and did not offer proper encouragement to the common people. The military force of the republic consisted wholly of mercenaries, being generally commanded by a soldier of fortune. Venice was entirely supported by her extensive commerce, from which she derived such immense supplies, that she became a terror to Italy. Julius II. formed the League of Cambray, so called from the city in which it was signed, against this proud republic (1508). The emperor Maximilian, Louis XII., Julius II., and other rulers of less importance, joined the confederacy; but when Venice was on the point of being subdued, the pope withdrew from the league, formed another called the Holy League, against the French, and attacked them. Led by Gaston de Foix, the latter gained

several brilliant victories, in the last of which—the battle of Ravenna (April 11, 1512)—this hero lost his life. With this sad event, the fortune of the war changed, and the French were soon after expelled from Italy.

§ 177. Julius II. died in 1513, and was succeeded by Leo X., one of the most illustrious of the pontiffs. An English expedition had been sent in 1512 against the French, but it returned without having accomplished anything worthy of record, and in 1513 Henry VIII. was induced to invade France at the head of a large force. The battle of the Spurs, so called because the French made more use of their spurs than their military weapons, was fought on the 16th of August, 1513. After laying siege to Tournay, Henry returned to England. During his absence, the Scotch invaded England, under James IV., but were defeated at the battle of Flodden Field (Sept. 9, 1513), with great slaughter. The Scotch army amounted to 50,000 men, while the earl of Surrey could muster only 26,000 to oppose this force. The Scotch monarch and many of his nobility were slain, and on his return, Henry generously made peace. Soon after Louis XII. renounced the council of Pisa or Milan, then transferred to Lyons, and was reconciled to the pope (1514). In the same year Louis lost his wife, made peace with England, and married Mary, Henry the Eighth's sister. Tranquillity was once more restored to Europe, which Louis did not long live to enjoy. He died on the 1st of January, 1515, in his fifty-fourth year. Louis was universally beloved by the people. He began his reign by abolishing many taxes, and succeeded in diminishing the public burdens above one half.

LETTER 55.—General View of Europe continued, from the Accession of Francis I. to the Death of the Emperor Maximilian; including the Rise of the Reformation in Germany. A.D. 1515—1519. Vol. i., pages 303—308.

§ 178. Francis I. succeeded to the throne of his father-in-law, and immediately resolved to recover Milan. Having renewed the treaty concluded by his predecessor with England, he crossed the Alps, and was victorious at the battle of Marignano (Sept. 13 and 14, 1515), which was followed by the surrender of Milan and the submission of the whole duchy. Maximilian Sforza resigned his claim for a pension, and Francis, having entered into a treaty with the Swiss and the pope, returned to France. Henry VIII.

intrigued with the emperor, and the latter despatched an army into Italy, which was defeated before Milan; whereupon Maximilian made peace with France and Venice, ceding Verona to the latter for a sum of money (1516). Ferdinand, king of Spain, died just before the conclusion of this peace, leaving his extensive dominions to his grandson Charles, who then governed the Low Countries, as heir to the house of Burgundy. Cardinal Ximenes, having been appointed sole regent until Charles should arrive, suppressed a revolt of the nobility, but was afterwards slighted and dismissed from the royal councils. He died of a broken heart (1517).

§ 179. In 1518 Maximilian assembled a diet at Augsburg, hoping to induce the electors to choose Charles as his successor. But as Maximilian had never been crowned by the pope, he was only regarded as emperor *elect*; and accordingly the electors refused to comply with his request. Before this diet Martin Luther, the great German reformer, was summoned for "propagating new and dangerous opinions." The abuses of the papal government had aroused a strong spirit of opposition in Europe. The spiritual despotism of Gregory VII., the temporal tyranny of Alexander VI., and the bloody ambition of Julius II. all helped to produce a wonderful impression upon the minds of men. The Roman pontiffs not only assumed the power of disposing of crowns, and of releasing nations from their oaths of allegiance, but also of absolving individuals from the ties of moral duties. The sale of indulgences was one of the worst of the new practices introduced by the papal innovators. By this they assumed and exercised the right of pardoning all offences, which was, in other words, tolerating the commission of sins. These indulgences or plenary pardons, supposed to serve not only as a remission of sins to the living, but as a release to the dead from the pains of purgatory, were first invented by Urban II. as a recompense for those engaged in the crusades. John XXII. reduced the spiritual traffic into a system, and Leo X. published a general sale of indulgences.

§ 180. The abuse of the sale of indulgences in Germany, where they were publicly retailed in ale-houses, and regularly farmed out, awakened the indignation of Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, professor of theology in the university of Wittenberg. Luther wrote and preached against them (1517), appealing to reason and Scripture, instead of to

councils or popes, for the truth of his arguments. The people joined in the movement, and Luther went from the exposure of one error to another, and assailed the whole fabric of the Romish church. Leo had summoned the daring monk to Rome; but Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, exerted his influence, and the cause was appointed to be tried in Germany, by Cardinal Cajetan. Luther having obtained the emperor's safe-conduct, repaired to the Diet of Augsburg. Cajetan demanded his recantation, Luther refused to comply with this request, and after appealing to a general council, retired secretly into Saxony (1518). Maximilian died on the 12th of January, 1519, and his death, as it left vacant the first station among Christian princes, gave rise to a competition and awakened a jealousy, that threw all Europe into agitation. During his reign Germany was divided into circles, in each of which a provincial and particular jurisdiction was established, to supply the place of a public and common tribunal.^a The Imperial Chamber was also instituted. It was composed of judges nominated by the emperor, with the approbation of the Diet, and invested with authority for the final decision of all differences among the members of the Germanic body (1495). The Aulic Council too, which took cognizance of all feudal cases, and such as belonged to the emperor's immediate jurisdiction, received under this prince a new form and development (1501). By these regulations order was given to that confused government, and some degree of vigour restored to the imperial authority.^b

^a With reference to these circles, which were formed to enforce the decisions of the Imperial Chamber, Hallam says (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. ch. v. p. 97), "In 1501, an institution, originally planned under Wenceslaus, and attempted by Albert II., was carried into effect. The empire, with the exception of the Electorates and the Austrian dominions, was divided into six circles; each of which had its council of state, its director, whose province it was to convoke them, and its military force to compel obedience. In 1512 four more circles were added, comprehending those states which had been excluded in the first division. It was the business of the police of the circles to enforce the execution of sentences pronounced by the Imperial Chamber against refractory states of the empire."

^b Most of these changes were made at the Diet of Worms, held by Maximilian in 1495.

LETTER 56.—Progress of Society in Europe, from the beginning of the Fourteenth to the middle of the Sixteenth Century ; with a retrospect view of the revival of letters. A.D. 1300—1550. Vol. i., pages 308—316.

§ 181. Mankind are no sooner in possession of the conveniences of life, than they begin to aspire after its elegancies. Such was the case in Europe about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Italian cities which had early acquired liberty and obtained municipal charters, carried on a flourishing trade with India through the ports of the Red Sea. They introduced into their own country manufactures of various kinds, and carried them on with great ingenuity and vigour. They attempted new arts, among which may be mentioned that of taking impressions from engravings on plates of copper, the manufacture of crystal glass for mirrors, of paper made of linen rags, and of earthenware in imitation of porcelain. Flanders had long been as famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloths as Italy was for that of silk. Nearly all the wool from England was carried there, and Flanders became the greatest emporium in Europe. Towards the end of the thirteenth century painting and architecture revived in Italy, and they continued to make rapid progress. Tapestry had long been manufactured in the Low Countries, and the Flemings in their turn became painters and architects before the rest of Europe were furnished with the necessary arts.

§ 182. The first permanent step towards the revival of letters in Europe, was the establishment of schools under lay preceptors. The monkish system was thus overthrown, and the sceptre of knowledge wrested from the hand of superstition. Several enlightened persons among the laity, who had studied under the Arabs in Spain, about the beginning of the eleventh century, undertook the education of youth in the chief cities of Italy, and afterwards in those of France, Germany, and England. The human soul during this period seemed to have roused itself, as from a lethargy. Learning continued to advance in spite of every obstruction, and the invention of paper in the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth, made knowledge so general, that Italy soon began to contrast the age of Leo X. with that of the second Cæsar. The female character was raised, and the extended influence of woman proved highly beneficial. It not only softened the manners

of all classes, but had a most blessed effect upon the customs and usages of warfare. From these new manners arose a new species of composition;—the romance, or modern heroic fable.^a It took its rise in the thirteenth century, among the troubadours or minstrels of Provence,^b who employed a modification of the Provençal dialect. The wonders of the crusades, and the pomp and luxuriance of Asiatic cities, became the themes of their compositions, which abounded with the exaggerations of Asiatic imagery and the extravagancies of Asiatic fiction. The romance was the favourite mode of composition; and, as every kingdom had its valorous knights, every kingdom soon had its romances; and every romance was nearly the same. This was succeeded by the allegorical tale; in which the virtues and vices, appetites and passions, took the place of human beings, and were made subservient to the design of the poet. This shadowy production was followed by the Italian epic; the characters of which, as in the heroic poem of the Greeks, consist of a medley of mortal, immortal, and allegorical personages. Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso are supposed to have carried it to perfection. Dante, the father of Italian poetry, flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was succeeded by Petrarch and Boccaccio, who perfected the Italian language.

§ 183. The English court was, in that age, the most splendid in Europe, and one of the most polished. Edward III. and his son, the Black Prince, were the patrons and mirrors of chivalry. The stately castle of Windsor,

^a Russell has adopted the views advocated by Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*. That romantic fiction did not originate in the thirteenth century, and was not produced by the crusades, are matters that has been clearly established by Richard Price in his edition of Warton's, in many respects, valuable work. The following note by Wright will perhaps bring the matter most vividly before the mind of the young student. "There is nothing, perhaps, more ridiculous than the seeking of the origin of romance amongst any one people, or of supposing that any one people took its romance from another. It is obvious that at a certain period amongst the literature of every people, we may find romances that are taken from those of other peoples, although there are few nations which do not possess a body of popular romance belonging to themselves. I have very little doubt that a large mass of the stories which in the thirteenth century made their appearance in *jubilans*, had existed at a much earlier period among the Teutonic tribes."—Warton, edit. 1840, vol. i. p. 115.

^b The French language was divided into two different dialects, called the *Langue d'Oïl* and the *Langue d'Oc*, or the French and Provençal. Soon after the decline of the latter the troubadours arose.

built in this illustrious reign, saw the round table of King Arthur, and the order of the Garter restored. Tilts, tournaments, and pageants, were constantly exhibited, and with a magnificence before unknown. Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, was the brightest ornament of Edward's court. Owing to William the Conqueror's attempt to extirpate the English tongue, Chaucer had to create, or at least to form, a new dialect. The civil wars retarded the advance of English literature and refinement, and Chaucer had no worthy successor till the days of Elizabeth. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, *Chants Royaux*, *Ballades*, *Rondeaux*, and *Pastorales*, had taken the place of the Provençal poetry, in France; but Froissart, who cultivated this *New Poetry* with success, cannot be considered equal to the old troubadours. Genius, in the mean time, continued to advance with rapid strides in Italy. Dramatic talent began to disclose itself, and theatrical representation was revived; music also was cultivated. Italy had at last her historians; the names of Michiavel and Guicciardini shed lustre on the literature of the period.

LETTER 57.—The Progress of Navigation, particularly among the Portuguese. A short Introduction to the History of Portugal. The Discoveries and Settlements of the Portuguese on the Coast of Africa, and in the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope. The Discovery of America by the Spaniards; the Settlement of the West Indies, and the Conquest of Mexico and Peru; together with some Reflections on the Moral and Political consequences of these great events. A.D. 1100—1533. Vol. i., pages 317—329.

§ 184. The navigation of Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though much improved since the age of Charlemagne, was chiefly confined to the Mediterranean and Baltic seas, and was still little more than what is now called *coasting*. Flanders was the great theatre of commerce. Thither the Italian states conveyed, from the ports of Egypt, the precious commodities of the East; and thither the Hanseatic merchants carried, from the shores of the Baltic, the naval stores and other rude merchandise of the North. To this common mart all European nations resorted. Towards the close of the eleventh century, Alphonso VI., king of Castile and Leon, having wrested from the Moors the northern provinces of the present kingdom of Portugal, bestowed them, together with his natural daughter, upon Henry of Burgundy, a noble

volunteer, who had assisted him in his wars. Henry only took the title of count, but in 1139 his son Alphonso assumed the regal dignity. The kings of Portugal were involved in continual wars with the Moors, and in 1383 the male succession failed. After an interregnum of eighteen months, the States conferred the crown upon John, surnamed the Bastard. He was the third European prince who formed a respectable navy, which he employed with equal success in annoying his enemies and in protecting his subjects. His son, Henry III., devoted his attention to astronomy and navigation, working out many beneficial results. Under his direction, Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape de Verd islands were discovered.

§ 185. John II. made Lisbon a free port, and the Portuguese prosecuted their discoveries with ardour and success. Bartholomew Díaz reached the extreme point of Africa, to which he gave the name of the *Stormy Cape*; but the king, perceiving the importance of the discovery, changed it to the Cape of Good Hope (1486). Emanuel I. pursued the same objects as his predecessors, and in 1496 sent out a fleet of four ships, under Vasco de Gama. That celebrated navigator sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. He returned to Lisbon in 1498; and such was the enthusiasm with which his discoveries were received, that thirteen ships left the Tagus for India, under the command of Alvarez Cabral (1500). This navigator discovered Brazil, took possession of it, and then proceeded to Calicut, where, through the intrigues of the Arabs, he became involved in hostilities with the natives. The command in India was afterwards given to Alphonso Albuquerque, who destroyed Calicut, seized upon Goa, and made it the capital of the Portuguese empire in India (1511). This ambitious navigator attacked Malacca, pushed along the coast Coromandel, while his successors penetrated into China and Japan.

§ 186. The Spaniards had in the mean time discovered a new continent towards the west.^a Christopher Columbus, a Genoese navigator, who resided at Lisbon, and who had devoted himself to the study of astronomy, conceived the idea of the existence of this new continent. The Genoese treated him as a visionary, and, in 1484, the court of Portugal refused to adopt his plans. After a similar failure in England, and

^a Recent writers have shown that the Scandinavians in early times touched at the continent of the New World.

several rejections from Ferdinand of Spain, that monarch at last fitted out a fleet of three ships, and gave Columbus the command. He boldly launched into the ocean; his crew mutinied; but he persevered, and on the 12th of October reached one of the Bahama islands, which he named St. Salvador (1492). Having discovered several small islands, he arrived at the island of Cuba, and afterwards at Hispaniola, where he built a fort, and planted a little colony. The natives were an easy, harmless, indolent race, who regarded the Spaniards as divinities. Columbus returned to Spain in 1493, and his discoveries produced such a sensation, that a fleet of seventeen sail was fitted out in a few months. During his absence, his small colony had behaved so ill, that the natives rebelled and massacred the Spaniards. Columbus established a new colony; and on the outbreak of dissensions, committed the government of the island to his brother Bartholomew, and returned to Spain, with some samples of gold-dust, ore, pearls, and other precious productions, after having a second time attempted, but in vain, to discover a western continent (1496). He set out on his third voyage with a small fleet, and on the 1st of August, 1498, landed on the continent of America, near the mouth of the river Orinoco.

§ 187. In 1499, the merchants of Seville despatched a fleet of four ships, under the joint command of Alonzo de Ojeda and Americus Vespucius. They followed in the track of Columbus, touched on the great western continent, to which Americus gave his own name. In the mean time a new governor had been sent out to Hispaniola, and Columbus and his brother were carried home in chains. They were, however, set at liberty, and Columbus sailed on his fourth voyage of discovery in 1502. He was shipwrecked on the island of Jamaica, his followers mutinied, and, after suffering great privations, he reached Spain in 1504. Queen Isabella was dead, and all his hopes of future favour vanished. He retired to Valladolid, where he died neglected and in want, on the 20th of May, 1506.

§ 188. After the death of Columbus, the maxims of Spain, like those of Portugal, became altogether barbarous. Religion, avarice, and violence were united. The leader who pursued these with least violence to humanity, and most advantage to his country, was Hernando Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico. Before that empire was discovered, the Spanish colonies of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, were in a flourishing condition. Rumours of the opulence and

grandeur of the emperor Montezuma and his capital, induced Velasquez, governor of Cuba, to send Cortés to make the conquest. With a small force the Spanish general effected this object. He landed on the coast in 1519, and managed to form an alliance with some princes and states, enemies of the Mexicans. Mexico was soon taken, and the emperor, Montezuma, arrested. Cortés was called away to check the advance of a general sent to replace him, when the Mexicans revolted. Their emperor, Montezuma, was killed during the insurrection, and Cortés was finally compelled to abandon the city (1520). The Mexicans harassed his retreat, but were overthrown with great slaughter; and, having obtained the assistance of the Tlascalans, Cortés once more besieged Mexico. It surrendered, and the whole empire submitted to the Spaniards (1521). The city of Mexico is represented as one of the most striking monuments of human grandeur. Its spacious squares, its sumptuous palaces, its magnificent edifices, are spoken of with enthusiasm by the Spanish historians; but their splendid descriptions are somewhat overdrawn.^a

§ 189. Peru had long been governed by a race of emperors, under the name of Incas, who were supposed to be the descendants of the sun. In 1529, Francisco Pizarro, with about two hundred men, invaded that empire, then famous for its wealth, and succeeded, after a variety of adventures, in subjecting it to his sway (1533). The conquest of Mexico and Peru put the Spaniards at once in the possession of more specie than all the other nations of Europe, yet Spain from that era has continued to decline, in population, industry, and vigour. Portugal has experienced a similar fate, and neither of these states have benefited by their discoveries. The advantages to Europe of these new acquisitions have not been so great as many have imagined, or, at any rate, they have been counterbalanced by great evils. The extension of commerce has increased the wants of the civilized world, and whetted the avarice of man. The colonies established by the different European communities are, indeed, a great benefit to the human race, and open out wonderful advantages to the industry of a surplus population.

^a In Prescott's works the student will find full particulars respecting the early state of Mexico.

CHAPTER VIII.

LETTER 58.—A General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Election of Charles V., king of Spain, and emperor of Germany, to the Peace of Cambray, including the Progress of the Reformation. A.D. 1519—1529. Vol. i., pages 330—342.

§ 190. ON the death of Maximilian, Francis I. of France, and Charles I. of Spain, were the principal competitors for the empire. The electors offered the crown to Frederic the Wise, duke of Saxony, but that prince declined the honour, and recommended Charles, who was in consequence elected, under the title of Charles V. (1519). Francis, incensed, made advances to Henry VIII. of England, flattered Cardinal Wolsey, then prime minister, and so far succeeded in his designs, as to induce Henry to consent to hold an interview with him near Calais. In the mean time, Charles landed at Dover, on his way from Spain to the Low Countries, made a favourable impression upon Henry, won Wolsey by the promise of his vote, in case of a vacancy, for the papal chair, and completely detached the king and his minister from the interests of France (1520). The two monarchs had an interview at Guisnes, near Calais, at which such magnificence and profuse expense were displayed, that it was called the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. Henry wrestled with Francis, and being thrown, desired to renew the struggle, but was prevented. On leaving this scene of dissipation, Henry visited the emperor Charles, at Gravelines, where their former favourable impressions were much strengthened. Charles was solemnly invested with the crown and sceptre of Charlemagne, at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 22nd of October, and about the same time Soliman the Magnificent ascended the Ottoman throne.

§ 191. Charles's first act was to assemble the Diet of Worms, for the purpose of concerting with the princes of the empire proper measures for checking the progress of those new and dangerous opinions which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of

their ancestors. After the Diet of Augsburg, Luther had freely propagated his opinions, and published treatises against the Romish errors. In 1520, Leo X. issued a bull of excommunication against him, which Luther burned publicly, at Wittenberg, together with the canon law, on the 10th of December. At Zurich, Zuinglius denounced the sale of indulgences, and the corruptions of the Church, and the pope's supremacy was denied in the greater part of Switzerland (1519). Such was the state of the Reformation when Charles V. arrived in Germany; and although no secular prince had yet embraced the new opinions, and no changes had been effected, a deep impression had been made upon the minds of the people, and their reverence for the existing institutions and doctrines much shaken. Luther repaired to Worms, where crowds assembled round him, while his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank. While expressing regret at any harshness into which he might have been betrayed in the heat of controversy, Luther refused to retract his opinions, nor would he consent to their being tried by any other standard than that of Scripture (April 16, 1521). Although Luther was permitted to depart, a severe edict was issued in the emperor's name, and by the authority of the diet, forbidding any prince to harbour him. The elector of Saxony, his faithful patron, secretly protected him, and Luther retired to Würtburg, and commenced the German translation of the Bible.

§ 192. Francis I. availed himself of a rebellion that had broken out in Spain to endeavour to regain possession of Navarre; and although his levies were at first successful, they were afterwards routed and expelled. Hostilities between the rival monarchs soon spread to another quarter. The duke of Bouillon invaded Luxemburg, and was repulsed by Charles, who was himself afterwards repelled and worsted before Mézières, by the famous Chevalier Bayard. This warrior, who united the talents of a consummate general to the punctilious honour and romantic gallantry of the heroes of chivalry, was known as *the Knight without fear and without reproach*. Henry VIII. attempted to mediate, and an unsuccessful congress was held at Calais, followed by a league against France, between Henry, Charles, and the Pope. The Milanese rose against their French governor, Lautrec, and drove the French out of a large part of their Italian possessions. This so delighted Leo X., that excessive joy brought on a fever, which occasioned his death.

(December 1, 1521), and Adrian VI. was raised to the papal chair. Francis I. made another effort to regain what he had lost in Italy; but his army was defeated with great slaughter at Bicocca (April 22, 1522). Genoa was captured by Prospero Colonna on the 30th of May, and the citadel of Cremona was the only fortress that remained in the hands of the French. Charles V. visited England, soothed Wolsey for his disappointment with respect to the pontificate, and induced Henry to send an army into France, under the earl of Surrey, which returned after a fruitless campaign.

§ 193. In 1521, Soliman the Magnificent, availing himself of these divisions among the Christian princes, entered Hungary, and made himself master of Belgrade. He then attacked Rhodes, which at last surrendered (December 20, 1522); whereupon the Knights of St. John took refuge in the island of Malta. Adrian VI. endeavoured to unite the Christian princes against the Turks, but afterwards joined the alliance formed by Charles V. against Francis I. That monarch at once prepared to march into Italy, and was only induced to alter his plans, on the discovery of a formidable conspiracy formed against him by Charles, duke of Bourbon, high constable of France. The conspirator was suffered to escape, and Francis relinquished his intention of accompanying his army. A force he had sent against Milan, was outmanœuvred by the duke of Bourbon and the marquis of Pescara, and when compelled to retreat, was pursued and defeated at Biagrasa (1524). In this action the Chevalier Bayard was killed. The emperor and his allies were less successful in their operations on the frontier of France, being baffled in all directions, and Francis again resolved upon leading an army into Italy. He passed Mount Cenis, entered Milan, and laid siege to Pavia. Every art known to the engineers of that age, and everything which could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in vain by the French monarch against this important place. Confident of success, he had detached a considerable part of his army to invade the kingdom of Naples; and the main body was wasted by the fatigues of the siege and the rigour of the season. In this state it was attacked by the imperial generals Bourbon, Lannoy, and Pescara, and after a terrible conflict defeated (February 25, 1525). Francis I. was taken prisoner, and in a few weeks not a Frenchman was left in Italy. It was in this extremity that Francis wrote to his mother Louisa, "All is lost, save honour."

§ 194. Henry VIII., sensible of the necessity of preserving the balance of power in Europe, determined upon assisting the regent, Louisa, at this crisis; while Wolsey, again disappointed of the papal chair (Clement VII. had been elected on the death of Adrian VI. in 1523), longed for an opportunity of revenging himself upon Charles V. A defensive alliance was made between France and England, which induced Charles, who had carried his prisoner into Spain, to enter into a treaty with him at Madrid (January 17, 1526). Francis was released, but consented to renounce all his rights in Italy, to relinquish the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, to cede Burgundy to the emperor, to marry his sister, the queen-dowager of Portugal, to pardon the duke of Bourbon, and to accompany the emperor in a crusade against the Turks. The king's two eldest sons were given up as hostages for the performance of the stipulated conditions. Directly Francis reached his kingdom, he summoned the States of Burgundy, who protested against the article relating to that province, and he refused to ratify the treaty of Madrid. The pope absolved him from his oath, and the kings of France and England, Clement VII., the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Milanese, entered into an alliance, which they called the Holy League, in order to oblige the emperor to deliver up the French king's sons, on the payment of a reasonable ransom, and to re-establish Sforza in the duchy of Milan (1526).

§ 195. Italy again became the battle-field, and the imperialists, under the command of the duke of Bourbon, overran the duchy of Milan, and then laid siege to Rome; their leader was slain, but the city was taken and pillaged (1527). Charles V. concealed his joy at this extraordinary event, and pretended to sympathize with the pope. Henry VIII. and Francis I. entered into a closer alliance, the one furnishing men and the other supplies, for an expedition into Italy, by which the pope was delivered. The revolt of Andrew Doria, a Genoese admiral in the service of France, led to the defeat of the French, and induced Francis to treat (1528). Charles V., disturbed by the victories of Soliman the Magnificent, and the progress of the Reformation, was also inclined to come to terms. Two ladies were permitted to restore peace to Europe. Margaret of Austria, Charles's aunt, and Louisa, Francis's mother, met at Cambray and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor (August 5, 1529). Francis agreed to

pay two millions of crowns, as the ransom of his two sons; to resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and forego all his Italian claims; and Charles ceased to demand the restitution of Burgundy. In 1530 Charles was crowned king of Italy at Bologna, whereupon he prepared to revisit Germany; and his presence there was greatly needed.

LETTER 59.—General View of the Affairs of Europe, and of the Progress of the Reformation on the Continent, from the Peace of Cambray to that of Crespi. A.D. 1529—1544. Vol. i., pages 343—355.

§ 196. The absence of the emperor, and his wars, favoured the progress of the Reformation in Germany. Most of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church, and many of the free cities imitated their conduct. The Diet of Spire resolved that all the states of Germany were free to choose their own religion (1526). Luther had published his translation of the Bible, and in 1525 married Katherine de Bora. Charles no sooner perceived some prospect of an accommodation with Clement VII., than he summoned another diet at Spire. After much dispute, a decree was issued, confirming the edict against Luther published at Worms, and prohibiting any further innovations in religion, but particularly the abolition of the mass, before the meeting of a general council (1529). Against this decree, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Lunenburg, and the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered a solemn protest (April 19). On that account they were called PROTESTANTS, a name since given to all opponents of the errors of the church of Rome. Such was the state of religious matters in Germany on the return of Charles. He assisted at the Diet of Augsburg, at which the Protestants presented their system of opinions, drawn up by Melancthon, and known as the Confession of Augsburg (June 25, 1530). The popish divines and the reformers disputed, and a decree was published condemning most of the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants, and withholding toleration. The Protestant princes then united in the league of Schmalkalden, being supported by France and England (1531). Dread of the Turks induced Charles to yield, and by a treaty concluded at Nuremberg, and solemnly ratified in the Diet of Ratisbon, he granted the Protestants liberty of conscience,

until the meeting of a general council, in return for their aid against the Turks (1532).

§ 197. Charles set off immediately with an army of 90,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry to meet the Turks, who retired at his approach. During his absence great disorders prevailed in Germany, occasioned by the Anabaptists, a new sect, who opposed infant baptism. They also contended that all distinctions of birth or rank ought to be abolished, that a community of goods should be established, and that every one might marry as many wives as he thought proper. The peasants readily embraced these opinions, assembled in great numbers, devastated the country, and revived the horrors of the *Jacquerie*. At first they were easily dispersed, and Muncer, their prophet, perished on a scaffold at Mülhausen in 1525. Their opinions were secretly propagated, and John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Bocold, a journeyman tailor of Leyden, fixed their residence at Munster, and expelled the inhabitants (1534). The bishop of Munster besieged the fanatics, and Matthias having been slain, John of Leyden assumed the title of king. But the warlike bishop of Munster prevailed, the city was taken, and John of Leyden put to death with lingering tortures (1536).

§ 198. In the mean time Charles undertook an expedition against the piratical states of Africa, where Barbarossa, a famous corsair, had established himself, committing piracies and ravages, and carrying off Christians as slaves. The outlaw was defeated, and his stronghold in the Bay of Tunis, called Goletta, captured, Tunis taken and sacked, and twenty thousand Christian slaves freed from bondage (1535). Francis took advantage of the emperor's absence, to revive his claims on Italy, but the death of Clement VII. put a stop to the negotiations (1534). By a cruel persecution of the Protestants in Paris, Francis had offended the Protestant princes, so that after vainly seeking to obtain allies, he advanced into Italy alone. He ravaged Savoy, captured Turin, and attempted to surprise Genoa (1536). Geneva suddenly threw off the yoke of Charles V., when that monarch drove the French out of Piedmont and Savoy, and invaded the southern provinces of France. The French king ordered his generals to retire and lay waste the territory, so that Charles, instead of that rich and populous country which he expected to enter, beheld nothing but one vast and desert solitude. Having spent two inglorious

months in Provence, and lost one half of his troops by famine or disease, he was under the necessity of ordering a retreat, which soon became a perfect rout. Charles conducted the remnant of his army over the frontier, and set out for Spain.

§ 199. Francis, elated with his success, accused Charles of having connived at the murder of the Dauphin, who had died under suspicious circumstances in 1536, and of having violated the treaty of Cambray. He declared further, that by contumacy and rebellion the emperor had forfeited Flanders and Artois, and that these fiefs were reunited to the crown of France. Preparations for war were made, but the new pope, Paul III., mediated, and a truce for three months between France and Spain was agreed to at Nice (Nov. 14, 1537); a congress was afterwards held there, a truce for ten years made (June 18, 1538), and the king and the emperor had an accidental but friendly meeting at Aigues-mortes. Charles being in want of supplies, assembled the Cortes of Castile at Toledo (1539), and proposed to lay a general excise on commodities. The measure was resisted, especially by the nobles, and the emperor dismissed the assembly with indignation; and from that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to the Cortes, on the pretence that such as pay no part of the public taxes should not claim a vote in disposing of them. These assemblies have since consisted merely of the procurators, or representatives of eighteen cities, two from each, in all thirty-six members, who are absolutely devoted to the crown.

§ 200. The citizens of Ghent revolted on account of the heavy taxation, and offered to transfer their allegiance to Francis, and to assist him in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands which had anciently belonged to his crown. Francis was not, however, inclined to entertain the proposal. He had lived in friendship with the emperor ever since their interview at Aigues-mortes, and Charles had promised him the investiture of that duchy. Francis, therefore, communicated the scheme to the emperor, afterwards granting him a safe passage through France, in order to chastise the rebels. The king entertained his guest with great magnificence at Paris (1540); and the citizens of Ghent, alarmed at his approach, offered to throw open their gates. Charles replied that he would appear among them "as a sovereign and a judge, with the sceptre and the

sword." Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number were banished; the city was declared to have forfeited its privileges; a new system of political administration was introduced; a heavy fine was imposed upon the inhabitants to defray the expense of erecting a citadel, together with an annual tax for the support of a garrison. Having thus re-established his authority in the Low Countries, Charles peremptorily refused to give up the duchy of Milan, and even denied that he had promised so to do, which conduct so exasperated Francis, that he only waited for the opportunity to take revenge (1540).

§ 201. The Protestants having in vain demanded a general council, pressed Charles to appoint a conference between a select number of divines of each party, in order to examine the points in dispute. For this purpose a diet was assembled at Ratisbon (1541), at which, in spite of the pope's opposition, the emperor presided. Little good was effected by this assembly, the settlement of the religious controversies being referred to a general council. In case this should prove impracticable, the matter was to be settled at a national synod; and in the event of the failure of both of these plans, a general diet of the empire was to be called within eighteen months. In the interval, innovations were forbidden, as well as all attempts to gain proselytes. This edict, called the first "Interim," gave great offence, both to the pope and the Protestants, the former regarding it as an infringement of the rights of the Church, and the latter as an attack upon their liberties. Charles treated privately with the Protestants, confirmed them in the full possession of all their privileges, and promised not to enforce the more obnoxious portions of the edict. The chance of a rupture with France, and the alarming progress of the Turks in Hungary, induced the emperor to make these concessions. Taking advantage of a revolution in Hungary, Soliman II. had defeated the Hungarians before Buda, and annexed the kingdom to his dominions. Intelligence of the revolution reached Charles at the diet of Ratisbon, whereupon, by the means of the above-mentioned concessions, he obtained such liberal promises of support, that he felt but little anxiety respecting the security of Germany.

§ 202. Charles then set off on an African expedition. Algiers, since the capture of Tunis, had become the common resort of the Barbary corsairs, under the leadership of a

renegado eunuch, named Hassan. Contrary to the advice of Andrew Doria, Charles persisted in attacking the pirate band, and had scarcely landed in Barbary, ere a violent hurricane arose, scattered his fleet, and dashed the greater part of it to pieces (1541). The emperor was compelled to re-embark, after having lost the flower of his army, and his shattered vessels were caught in a fresh storm. He bore his misfortunes with fortitude, and by sharing the severest hardships with the meanest soldier, and freely exposing himself to every kind of danger, won general admiration. Francis resolved to avail himself of these reverses, in order to renew the war, and sent ambassadors to the Ottoman Porte and the republic of Venice. They were seized and put to death by the governor of the duchy of Milan. By granting concessions to the Protestant princes of Germany, Charles obtained their support, as well as that of Henry VIII. of England, while Francis allied himself with the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and renewed his treaty with Soliman. War ensued, and several battles were fought, the most important of which was that of Ceresuola, gained by the count of Enghien, over the imperialists (April 14, 1544). Henry VIII. again invaded France, but hostilities were brought to a close by the treaty of Crespi (Sept. 18). This provided that all the conquests made by either party since the truce of Nice should be restored; that the emperor should give in marriage to the duke of Orleans, either his own eldest daughter, with the Netherlands, or his brother Ferdinand's second daughter, with the investiture of the duchy of Milan; that Francis should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, as well as to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and that Charles should give up his claim to the duchy of Burgundy; and that both should unite their forces against the Turks. The death of the duke of Orleans in the following year released the emperor from one stipulation in the treaty. War was still waged between France and England, and the French attempted to invade our island, but were repulsed near the Isle of Wight (1545). The contending parties being both tired of the struggle, concluded a treaty of peace, at Campe, near Ardres (June 7, 1546), by which it was stipulated that France should pay the arrears due to England by former treaties, Boulogne being left in the hands of Henry as a security for the debt.

LETTER 60.—The Domestic History of England during the Reign of Henry VIII., with some account of the Affairs of Scotland, and of the Rise of the Reformation in England. A.D. 1509—1547. Vol. i., pages 355—367.

§ 203. Henry VIII. began his reign by ordering the prosecution of Empson and Dudley, the two unfeeling ministers whom his father had employed in his extortions, and they were afterwards condemned and executed (1510). Katherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, to whom he had long been affianced, became his bride (1509), while Wolsey gained an ascendancy over the young king's mind. The duke of Buckingham, lord high constable of England, had displeased Wolsey, and he became the first victim. The office of high constable was forfeited by his attainder, and never afterwards revived (1521). The next memorable event in the domestic history of this reign, is the divorce of Queen Katherine. All her children excepting the Princess Mary died, and Henry was desirous of male issue. The unfortunate lady had offended Wolsey, and he fortified the scruples which his master entertained with respect to the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow. Moreover, the king had cast his eyes upon Anne Boleyn, maid of honour to the queen, and daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn,—a lady distinguished no less for the graces of her mind, than the beauty of her person.

§ 204. Henry had many obstacles to overcome. It was not only necessary to obtain a divorce from the pope, but a revocation of the bull which had been granted for his marriage with Katherine. True, she was aunt to the emperor Charles V., but Henry was in high favour with the court of Rome, and for his book against Luther, Leo X. had conferred upon him the title of *Defender of the Faith*.^a Henry, therefore, did not hesitate to apply to Clement VII. for permission to dissolve his marriage (1527). Afraid to offend Charles V., and equally unwilling to disoblige Henry,

^a This could only have been a confirmation from the pope of the title, as some of Henry's predecessors had borne it, and made use of the same; a fact which is proved by various public documents. In his *Memoirs of Lord Burghley* (vol. i. chap. ii. p. 24), Nares says:—"After all, the title was no new title; former English sovereigns had been styled Defenders of the Faith, as may be seen in charters granted to the university of Oxford. In 1544 this was made part of the king's title by act of parliament, and, as such, 'united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of England.'"

the pontiff temporized and at last commissioned his two legates in England, Campeggio and Wolsey, to open a court at London to try the validity of the marriage. They commenced the investigation on the 23rd of May, 1529, and after many delays, Campeggio, on the most frivolous pretences, prorogued the court, and the pope evoked the cause to Rome. Anne Boleyn imputed the miscarriage of the affair to Wolsey, whereupon this ambitious churchman was disgraced, and the great seal was transferred from him to Sir Thomas More, a man of learning, virtue, and capacity.

§ 205. The Parliament took advantage of the quarrel between Henry and the pope, to pass several bills restraining the power of the clergy; and Anne Boleyn endeavoured to induce the king to break off all connection with the church of Rome. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, advised Henry to consult all the universities in Europe, respecting the validity of his marriage (1529). This was done, and they decided as the king desired (1530). On the 28th of November in this year, Cardinal Wolsey breathed his last. Having retired to his see of York, he lived in retirement, when the earl of Northumberland received orders to arrest him for high treason, and conduct him to London for trial. On his journey he was seized with dysentery; and it was with much difficulty that he was able to reach Leicester Abbey, where he immediately retired to his bed, from which he never rose.

§ 206. On Wolsey's death, Henry summoned a parliament and a convocation, and by the former he was acknowledged "the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England" (1531). Anne Boleyn was created marchioness of Pembroke, and the king contracted a private marriage with her (1532), which was afterwards publicly solemnized by Cranmer (1533), who had been made archbishop of Canterbury. The new queen was soon after delivered of a daughter, Elizabeth (Sept. 7, 1533), the future sovereign of England. Intelligence of these transactions created great dismay at Rome. Cranmer's sentence was declared null, and the king threatened with excommunication. Francis I. mediated, but things had gone too far, and an English parliament conferred on the king the title, "*The only supreme Head of the Church of England upon earth.*" All who denied the king's supremacy, the legitimacy of the Princess

Elizabeth, and, by a strange inconsistency, embraced the tenets of the Reformers, provoked Henry's resentment. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and the learned Sir Thomas More, were sent to the scaffold, for refusing to take the new oaths (1535). The pope excommunicated Henry and laid the kingdom under an interdict, but could not frighten this monarch, and he proceeded against the monasteries, which had become the nurseries of idleness, superstition, and folly. Their ample revenues tempted the king, yet the abuses of these establishments forbid regret at their suppression. Commissioners were sent round, and the lesser monasteries, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, were at once suppressed by Parliament; and the revenues, goods, chattels, and plate, granted to the king (1536). The Convocation, which sat at the same time, ordered a new translation of the Scriptures, none having been published by authority, in the English tongue.

§ 207. Anne Boleyn soon experienced the effects of a decline in Henry's affections. The fickle monarch had been captivated by a maid of honour, Jane Seymour, a lady of exquisite beauty. Anne was accused of infidelity; impeached, condemned, and executed (1536). History affords no reason to call her innocence in question; and the king, by marrying her rival the day after her execution, made the motives of his conduct sufficiently evident, and left little doubt as to the iniquity of her sentence. The unfortunate lady's brother and three gentlemen of the bed-chamber were sacrificed to hallow his nuptials with Jane Seymour. The ex-queen Katherine died early in the same year. The Roman Catholics, who had been the chief instruments of these tragical events, did not reap so much advantage from the fall of Anne as they expected, and the Reformation still progressed. The discontented Roman Catholics got up a rebellion, which was suppressed by the duke of Norfolk, and the birth of a son, who was christened Edward, seemed to complete the king's felicity (Oct. 12, 1537). The queen died a few days after this auspicious event.

§ 208. Henry next resolved upon the utter destruction of the monasteries, and the better to reconcile the minds of the people to this great innovation, exposed the various impostures practised by the monks (1538). In order to settle religious disputes, a bill consisting of six articles, called by the Protestants the *Bloody Bill*, was passed through both houses, and received the royal assent (1539). This

statute favoured the doctrine of the real presence, or transubstantiation; the communion in one kind, or with bread only; the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; the utility of private masses; the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The violation of any of these articles was to be punished by death. At the same time, pensions were settled on the ejected monks, and six new bishoprics were created. The king began to think of a new wife, and, anxious to establish an intimate alliance with the duke of Cleves, who had great interest with the princes of the Schmalkaldic league, he solicited the hand of his daughter Anne. The marriage took place on the 6th of January, 1540; but Henry never liked the lady, and soon after conceived a passion for Katherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk. By the influence of this new connection, his minister Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason, committed to the Tower, condemned and executed. A divorce from Anne of Cleves was obtained, and the king married to Katherine Howard. This alliance was favourable to the Roman Catholic party. The king's councils being directed by the duke of Norfolk and Bishop Gardiner, a furious persecution arose against the Protestants. The *Law of the Six Articles*, which Cromwell had on all occasions taken care to soften, was executed with rigour, and Dr. Barnes and several other clergymen were brought to the stake. The elegant person and agreeable manners of Katherine entirely captivated the king; but his happiness was of short duration. The queen had led a dissolute life before marriage; the fact was now communicated to Henry, and although overcome with grief at the discovery, he sent his fifth partner to the scaffold (1542).

§ 209. James V. of Scotland refused to throw off the papal yoke, whereupon Henry declared war against him (1542). James invaded England, but was defeated at Solway (Nov. 24), and his army dispersed. He had married a daughter of the duke of Guise, and his wife, soon after this repulse, gave birth to a daughter, the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots (Dec. 8). James died in the same month, and Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, managed to engross the direction of the regency. By the aid of the Scotch nobility, Henry obtained a treaty for the union of the two crowns, on the basis of a proposed marriage between Edward, prince of Wales, and the young queen of Scots (1543). Henry's next care was to find a wife, and

he eventually fixed upon Katherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, a woman of virtue and good sense, well inclined towards the Protestant cause. The marriage was celebrated on the 12th of July, 1543, and by her discretion this queen managed to preserve the king's affection, though he was once or twice, through the machinations of Gardiner and others, highly incensed against her. Katherine persuaded him to restore his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, to the right of succession, and an act of parliament was passed for that purpose (1544).

§ 210. The king continued his religious persecutions, and, among other victims, Anne Ascue, a young woman of singular beauty and merit, perished at the stake (1546). Henry also pursued those who excited his political jealousy, and the duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, were committed to the Tower. The latter was beheaded early in 1547, and the king's death, on the 28th of January, saved the life of the father. Henry's health had long been declining, his approaching dissolution had been foreseen by all around him for some days, and at last Sir Anthony Denny ventured to make known the awful truth. The king signified his resignation, and sent for Cranmer, whom he had to the last protected. The primate came, though not before the king was speechless. As he still seemed to retain his senses, Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. Henry pressed the primate's hand, and expired, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

LETTER 61.—A General View of the State of Affairs on the Continent of Europe, including the Progress of the Reformation in Germany, from the First Meeting of the Council of Trent to the Peace of Passau. A.D. 1545—1552. Vol. i., pages 367—382.

§ 211. The emperor Charles V. resolved to humble the Protestant princes, and in order to effect his purpose had made a disadvantageous peace with Francis I. (1544), and a dishonourable truce with Soliman II. (1546); about the same time he entered into an alliance with Pope Paul III. for the extirpation of heresy. A council had assembled at Trent, on the 13th of December, 1545, by the authority of the pope, for "the extirpation of heresy, the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, the reformation of morals, and the restoration of peace and unity." The Protestants, although they had appealed to a general council, refused to

acknowledge the legality of the Council of Trent, as they were sensible that it had been convoked to condemn, and not to examine, their opinions. Charles, as usual, practised dissimulation; he could not, however, impose upon the sounder part of the Protestant confederacy. Luther died in 1546, but his opinions had taken root, and although unfortunate in their negotiations with foreign powers, the Protestants brought such a force into the field, that the wily Charles V. was completely outwitted. They imprudently treated instead of acting, till Charles received supplies from Italy and the Netherlands. He still cautiously declined a battle, trusting that discord and want of money would compel the confederates to disperse.

§ 212. The treachery of Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony, led to a crisis. Although standing aloof from the Protestant confederacy, Maurice professed to be animated by friendly feelings towards its members, and, confident in his good faith, one of them, the elector of Saxony, actually committed his dominions to his charge. The confederates had no sooner taken the field, than he joined with Ferdinand and overran the territories of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse. Maurice was speedily ejected from the electorate by its rightful sovereign; his own dominions were invaded, and he himself shut up in his capital. Nevertheless, Ulm and several cities submitted to the emperor, and his success was so decided, that Paul III. grew alarmed. Francis I. negotiated with Soliman II., the pope, the Venetians, and with England. The French monarch also encouraged the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, by remitting considerable sums; and he raised troops, and contracted for a large body of Swiss mercenaries. The death of Francis (March 31, 1547), before he could put any of his schemes into execution, afforded the emperor a short respite.

§ 213. This interval of security the emperor seized to take vengeance on the elector and the landgrave, and marched into Saxony with his army. He defeated his opponents, took the elector prisoner at Mulhausen, near Mühlberg (April 24, 1547), and speedily marched towards Wittemberg, the capital of the electorate. Sibylla of Cleves, the elector's wife, refused to yield up the place, and animated the citizens to a vigorous defence. Charles had the meanness to threaten the life of her husband, whereupon this gallant woman submitted, and an accommodation was

made. Frederic resigned the electoral dignity, gave up his capital, and consented to remain the emperor's prisoner. Charles, on his part, promised to spare the elector's life, and to settle upon him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territory, with a revenue of 50,000 florins. The Saxon electorate was immediately bestowed upon the treacherous Maurice (1548). The landgrave of Hesse, who had kept the field, was induced to surrender, on the promise that his personal freedom should be respected. He had no sooner submitted than he was arrested, and when Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg, who had become sureties for his safety, remonstrated, Charles treated them with contempt. Having now the two greatest princes of the empire in his power, the emperor carried them about with him in triumph, and wreaked his vengeance on all the members of the Schmalkaldic league. His brother Ferdinand tyrannized over his Bohemian subjects, stripped them of all their ancient privileges, and loaded them with oppressive taxes.

§ 214. Charles summoned a diet to meet at Augsburg, "in order to compose finally the controversies with regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the empire." He attempted to control its decisions by filling the city with Spanish troops. At his desire, the Diet of Augsburg petitioned the pope to allow the prelates of the council of Trent to return to that city, for the pope had, in 1547, caused them to remove to Bologna. Paul temporized, and at last refused to comply, whereupon Charles sent two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, to protest against the proceedings of the council. A modified form of Roman Catholicism was, by his orders, prepared and submitted to the Diet. This, called an *Interim*, as it was only to remain in force until a proper council could be summoned, was adopted and promulgated. The Protestants thought it granted too little indulgence; the Roman Catholics too much: both were dissatisfied. The emperor, fond of his plan, adhered to his resolution of putting it into execution. This excited discontent, and some opposition, and the elector of Saxony, though a prisoner, nobly refused to lend his sanction to the *Interim*. Its contents were no sooner known at Rome, than the members of the Sacred College were filled with rage and indignation. Disputes respecting the investiture of the duchy of Milan, the possession of Placentia, and the assassination of Paul's son Ludovico, still further embittered

tered the relations between Charles and the pope, and the latter, in the eightieth year of his age, died from over-excitement, on hearing of the defection of his grandson (1549). Paul III. was succeeded by Julius III., and this prelate, yielding to the solicitations of the emperor and his cardinals, issued a bull for the council to re-assemble at Trent (March 14, 1551). Charles held another diet in order to enforce the observance of the *Interim*.

§ 215. The landgrave of Hesse was still kept prisoner, and Charles, by his arbitrary and unjust conduct in this and other matters, provoked the ire of the German princes. The first check with which he met in his ambitious projects was in his attempt to transmit the empire, as well as the kingdom of Spain and his dominions in the Low Countries, to his son Philip; but no sooner was the proposal made known, than all the electors, ecclesiastical as well as secular, at that time assembled at Augsburg, concurred in expressing such strong disapprobation of the measure, that Charles was obliged to abandon it. A quarrel respecting Parma, in which Henry II. of France was arrayed on one side against the pope and the emperor on the other, led to a European war (1551). Henry II. protested against the convocation of the Council of Trent at such a juncture, recalled all the Gallican prelates, and declared that it could not be regarded as a general council. The fathers continued their deliberations, and settled the great points in the controversy concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, penance, and extreme unction. Protestants were prohibited from preaching any doctrine contrary to its decrees, or to the tenets of the Romish church; and on their refusing compliance, their pastors were ejected and exiled; such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by attachment to the purer faith were dismissed; their offices were filled by the most bigoted of their adversaries; and the people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests whom they regarded as idolaters, and to submit to the authority of rulers whom they detested as usurpers.

§ 216. These tyrannical measures opened the eyes of Maurice of Saxony, and other Lutheran princes, who had assisted the emperor in the war against the confederates of Schmalkalde. Maurice, in particular, saw the necessity of interference, and he who had perfidiously stripped his nearest relation and benefactor of his hereditary possessions, and had been chiefly instrumental in undermining the civil

and religious liberties of his country, became the deliverer of Germany. So admirably did Maurice carry out his policy, that he retained the emperor's confidence, while he recovered the good opinion of the Protestants. Although he supported Charles's favourite scheme the *Interim*, even undertook to reduce to obedience the citizens of Magdeburg, who persisted in rejecting it, and was chosen general of the imperial army collected for that purpose by a diet assembled at Augsburg, he at the same time issued a declaration, containing professions of his zealous attachment to the Reformed religion, as well as of his resolution to guard against all the errors and encroachments of the papal see. He also entered his protest against the authority of the Council of Trent, unless the Protestant divines should have a full hearing granted them, and be allowed a decisive voice in that assembly; and the pope, renouncing his pretensions to preside in it, should engage to submit to its decrees, and to absolve the bishops from their oaths of obedience, that they might deliver their sentiments with greater freedom. He reduced Magdeburg after a siege of twelve months, protracted by design, in order that his schemes might be ripened, before he received orders to disband his army. The emperor ratified the terms of the surrender, little suspecting the plot that had been formed to withstand his despotism (1552).

§ 217. Having entered into a treaty with Henry II., of France, Maurice proceeded with great confidence, but equal caution, to execute his plan. He sent a solemn embassy, in which most of the German princes joined, to the emperor at Innspruck, demanding the release of the landgrave of Hesse. This application was refused, and, though of no benefit to the landgrave, proved of infinite service to Maurice, for it seemed to justify his subsequent proceedings. The emperor and his prime minister, Granville, bishop of Arras, were completely deceived as to the real intentions of Maurice, and remained in fancied security at Innspruck. When all his preparations were complete, Maurice pretended to be indisposed, and sent word that he should soon appear at Innspruck and apologize for the delay. In the mean time he assembled his army, which amounted to twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and published a manifesto, in which he declared that he had taken up arms to secure the Protestant religion, to maintain the integrity of the German constitution, and to set the landgrave of Hesse free. To this, the king of France, in his own name, added a manifesto,

in which he assumed the extraordinary appellation of "Protector of the Liberties of Germany and of its Captive Princes." No words can express the astonishment of the emperor at events so unexpected, and he was not in a condition to oppose such formidable enemies. The king of France entered Lorraine, while Maurice traversed Upper Germany, reinstating the magistrates whom Charles had deposed, and putting the ejected Protestant ministers in possession of the churches (1552).

§ 218. Charles had recourse to negotiation, and Maurice agreed to an interview with the king of the Romans, at Lintz, in Austria, leaving his army to proceed on its march, under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg. Nothing was settled in the conference at Lintz, except that another should be held at Passau. Maurice marched directly towards Innspruck, when Charles fled by night over the Alps in a litter, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. He reached Villach, in Carintbia, in safety, and continued at this retreat until matters were finally arranged with the Protestant princes. The Council of Trent broke up in dismay, and the victorious Maurice repaired to Passau, on the day appointed for the second conference with the king of the Romans, where he limited his demand to three articles set forth in his manifesto; namely, the liberty of the landgrave, free exercise of the Protestant religion, and the re-establishment of the ancient constitution of Germany. Charles rejected these terms with disdain, whereupon Maurice rejoined his troops and laid siege to Frankfort-on-the-Maine. This measure had the desired effect; Charles renewed the congress of Passau, and concluded peace on the following terms:—"The confederates shall lay down their arms before the 12th day of August; the landgrave shall be set at liberty on or before that day; a diet shall be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most effectual mode of preventing for the future all dissensions concerning religion; in the mean time, no injury shall be offered to such as adhere to the Confession of Augsburg, nor shall the Roman Catholics be molested in the exercise of their religion; the Imperial Chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted with Catholics to sit as judges in that court; the encroachments said to have been made upon the constitution and liberties of Germany, shall be remitted to the consideration of the approaching diet of the empire;

and if that diet should not be able to terminate the disputes respecting religion, the stipulations in the present treaty, in behalf of the Protestants, shall continue for ever in force" (April 28, 1552). Such was the memorable treaty of Passau, which set limits to the authority of Charles V., overturned the vast fabric which he had spent so many years in erecting, and established the Protestant church in Germany upon a firm and secure basis.

LETTER 62.—England, from the Death of Henry VIII. to the Accession of Elizabeth, with an account of the Affairs of Scotland, and of the Progress of the Reformation in both Countries. A.D. 1547—1558. Vol. i., pages 382—395.

§ 219. Henry VIII., by his will, made nearly a month before his death, left the crown first to Edward, his son by Jane Seymour; then to Mary, his daughter by Katherine of Arragon; and lastly to Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn; and each in turn wielded the English sceptre. As Edward VI. was only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, the government of the kingdom was committed to sixteen executors, amongst whom were Archbishop Cranmer and all the great officers of state. They chose the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, and created him duke of Somerset, to represent the king, under the title of Protector. They also procured a patent from Edward, investing him with the regal power. The duke of Somerset enjoyed the confidence of the Protestant party; he resolved to carry out the Reformation, and also took care that the young monarch should be educated in the same principles. To these Edward soon showed a zealous attachment. In his schemes for advancing the progress of the Reformation, the Protector had recourse to Cranmer, whose moderation and prudence made him adverse to all violent changes. To his temperate counsels we are indebted, not only for the full establishment of the Protestant religion in England, but also for that happy medium between superstition and enthusiasm observable in the constitution of the English church.^a No innovation was admitted merely

^a The manner in which the fair fame of this good man and earnest-reformer, Thomas Cranmer, has been attacked by Macaulay and other writers, is most unwarrantable. All the charges against his character are based upon the calumnies circulated by Roman Catholics, who hated him, and therefore sought to give posterity a false idea of the illustrious martyr. The weight of evidence is altogether in his favour, and the

from a spirit of opposition, or a fanatical love of novelty. The establishment of the church of England was in fact a work of reason.

§ 220. In Scotland, Cardinal Beaton had managed to gain the ascendancy. His principal objects were to crush the Reformation already commenced in that kingdom, and to prevent a union of the two crowns by the marriage between Edward and Mary, as determined by treaty. The Reformers were everywhere cruelly persecuted, and many were condemned to that dreadful punishment which the church of Rome has appointed for its enemies. Among those who suffered at the stake was a popular preacher named George Wishart, a man of honourable birth and primitive sanctity (1546). Wishart prophesied the humiliation and fall of the cardinal; and his disciples, enraged at his cruel execution, having associated with Norman Leslie, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, surprised him in the castle of St. Andrew's, and put him to death. The conspirators, sixteen in number, took possession of the castle, and having been reinforced by their friends, petitioned Henry VIII. for assistance. The death of that prince blasted all their hopes, and they were at last compelled to submit to the regent, the earl of Arran, who was supported by a body of French troops. Somerset, resolving to defend both the Protestants and the treaty, advanced into Scotland. Meeting with a force much superior to his own, he offered to treat; but the Scotch regent refused, and attacked Somerset's little army near the village of Pinkey (September 10, 1547). A terrible defeat was the result; ten thousand of the Scots are said to have fallen, and Scotland was at the mercy of the English protector. The Scotch nobles threw themselves into the arms of France, and sent their young queen to be educated in that kingdom. This injudicious step proved the source of Mary's accomplishments as a woman, and of her misfortunes as a queen.

§ 221. Cabals in the English court obliged the duke of Somerset to return before he could adopt any effectual measures for the subjugation of Scotland, and the supplies which the Scotch received from France enabled them to expel their invaders, while the Protector was employed in re-establishing his authority, and in quelling

student is warned against many historical works of the day, which are nothing better than party treatises, containing but a small amount of truth, almost smothered beneath a mass of errors and misrepresentations.

domestic insurrections. Somerset's brother, Lord Seymour, had married the queen-dowager, and openly aspired at the government of England. Somerset sought both by entreaties and kindness to induce his brother to desist from such dangerous practices, but all proved unavailing; and Lord Seymour was at last committed to the Tower (1548), attainted of high treason, condemned, and executed (1549). Somerset and Cranmer continued the glorious work of the Reformation. The law of the Six Articles and many of the arbitrary measures of Henry's government, had been repealed by the Parliament (1547), and a committee of bishops and divines, appointed by the privy council, drew up a liturgy nearly the same as that at present authorized by law. It was established by Parliament, and uniformity was ordered to be observed in all rites and ceremonies. Insurrections, caused in some measure by the changes consequent upon the sudden suppression of the monasteries, broke out in various parts of England (1549); and Somerset, who loved popularity, imprudently encouraged them by promising redress, which it was not in his power to grant. Tranquillity was restored by the vigilance of Lord Russell and the earl of Warwick, but the Protector never recovered his authority. He was soon after committed to the Tower, and a council of regency was formed, in which the earl of Warwick obtained the sway.

§ 222. Warwick next made peace with France and Scotland (1550), and then began to think of putting into execution those vast projects which he had formed for his own aggrandizement. He procured for himself a grant of the Northumberland estates and the title of duke (1551). Somerset, who had been released from the Tower, stood in his way, and the new duke of Northumberland caused him to be accused of high treason. The ex-protector was tried, condemned, and executed on Tower-hill; and four of his friends shared the same unjust and unhappy fate (1552). Edward's health began to decline, and the duke of Northumberland, after much persuasion, induced the young king to disinherit his sisters, and bequeath the succession to Lady Jane Grey, whom the duke had married to his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley. The judges, and some persons in authority, opposed the scheme; but their opposition was overcome, and the great seal affixed to the deed. Edward died on the 6th of July, 1553, at an early age, having given great

promise of making a good king. The duke of Northumberland caused Lady Jane Grey to be proclaimed queen, and she accepted the crown with great reluctance. Mary fled into Suffolk, and by promising not to alter the laws of Edward VI. concerning religion, obtained the support of the nobility and gentry. Lady Jane Grey, after wearing the crown ten days, returned without a sigh to the privacy of domestic life. The council ordered Mary to be proclaimed, and the duke of Northumberland was executed for high treason. Sentence was also pronounced against Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley; but they were respited on account of their youth, neither of them having attained the age of seventeen (1553).

§ 223. No sooner was Mary seated upon the throne, than a total change in men and measures occurred. Gardiner, Bonner, and other Roman Catholic bishops were restored to their sees, while the most eminent Protestant prelates and zealous reformers, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Coverdale, and Cranmer, were thrown into prison. A subservient parliament was procured, and a bill passed, declaring the queen to be legitimate, ratifying the marriage of Henry VIII. with Katherine of Arragon, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer. All the statutes of Edward VI. respecting religion were repealed; and the queen sent assurances to the pope of her earnest desire of reconciling herself and her kingdoms to Rome, and requesting that Cardinal Pole might be appointed legate for that purpose (1553). Reginald Pole was descended from the royal family of England, being a grandson of the duke of Clarence. At the Reformation he remained faithful to Rome, and both the pope and the emperor protected him. He is said to have aspired to the honour of an alliance with Mary, and it is certain that she thought of raising him to the throne. Another partner was however found for her,—Philip, son of Charles V. So fearful were her advisers lest this alliance should provoke the resentment of the English nation, that the marriage contract was drawn up with all possible attention to the interest and security, and even to the grandeur of England. It was provided that Philip, during his marriage with Mary, should bear the title of king, but that the administration should be vested solely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of holding any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, or privileges; that Philip should not carry

the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that the male issue of the marriage should inherit, together with England, Burgundy and the Low Countries; that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die without issue, Mary's children, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain, and all the emperor's hereditary dominions; and that Philip, in case the queen died before him, without issue, should leave the crown of England to the lawful heirs.

§ 224. The English nation disliked the Spanish alliance. The character of the emperor Charles V. was fully understood in this country, and it was said that Philip, to his father's vices, fraud and ambition, united those of a sullen pride and barbarity. The people were everywhere ripe for rebellion, and only wanted an able leader to have subverted the queen's authority. No such leader appeared. Some desultory attempts miscarried, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, the duke of Suffolk, and others lost their heads upon the scaffold. The youthful Lady Jane Grey, and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, fell victims to the queen's desire of vengeance; and the heroism with which they met their fate won the sympathy and admiration of all classes (1554). Philip arrived soon after, and was married to the queen on the 25th of July, and Cardinal Pole followed with a commission to reconcile England to Rome. The legate advocated mild measures, and was inclined to toleration; but Gardiner and Bonner revived persecution, and many persons, of all conditions, ages, and sexes, were committed to the flames. Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man distinguished for his piety and learning, was the first victim. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, suffered this terrible punishment in their respective dioceses. Ridley and Latimer, two prelates, venerable for their years, their learning, and their piety, perished together at Oxford (1555). When tied to the stake, Latimer exclaimed to his companion, "Be of good cheer, my brother! We shall this day kindle such a flame in England, as, I trust in God, will never be extinguished." The next year Cranmer suffered. In a moment of weakness he consented to sign a Romanist declaration of faith, for which error he nobly atoned. At the stake, he thrust his right hand into the fire and held it there until it was entirely consumed. Three hundred persons were brought to the stake in the first rage of persecution,

most of whom bore their punishment with admirable constancy and fortitude. Bishop Bonner seemed to rejoice in the torments of his victims; he sometimes whipped the Protestant prisoners with his own hands, till tired with the violence of the exercise. He tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion, and in order to give the obstinate man a more sensible idea of the sensation of burning, held his finger to the candle, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst. Although so obsequious to the queen's will, the Parliament refused to restore the possessions of the Church, and thwarted all Mary's schemes for the advancement of her husband.

§ 225. In 1556, Charles I. resigned Spain and its dependencies to his son Philip, who speedily returned to England, which he had quitted on a visit to his father, and endeavoured to enlist this country in the struggle against France (1557). Henry II. also sought to engage Scotland in a war against England; but the attempt miscarried. Calais, which had been held by the English for upwards of two centuries, was recovered by the vigilance and valour of the duke of Guise. Informed that the English, trusting to the strength of the town, which was in that age deemed impregnable, were accustomed to recall, towards the close of summer, a great part of the garrison, replacing it in the spring, he undertook the enterprise in the depth of winter. So complete was the surprise, that the governor was compelled to surrender on the eighth day of the siege (Jan. 7, 1558). The satisfaction of the French upon this occasion was great, while the English were as much annoyed. Despised by her husband, and hated by her subjects, Mary fell into a low fever, which caused her death (Nov. 17, 1558). "When I am dead," she said, during her last illness, "you will find the name of Calais engraven upon my heart." She was bigoted, cruel, obstinate, and violent, and on account of the horrors perpetrated under her sway, has obtained in English history the unenviable title of Bloody Queen Mary. The Princess Elizabeth, who, on account of her attachment to the Reformed religion, ran great risk of her life during her sister's reign, being closely watched and even imprisoned, succeeded to the vacant throne. Her accession was the signal for the final deliverance of England from the influence of Rome; and this enlightened princess was greeted on all sides with joy and enthusiasm.

LETTER 63.—State of Affairs on the Continent of Europe, from the Peace of Passau to that of Cateau-Cambrésis. A.D. 1552—1559. Vol. i., pages 395—406.

§ 226. The treaty of Passau was no sooner signed, than Maurice, the deliverer of Germany, marched into Hungary against the Turks. In consequence, however, of the strong force with which he had to contend, and the feeble support which he received, but little was accomplished. In the mean time, Charles V. determined to recover the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and put an army in motion for that purpose. He endeavoured to conceal his real intentions by spreading false reports. Henry II. of France was not to be duped, and he committed the defence of Metz to Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, one of the greatest military commanders of the age. The emperor besieged Metz, and having bribed Albert of Brandenburg to join the imperial army, flattered himself that nothing could resist him. In this he was deceived, being compelled to retire after a siege of nearly sixty days, during which he had lost thirty thousand men by the inclemency of the weather, the ravages of disease, and the sword of the enemy (1553). His influence declined in Italy, and many places threw off their allegiance. Exasperated at these disasters, Charles retired into the Low Countries. Albert of Brandenburg continued by his ambition to disturb the repose of Germany, and a league was formed against him by the most powerful princes of the empire, of which Maurice was declared head. These hostile chiefs, with armies nearly equal in number, met at Sievershausen, where Albert was defeated, although Maurice received his death-wound on the field of battle (July 9, 1553). The consternation which this event caused among the troops prevented them from making a proper use of their victory, so that Albert renewed his depredations. He was defeated in a second battle by Henry of Brunswick, subjected to the ban of the empire, and compelled to take refuge in France, where he died in exile.

§ 227. War was waged in the Low Countries with vigour. Anxious to wipe out the stain of his repulse before Metz, Charles besieged Terouane, and carried it by assault (1554); and Hesdin was captured in the same manner. The imperial arms were less successful in Italy. The French established themselves in Tuscany, and conquered part of the

island of Corsica while Isabella and the Turks drove the Austrians out of Hungary. To counterbalance these and other losses, the emperor, as we have seen, contracted a marriage between his son Philip and Mary of England (1554). The fortunes of the war changed, the French were defeated at the battle of Marciano (1555); and Siena fell after a siege of ten months. Germany enjoyed a temporary repose, which afforded the Diet full leisure to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification agreed upon at Passau, and referred to the consideration of the next meeting of the Germanic body. A diet met at Augsburg, when the celebrated Recess was adopted, which is the basis of religious peace in Germany (September 25, 1555). Its chief stipulations were as follows: "That such princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confession of Augsburg, shall be permitted to profess and exercise, without molestation, the doctrine and worship which it authorizes; that the popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such cities or principalities, nor shall the Protestants molest the princes and states that adhere to the Church of Rome; that for the future, no attempt shall be made to terminate religious differences, except by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference; that the supreme civil power in every state may establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, but shall permit those who refuse to conform to remove their effects; that such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the Church, previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be subject to no persecution in the Imperial Chamber on that account; but if any prelate or ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion, he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office was vacant by death or translation." Paul IV. declared the Recess of Augsburg illegal and void; and as Charles would not support him, he entered into an alliance with the French king, with a view of ruining the imperial cause in Italy (1555).

§ 228. Whilst this treaty was being negotiated, an event occurred which astonished Europe, and confounded the reasonings of the wisest politicians. Charles V. in his fifty-sixth year imitated the example of Diocletian, and re-

signed the burden of empire. He assembled the States of the Netherlands at Brussels, seated himself for the last time in the chair of state, explained the reasons of his resignation, which he stated to be broken health and growing infirmities, and solemnly resigned his authority to his son (1556). A few weeks after, the emperor also ceded to Philip the Spanish crown with all its dependencies, in the old world and the new, reserving nothing to himself, out of all those vast possessions, but an annual pension of one hundred thousand ducats. Before leaving the Netherlands for the retreat which he had chosen in Spain, Charles V. concluded a truce for five years with Henry II. of France, upon the principle that each should retain what he held. Paul IV. was highly incensed at this accommodation, in direct violation of the treaty signed between him and the French king in 1555; but, concealing his anger, prevailed upon Henry to renounce the truce, and renew his engagements with Rome. All Montmorency's prudent remonstrances were disregarded, Henry was absolved by the pope's nuncio from the oath of truce, and he signed a new treaty with Paul, which led to the renewal of the war, both in Italy and the Low Countries (1556).

§ 229. Philip having tried in vain to negotiate, sent an army into the papal territories, under the command of the duke of Alva, who compelled the duke of Guise to retire, though no decisive success followed. Philip assembled his forces in the Netherlands, and obtained a supply of ten thousand men from England (1557). He gave the direction of warlike operations to the duke of Savoy, who besieged St. Quentin, and defeated the French army sent for its relief (August 10, 1557), at the same time taking the French commander, the constable Montmorency, prisoner. The duke of Savoy proposed a march upon Paris, but Philip desired him to continue the siege of St. Quentin. The town, long and gallantly defended by the admiral Coligny, Montmorency's nephew, was at last taken by storm. Philip vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honour of St. Lawrence, on the day sacred to whose memory the battle of St. Quentin had been fought. He accordingly laid the foundations of an edifice, in which the three were combined; and such was the origin of the famous Escorial, near Madrid, the royal residence of the kings of Spain. Henry recalled the duke of Guise from Italy, and Paul was

compelled to treat for peace with Spain. The pope renounced his league with France; and Philip agreed that the duke of Alva should repair to Rome, ask pardon, in his own name, and in that of his master, for having invaded the papal territories, and receive absolution (1557). By treaties made soon after, the balance of power in the Italian states was poised more equally, and Italy henceforth ceased to be the theatre upon which the sovereigns of Spain, France, and Germany contended for fame and dominion.

§ 230. The war still raged in other directions. The duke of Guise wrested Calais from the English (January 7, 1558), and captured Thionville, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands; but to counterbalance these successes, Marshal Thermes, governor of Calais, who had penetrated into Flanders, and surprised Dunkirk, was totally routed near Gravelines by Count Egmont, and made prisoner (July 13, 1558). The duke of Guise immediately fell back to oppose the further progress of the enemy. His army, like that commanded by his rival the duke of Savoy, amounted to about forty thousand men, and they encamped at the distance of a few leagues from each other. The French and Spanish monarchs joined their respective armies, and though each had it in his power to decide the strife, by a single battle, they both remained inactive; negotiations were set on foot, and the abbey of Cercamp was fixed upon as the place of congress.

§ 231. Charles V. had selected the monastery of Yuste, in Estremadura, as the place of his retreat; and he reached this retired spot on the 6th of November, 1556. It was seated in a valley of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees.^a Although a recluse, Charles did not lead the life of a hermit. He indulged freely in the pleasures of the table, exerted considerable influence in the direction of public affairs, and devoted much of his time to religious exercises. Recent investigations have established the fact that Charles did not follow the regular and sober mode of existence that his admirers have represented. Illness threw

^a The student anxious to glean further particulars respecting the closing years of this ruler's life, is referred to the works of Prescott and Stirling. The last-mentioned gentleman's book, entitled "The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V.," is a valuable contribution to our biographical literature.

him into a deep melancholy ; and his superstition increased. The ex-emperor is said to have torn his body with a whip, and he certainly went through a religious ceremony in celebration of his own obsequies. He died on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Though possessed of great abilities as a statesman and a soldier, Charles was a dissembler, caring little for the sanctity of truth, or by what expedients he obtained his ends. His insatiable ambition plunged Europe into war, and his superstitious reverence for the errors of Roman Catholicism impeded, though it did not crush, the Reformation.

§ 232. Before quitting the Low Countries, Charles V. had made a second, but futile attempt, to induce his brother Ferdinand to relinquish his right to the imperial throne, in favour of Philip. Upon receiving Charles's resignation, the electors had at once recognized the king of the Romans, and he succeeded under the title of Ferdinand I. (1558). Paul IV. refused to confirm the choice of the Diet ; but his opposition proved unavailing. Both Henry and Philip made advances to Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne of England, the former offering great concessions for a separate treaty of peace, and the latter tendering his hand (1558). Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs with that prudent regard for her true interests conspicuous in all her deliberations, and, while she intended to yield to the solicitations of neither, continued to amuse them both. In the mean time the conferences had been removed from Cercamp to Cateau-Cambrésis, where two treaties of peace were eventually signed, the former between England and France, and the latter between France and Spain. The first contained no article of importance, excepting one relating to Calais, which provided that Henry should retain possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years, at the expiration of which term it was to be restored to England. The second, called by French historians the *Unfortunate Peace*, provided that all conquests made by either party on this side of the Alps should be restored. Henry II. of France renounced all claims to Genoa, Corsica, and the kingdom of Naples, but was allowed to retain Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and some unimportant places (April 2, 1559). Two contracts of marriage—the one between Philip II. and the eldest daughter of Henry king of France, and the other between the duke of Savoy

and Henry's only sister Margaret—materially facilitated the conclusion of this famous treaty, which fully restored peace to Europe. Henry was mortally wounded in a tournament by the lance of Montgomery, the captain of his guard, while celebrating the marriage of his sister (July 20, 1559), and his son, Francis II., a weak prince, who had married Mary, queen of Scots, on the 18th of April, in the previous year, succeeded to the crown. Paul IV. died soon after, and most of the principal characters of this age disappeared nearly at the same time.

CHAPTER IX.

LETTER 64.—Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, from the Union of these Kingdoms under Margaret Waldemar, to the Death of Gustavus Vasa; together with some Account of Russia and Poland in the Sixteenth Century. A.D. 1397—1560. Vol. i., pages 406—410.

§ 233. THE kingdoms of the north of Europe, that great storehouse of nations, had long been considered as dependencies of the German empire. The union of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, the ancient Scandinavia, was effected in 1397, by Margaret, surnamed the Semiramis of the North. Anxious to make the union lasting, she convoked the States of all the three kingdoms to meet at Calmar, where it was established as a fundamental law, that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, should thenceforth have but one and the same sovereign, to be chosen successively by each of these kingdoms, and then approved by the other two. Each nation was to retain its own laws, customs, privileges, and dignities, and the natives of one kingdom were not to be raised to posts of honour or profit in another. Margaret survived this union nearly fifteen years, and governed with ability and spirit; but under her successor Eric, the antipathies between the Swedes and the Danes produced a rebellion, and the Swedes elected another king. Several revolutions and counter-revolutions ensued, until Christian II., the hero of the North, after having suffered one great defeat, reduced the Swedes to the condition of a conquered people (1520).

§ 234. The coronation of Christian II. at Stockholm (November 8, 1520) was attended with a cruel massacre of about one hundred of the nobility and gentry, perpetrated in defiance of a promise of a general amnesty. Sweden, however, soon found a deliverer and an avenger. Gustavus Vasa, a member of the royal race, escaped from the hands of his Danish captors, and concealed himself, in the habit of a peasant, among the mountains of Dalecarlia. He worked under-ground as a miner, without relinquishing the hope of one day ascending the throne of Sweden. At a favourable

opportunity he declared himself, raised the standard of revolt, and was made, first, regent, and then king of Sweden (1523). The infamous Christian II. was deposed by his Danish subjects, and Frederic I. made king of Denmark and Norway. After several ineffectual attempts to recover his crown, this cruel tyrant died in prison (1559). Frederic I. was succeeded by his son Christian III. (1534), one of the most prudent and prosperous princes of his age. He established the Protestant religion in Denmark and Norway, in imitation of the example of Gustavus, who had introduced it into Sweden. Christian III. died in 1559, and Gustavus in 1560. They were both great men and enlightened rulers, and their names are treasured by their countrymen.

§ 235. While these events were passing in other parts of Europe, the Russian empire was still in its infancy. It at first consisted of independent states, some of them founded by Scandinavian heroes, with separate rulers and capitals, which all fell under the yoke of the Tartars in the thirteenth century. The Russians were completely subdued, and remained in subjection 225 years (1237—1462). The recognition of Russia as a European power took place under the reign of Ivan III., the founder of the modern sovereignty. In 1472 he married Sophia, daughter of Thomas Paleologus Porphyrogenitus, and niece to Constantine Paleologus, who died fighting against the Turks. Ivan was the first who assumed the title of Czar, a word found in the oriental translation of the Scriptures, at the termination of the names of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, as Nabonassar and Belshazzar. He incorporated all the states under his own dominion, expelled the Tartars, and made Moscow the capital of his empire (1462—1505). His grandson, Ivan IV., surnamed the Terrible, added Astracan (1554) and Siberia (1558) to his dominions, concluded a treaty with Elizabeth of England, and even sought her hand in marriage. Ivan IV. reigned from 1533 to 1584. He instituted the Strelitz, a military body like the Janissaries of Turkey; and during his reign Russia established communications with the rest of Europe. The Poles were of Sarmatian origin, and received Christianity during the tenth century. Their country was long a prey to fierce contentions amongst its nobles. Sigismund I. (1507—1548) was styled the father of his country; and under Sigismund II., surnamed Augustus (1548—1572), the nation prospered greatly. During his reign several conflicts took place with the Russians, who were defeated,

and compelled to subscribe to a treaty of peace. The chief subject of quarrel was the province of Lithuania, which had, in 1386, been united to Poland.

LETTER 65.—England, Scotland, and France, from the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis to the Death of Francis II., and the Return of Mary Queen of Scots to her native land. A.D. 1559—1561. Vol. i., pages 410—419.

§ 236. France was now under the rule of the ambitious family of the Guises, the princes of Lorraine, who moulded the young and feeble Francis II. to their will. In negotiating the alliance between their niece, Mary Stuart, and the dauphin, they induced the former to sign deeds conferring the kingdom of Scotland, in case of the failure of heirs of her own body, upon the crown of France. In these documents, not only Scotland, but what inheritance or succession might accrue to it, plainly meaning England, was mentioned. They obtained a bull from the pope, declaring Elizabeth's birth illegitimate, and they persuaded Henry II. of France to permit his son and daughter-in-law to assume the title and arms of England. Elizabeth complained of this insult, but could only obtain an evasive answer. No further steps were taken during the reign of Henry II., but at his death the princes of Lorraine boldly counselled the queen-regent of Scotland to extirpate the Protestant religion in that country, offering men and money for the purpose. The Reformation had, however, made good progress in Scotland, and the heads of the Protestant party, anticipating peril, entered privately into a bond of association, for their protection and the defence of their religious principles, which association was called "The Congregation of the Lord."

§ 237. The condemnation of an aged priest to the flames, for having embraced Protestant opinions, aroused the confederates to action. They solicited subscriptions to their league, demanded a reformation of the Church, and legal protection against the exorbitant and oppressive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. They even petitioned Convocation, and insisted upon having the performance of the services in the vulgar tongue, and other important changes. The Convocation rejected their demands with disdain, and the queen-regent cited the most eminent Protestant teachers to appear before the council at Stirling. The members of the Congregation, who had assembled in great numbers to attend their pastors to the place of trial, were induced to separate,

by promises which were afterwards broken. Soon after the murder of Beaton, John Knox took refuge in England, and proceeded thence to Geneva. There he imbibed all the enthusiasm, and heightened the natural ferocity of his own character by the severe doctrines of Calvin, the apostle of that republic. Invited home by the heads of the Protestant party in Scotland, he mounted the pulpit, and declaimed against the idolatry and other abuses of the Church of Rome (1559). The people at Perth, excited by his oratory, attacked the Catholic churches and monasteries, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and levelled several edifices with the ground. The regent assembled an army, composed chiefly of French troops, and the Congregation mustered their forces. A treaty was concluded, but the conditions were violated; new conventions were framed, but were soon infringed, and fresh ravages were committed on the monuments of ecclesiastical pride and luxury.

§ 238. The Congregation were joined by the presumptive heirs to the crown, and many of the principal nobility. They possessed themselves of the capital, and aimed at the redress of civil and religious grievances. The queen-regent at first pretended to negotiate, but having received reinforcements from France, she openly defied the popular leaders. They assembled the whole body of peers, barons, and representatives of boroughs, and without one dissenting voice voted for depriving Mary of Guise of the office of regent. The garrison of Leith made a sally, and defeated the forces of the Congregation. More troops arrived from France, and the Congregation leaders being severely pressed, applied to England for aid. Elizabeth furnished them with an army and a fleet. The queen-dowager died on the 10th of June, 1560, and the French troops in Leith, although they made an obstinate defence, were reduced to the greatest extremity. This and the threatening state of affairs at home induced the Guises to think of peace. The Protestants of France, called the Huguenots,^a were powerful, and they managed to obtain some concessions from the government. Under these circumstances, plenipotentiaries were sent to Edinburgh, where a treaty was signed with the ambassadors of

^a Various explanations of this term have been given by different writers. It is, however, derived from a German noun, *Eidgenossen*, which signifies oath colleagues, or confederates. In 1519 the Swiss reformers at Geneva, being pressed by the duke of Savoy, applied to Freiburg for assistance, and called their union *Eidgenossen*, changed by the French into Huguenots.

Elizabeth (July 5, 1560). It was stipulated that the French forces should instantly evacuate Scotland, and that Francis and Mary should thenceforth abstain from assuming the title of king or queen of England, or of bearing the arms of that country.

§ 239. The leaders of the Congregation were now absolute masters of the kingdom, and they set about completing the work of the Reformation. A law was passed, abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; and the Presbyterian form of worship was established, nearly as now constituted in that kingdom. Francis and Mary refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, but the Scotch Protestants cared little for that, and relying upon Elizabeth for aid, put the statutes which they had drawn up in execution. In their zeal for reform, they were unhappily betrayed into certain excesses, and committed acts not calculated to reflect credit upon so pure a cause. The sudden death of Francis II. destroyed the supremacy of the Guise family (Dec. 5, 1560). Katherine of Medicis, the queen-mother, was appointed guardian to her son Charles IX.; the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the prince of Condé, who had been sentenced to death by the princes of Lorraine, was set free, the constable Montmorency was recalled to court, and the exclusive influence of the Guises was destroyed.

§ 240. Francis II. left no issue, and his widow retired to Rheims to indulge her sorrow. A deputation from the States of Scotland waited upon Mary in her retreat, inviting her to return to her native kingdom, and to assume the reins of government. Elizabeth pressed her to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, but she refused. Accustomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gaiety of a splendid court, and to the conversation of a polished people, by whom she had been loved and admired, Mary felt reluctant to return to Scotland, and contemplated with horror the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of her native subjects, who had so violently spurned all civil and religious authority. Compelled at length to depart, she kept watching the receding coast, and often repeated with a sigh, "Farewell, France! farewell, beloved country, which I shall never more behold" (1561).

LETTER 66.—France, England, and Scotland, from the Return of Mary Stuart to Scotland till her Imprisonment, and the Elevation of her Son to the Throne; with a Retrospective View of the Affairs of Spain. A.D. 1561—1567. Vol. i., pages 419—432.

§ 241. Mary's reception in Scotland was of the most cordial description, and by bestowing her confidence upon the leaders of the Protestant party, she rendered herself still more popular. Yet she was a papist, and the insults to which she was on that account exposed, from John Knox and others, caused her to sigh for the land she had so recently quitted. Mary sent to Elizabeth to signify her willingness to renounce all present right to the crown of England, provided she was declared, by act of parliament, next heir to the succession, in case Elizabeth died without issue. Elizabeth had a decided objection to name a successor; she thenceforth ceased to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and though no further concessions were made by either princess, they seemed reconciled, and willing to live on friendly terms. Elizabeth perceived that Mary had quite enough to do in keeping her own rebellious subjects in order, without interfering abroad, and therefore ceased to trouble herself about Scotland (1561).

§ 242. Animosity, first political and then personal, soon appeared between the sovereigns of England and Spain. Immediately after concluding the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, Philip II. had commenced a furious persecution against the Protestants in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. The violent spirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, increased the cruelty of priests and inquisitors. Philip placed himself at the head of the Roman Catholic party, and became the champion of their cause, while Elizabeth supported the Protestant religion, and defended the principles of the Reformation. Hence the animosity between the two sovereigns. Katherine of Medicis, by putting her maxim in practice, of dividing in order to govern, only increased the troubles of France. The consequence was, the constable Montmorency and the king of Navarre joined with the duke of Guise, while the queen-mother was compelled to look to Condé and the Huguenots for support. At the conference held at Poissy (1561), between divines of the two religions, the cardinal of Lorraine appearing on the part of the Catholics, and Theodore Beza on that of the Protestants, an edict had been agreed upon, granting to the

Huguenots the free exercise of their religion without the walls of towns, provided they taught nothing contrary to the council of Nice, the Apostles' Creed, or the Bible. The violence of the duke of Guise disturbed this harmony. In passing the little town of Vassy, on the frontiers of Champagne, his retinue insulted some Protestants, who had assembled to worship God in a barn, under the sanction of the edict, when a tumult ensued, in which about sixty of the unarmed people were killed (1562); civil war was the result. The Protestants assembled under Condé, Coligny, and Andelot, while the Guises seized the young king, and compelled the queen-mother to join the Catholics. Terrible excesses followed; and plunder, desolation, and bloodshed prevailed throughout the kingdom.

§ 243. Philip II., jealous of the progress of the Huguenots, who had made themselves masters of Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angers, Angoulême, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, and other places, formed a secret alliance with the princes of Lorraine, for the protection of the ancient faith and the suppression of heresy. Reinforcements were sent to the Roman Catholic party, and Condé immediately craved the assistance of England, which was readily granted. Rouen was, however, captured by the Roman Catholics, and they gained a victory at Dreux, when the commanders of the opposite armies, Condé and Montmorency, both remained prisoners in the hands of their enemies (1562). The duke of Guise commenced the siege of Orleans, before which town he was assassinated, by Poltrot de Méré, on the 24th of February, 1563. This led to an accommodation, and the convention of Amboise was signed on the 19th of March in the same year. Toleration, under certain restrictions, was granted to the Protestants, and a general amnesty published. The treaty had been made by Condé, without the assent of the Protestant leaders, and Coligny, Calvin, and others regarded the compromise as a betrayal of their cause. Elizabeth conceived that she had not been fairly dealt with for her support of the Protestant cause. It was stipulated in the convention of Amboise that on her relinquishing Havre, her charges and the money she had advanced should be repaid, and that Calais, at the expiration of the stipulated term, should be restored to her. Disdaining to accept these conditions, she made war upon France; but the English garrison of Havre, reduced by disease and worn out by excessive toil, were compelled to capitulate, and peace was soon after concluded.

§ 244. Peace still subsisted between England and Scotland, and a cordial friendship seemed to have arisen between Elizabeth and Mary. Several candidates appeared for Mary's hand, and amongst them one whom the lady favoured, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, her cousin-german, and after herself next heir to the English crown. He was in the full bloom and vigour of youth, tall and well proportioned, and possessed of many elegant accomplishments. Elizabeth had proposed the earl of Leicester, her own handsome favourite; but on hearing of this new candidate, at first approved, and then seemed to object to the match. Mary having obtained the consent of the Scotch nation, married the captivating young nobleman (July 27, 1565). The earl of Murray and other nobles, under pretence of zeal for the Reformed religion, as Lord Darnley belonged to a Roman Catholic family, rebelled, and being defeated, took refuge in England. Elizabeth refused to shelter them, and they threw themselves upon the clemency of their own sovereign, who was at first inclined to be merciful. The arrival of a French ambassador led to a change in this resolution. The peace granted to the Reformers in France was intended only as a snare. An interview took place at Bayonne, between Charles IX. and his sister, the queen of Spain (1565). At this conference the extermination of the Huguenots in France was decided upon, as well as that of the Protestants in the Netherlands, and an attempt at the extinction of the Reformed opinions throughout Europe. Of this Roman Catholic, or Holy League, as it was called, an account was sent to Mary, and the cardinal of Lorraine conjured her not to favour the Protestants at the very moment when the Roman Catholic princes on the continent had combined for their total extirpation. Mary instantly joined the confederacy, summoned the Parliament to punish the rebels, and prepared to restore the Romish religion in Scotland, when the murder of David Rizzio produced quite a revolution in the state of affairs.

§ 245. David Rizzio, the son of a teacher of music at Turin, had at first been engaged in the capacity of musician by Mary; shrewd, supple, and aspiring, he quickly crept into the queen's favour, and obtained the post of secretary. A coolness had arisen between Mary and her husband, and the latter seems to have made Rizzio the confidant of her domestic sorrows. Rizzio foolishly affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public, and boasted of his intimacy in private, and this aroused the dark and suspicious

mind of Darnley, who, instead of imputing Mary's coldness to his own misconduct, ascribed it to the influence of a new passion. Rizzio had always supported the Roman Catholics, and was therefore the declared enemy of the banished lords. To one of them, Lord Ruthven, Darnley communicated his desire of revenge, and besought his assistance. A plot was immediately formed, and while some of the conspirators guarded the gates of the palace, the others, led by the king, entered the queen's apartment by a private passage, where they found Mary, the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and some courtiers at supper. Mary demanded the cause of their intrusion, when the conspirators pointed to Rizzio, who ran behind Mary's chair, and seized her by the waist. George Douglas, one of the conspirators, stabbed the secretary, who was dragged into another room and instantly despatched (March 9, 1566). From that moment the desire of vengeance took possession of Mary's mind. She artfully induced her husband to publish a proclamation, denying all participation in the crime, an assertion which everybody knew to be false; and having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, she threw him off with disdain and indignation. In the castle of Edinburgh, to which place she had removed, Mary gave birth to a son (June 19), afterwards James I. of England. This event increased the zeal of the partisans of Mary in England; and the Parliament, which had before alluded to the delicate subject, urged Elizabeth either to marry or to consent to an act establishing the order of succession to the crown. Her ministers declared that it was their sovereign's intention to marry, and thus evaded the question.

§ 246. James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, the head of an ancient family in Scotland, but a man of profligate manners, soon after the murder of Rizzio, obtained a fatal ascendancy over Mary, and became her favourite. Her husband, Darnley, who had fallen ill, from the effects, according to certain authorities, of poison administered by Mary's orders, was induced to lodge in a solitary house, called the Kirk of Field, seated upon an elevation at some distance from the palace of Holyrood. There he was assiduously attended by Mary, who passed several nights in the chamber under his apartment. This solitary abode she left suddenly one evening, in order to be present at a masque in the palace, and about two the next morning the house was blown up, and Darnley's dead body afterwards found in a neighbouring inclo-

sure (Feb. 10, 1567). The subsequent conduct of the queen and Bothwell affords strong evidence that upon their heads the guilt of this murder must rest. Mary not only studiously avoided bringing Bothwell to a fair and legal trial, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the earl of Lennox, and the general voice of the nation, but allowed the man who was publicly accused of the murder of her husband, to enjoy all the dignity and power, as well as the confidence and familiarity, of a favourite. She committed to him the government of the castle of Edinburgh, which, with the offices he before possessed, gave him the entire command of the south of Scotland. She was carried off by him, and seemingly with her own consent (April 24); she lived with him for some time; and as soon as he could procure a sentence, divorcing him from a young lady of virtue and merit, to whom he had been lawfully married, gave him her hand (May 15, 1567).

§ 247. Such a quick succession of incidents, so singular, and so detestable, filled all Europe with amazement, involving in infamy not only the principal actors in the guilty scene, but also to a certain extent the whole nation. An association was formed for the defence of the young prince, and for the punishment of the king's murderers. Mary and Bothwell repaired to Dunbar and collected their dependants, but were unable to oppose the forces brought against them, and the latter fled, while the former was made prisoner at Carberry Hill (June 15). Bothwell escaped to the Orkneys, and subsisted some time by piracy. The greater part of his fleet being captured, together with several of his servants, who afterwards revealed all the particulars of Darnley's murder, and suffered for their share in the crime, Bothwell fled to Norway, and attempted to renew his piracies, but was captured and thrown into prison. He lost his senses and died miserably ten years afterwards in a dungeon, unpitied by his countrymen and neglected by strangers.^a Mary was sent to the castle of Lochleven, where she signed her resignation of the crown, and her son was proclaimed king, under the title of James VI., the earl of Murray being appointed regent (July 24, 1567).

^a He was imprisoned in Seeland, in the castle of Draxholm, now called Adellersborg, near the town of Holbek. He died there, and was buried in the neighbouring village church of Faareveile.

LETTER 67.—Great Britain from the Flight of the Queen of Scots into England, with an Account of the Civil Wars on the Continent, till the Death of Charles IX. of France. A.D. 1568—1574. Vol. i., pages 432—444.

§ 248. The parliament assembled by the earl of Murray ratified all these proceedings, and Mary was kept close prisoner in the castle of Lochleven. By her charms and caresses she prevailed upon George Douglas, her keeper's brother, to assist her in making her escape; and having effected this (May 2, 1568), she hastened to Hamilton, where many of the nobility came forward in her defence. An army was soon assembled, and a battle fought at Langside, near Glasgow, in which Murray, with forces inferior in number, gained the victory (May 15). Mary fled into England; but Elizabeth refused to admit her to her presence until she had relieved herself from the imputation of the murder of her husband. Elizabeth evidently desired to act the part of umpire. Mary was conveyed to Bolton, and although still treated with the respect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a prisoner. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the English ministry for the examination of this great cause, and conferences were held between them and the Scotch commissioners, first at York, and afterwards at Westminster. Incontestable proofs of Mary's guilt were produced by the earl of Murray, and Mary's commissioners having no defence to offer, endeavoured to change the inquiry into a negotiation, and failing in this attempt, broke up the conferences. Mary having been previously removed to Hampton Court, was then conveyed to Tutbury, in Suffolk.^a

§ 249. Elizabeth offered to bury everything in oblivion, if Mary would confirm her resignation of the crown, or associate her son with her in the government; to neither of which conditions would the queen of Scots agree. Mary's

^a Attempts have been made by recent writers to relieve Mary's memory from the stain of many of these graver charges. Unfortunately for her fair fame, the evidence against her is conclusive. One fact will illustrate this as clearly as a long array of arguments. If not actually privy to her husband's murder, Mary knew well enough that Bothwell was his assassin; yet in the very year that this man had perpetrated the foul deed, she consented to live with him, and actually became his wife. She did not leave him until torn by force from his side, and during her captivity frequently bewailed their separation, and longed to be restored to his arms. Such conduct was worthy neither of the queen nor of the woman.

friends next endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk, and the scheme was very favourably entertained, but was at last discovered by Cecil, Elizabeth's prime minister. Norfolk was committed to the Tower, several other noblemen were taken into custody, and the queen of Scots was removed to Coventry (1569). The English Roman Catholics, led by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, raised an insurrection in her favour, their object being not only to deliver Mary, but to subvert the Protestant religion in England. Although supported by Philip II., the conspirators were compelled to disperse without striking a blow. Elizabeth released the duke of Norfolk from the Tower, and offered to give up Mary into the hands of the earl of Murray, but the French and Spanish ambassadors remonstrated, and the death of Murray prevented the revival of the project (1570). Scotland relapsed into anarchy, Elizabeth intervened, the earl of Lennox was appointed regent, and Mary kept in stricter custody than ever.

§ 250. As head of the Protestant party, Elizabeth supported the Reformers both in France and the Low Countries. Pope Pius V., failing in his endeavours to conciliate, issued a bull of excommunication against her. This was affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's palace, by one John Felton, a papist, who was executed for his audacity. The Protestant leaders in France—Condé, Coligny, and others, who had obtained intelligence of the league concerted at Bayonne for the extermination of the Protestants—formed a design of surprising the king and queen-mother, which was, however, disconcerted (1567). A battle was fought in the plains of St. Denis, in which, although the Roman Catholic leader, Montmorency, fell, the Huguenots were defeated (Nov. 10, 1567). Condé received reinforcements, laid siege to Chartres, and compelled the court to come to an accommodation, called the peace of Longjumeau (1568). It was not of long duration. The queen-mother treacherously endeavoured to get Condé and Coligny into her power, but they fled to Rochelle, and the Huguenots flocked to their support. They were defeated at the battle of Jarnac (March 13, 1569), at which Condé was taken prisoner, and afterwards basely assassinated. Neither this defeat, nor the wanton murder by which it was attended, broke the spirit of the Huguenots; they invested Poitiers; Coligny was, however, at last compelled to raise the siege. Henry, the young duke of Guise,

first distinguished himself on this occasion, and by his conduct raised the hopes of the Roman Catholic party. Elizabeth aided the Huguenots with money, military stores, and volunteers. Coligny was again defeated at the battle of Moncontour, with the loss of ten thousand men (Oct. 3, 1569). This valiant soldier soon recovered from the effects of this disaster, assembled a formidable army, and prepared to besiege Paris. Want of funds, and civil discontents, induced the king to negotiate, and the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye was accordingly signed (Aug. 15, 1570). The terms were, pardon of all offences, eligibility of the Huguenots to offices, civil and military, the renewal of the edicts for liberty of conscience, and the cession for two years, as places of refuge and pledges for their security, of Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Cognac. The first of these kept the sea open for receiving succours from England; the second preserved the passage of the Loire; the third commanded the frontiers of Languedoc and Querci; and the fourth opened a passage into Angoumois, where the Huguenots mustered in great strength. But Charles IX. only intended this accommodation as a snare, to secure the destruction of the Huguenots. During the winter he married Elizabeth, daughter of Maximilian II., and pretended to favour those Protestants whom he intended to destroy.

§ 251. While the courts of France and England were engaged in negotiations relative to a union between Queen Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, in which it is evident that neither party acted with sincerity, Philip, by the agency of the duke of Alva, endeavoured to subvert the liberties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries. In 1568, a powerful body of Spanish and Italian veterans had been marched into the country, the counts Egmont and Horn were beheaded, multitudes delivered over to the executioner, and nothing was to be heard or seen but seizure, confiscation, imprisonment, torture, or death. William of Nassau, prince of Orange, surnamed the Silent, raised an army in Germany, and marched against the duke of Alva at the head of twenty-eight thousand men; but that general refused to fight, retired into the strongholds, and William was compelled to disband his levies. This temporary triumph increased the duke of Alva's insolence and cruelty. Not satisfied with insulting the Flemings in every possible manner, he laid additional taxes upon them, which were extorted with the greatest severity. Although engaged in

the negotiations for the French matrimonial alliance, Elizabeth observed closely the state of affairs in the Low Countries. The queen of Scots intrigued with Philip, and a scheme for rescuing Mary, and subverting the English government was concerted by the bishop of Ross, the Spanish ambassador, and Rodolphi, an agent of the pope (1571). The plan determined upon was that the duke of Alva should land with ten thousand men in the neighbourhood of London; where he was to be joined by the duke of Norfolk, together with the English malcontents and Roman Catholics, who were to march in a body to the capital, and impose what conditions they deemed fit upon Elizabeth. The plot was discovered by one of the duke of Norfolk's servants. Having been intrusted with a bag of money, said to be silver, but which from the weight he concluded to be gold, this man carried it to Lord Burghley, who soon detected the conspiracy. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Northumberland were executed, the bishop of Ross was committed to the Tower, the Spanish ambassador ordered to quit England, while Rodolphi, the pope's agent, then on his way to Brussels, was beyond the reach of punishment (1572). This conspiracy led to the stricter confinement of Mary, and the English parliament were so enraged against her, that the Commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. Scotland had continued in a state of anarchy. Mary's party seized Lennox, the regent, and put him to death (Sept. 4, 1571); and the earl of Marre was chosen regent in his place. He accepted the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, concluded a truce with the queen's party, and soon after died (Oct. 28, 1572). The earl of Morton succeeded to the regency, and being entirely devoted to Elizabeth, and having received assistance from her, soon restored order. Edinburgh was captured, and Scotland submitted entirely to his authority.

§ 252. Negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth with the duke of Anjou were finally broken off early in 1572, and a defensive alliance concluded between France and England. Charles IX. intended this treaty as a cloak to conceal his treacherous designs against the Protestants. Elizabeth was completely duped and regarded it as affording security to her cause. Charles continued his dissimulation, and offered his sister Margaret in marriage to the young king of Navarre. The admiral Coligny, the prince of Condé, and all the leading men of the Protestant party, were induced to

repair to Paris for the celebration of this marriage; when the most atrocious massacre, unparalleled in history, was determined upon. Coligny was assassinated a few days after the ceremony, and on the eve of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24, 1572) a wholesale massacre of the Huguenots took place. The barbarous onslaught was finally arranged at a council held in the Tuileries, and at the given signal, the confiding and defenceless Protestants, of both sexes and of every condition, were ruthlessly murdered. The king looked on with exultation, and even fired at the wretched fugitives trying to escape from their murderers. In Paris alone ten thousand persons perished, and as similar atrocities were committed at Rouen, Lyons, Toulouse, Orleans, and other large cities, no less than sixty thousand of the Protestants are supposed to have been massacred in different parts of France.

§ 253. Charles endeavoured to justify this infamous act of perfidy, and inhuman butchery, by declaring that the Huguenots had conspired against him; but every one knew the accusation to be a mere subterfuge; and even had it been true, it could not have afforded a palliation for the murder of thousands of innocent and defenceless citizens. At Rome and in Spain the barbarous slaughter was hailed as a triumph for the Church Militant, and solemn thanks were returned to God for its success. Such are the trophies and the victories of Rome! In England it excited general horror and detestation, and when the French ambassador appeared to announce and explain the sad event, he was received by the court in mourning, and ushered into apartments hung with black. Indeed the English nobility and gentry offered at once to levy an army, but Elizabeth, more cautious, only made preparations for approaching danger. She fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who had also taken the alarm at the sanguinary policy of the Roman Catholic party. The strife in France broke out afresh after this barbarity, the Protestants fought heroically, and the fourth civil war was brought to a close by a fourth treaty of peace, guaranteeing the privileges accorded by former treaties (1573). Confusion continued to reign in France, in the midst of which Charles IX. died of an extraordinary distemper, in the twenty-fourth year of his age (May 30, 1574). His death was regarded by the Protestants as a visible stroke of divine vengeance.

The blood exuded from every pore of his body, and other remarkable circumstances justified the conclusion. As he left no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Anjou, who had just before been elected king of Poland.

LETTER 68.—Germany, from the Resignation of Charles V. to the Death of Maximilian II., with some Account of the Affairs of Spain, Italy, and Turkey, during that period. A.D. 1556—1576. Vol. i., pages 444—448.

§ 254. Charles V. was succeeded in the imperial dignity by Ferdinand I., by whom the peace of religion was confirmed at the diet of Ratisbon. Pius IV., raised to the papacy in 1559, confirmed the imperial dignity to Ferdinand (1560), and issued a bull ordering the re-assembling of the famous council of Trent, the last of the general councils. This measure induced the Protestant princes to assemble at Naumburg, in Saxony, and they came to the resolution of adhering to the Confession of Augsburg. Ferdinand convoked a diet at Frankfort, and obtained the election of his son Maximilian, who filled the throne of Bohemia, as king of the Romans (1562). The emperor vainly endeavoured to induce the Protestant princes to submit to the council of Trent. He then sought to effect a reformation of some of those abuses in the Romish church of which the Protestants complained, but the pope resented the attempt at interference, and declared that such reformation was his peculiar province. The council of Trent was finally dissolved in December, 1563. Instead of seeking to purify the Romish system, it had only aimed at obtaining an ascendancy over the different sovereigns of Europe. Ferdinand died July 25, 1564, and was succeeded by Maximilian II., who, having established a general toleration, became involved in a war with the Turks. Soliman II. projected, it is said, the conquest of Germany, and despatched his generals into Transylvania; but they were defeated by Maximilian's forces, and compelled to make peace (1565). Soliman then sent a fleet and an army to reduce Malta, hoping to expel the Knights of St. John, whom he had before driven from Rhodes. His general, Mustapha, after a siege of four months and the loss of twenty-four thousand men, was compelled to abandon the enterprise. The timely arrival of Don Garcia, governor of Sicily, with twelve thousand men, mainly contributed to bring about this result. In revenge for this disappointment and disgrace, Soliman sent a fleet to

reduce the island of Scio and ravage the coast of Italy; and having invaded Hungary with a powerful army, invested Zigeth, the bulwark of Stiria against the Turks (1556). Soliman died during the siege, and the place soon after surrendered. Selim II. ascended the Ottoman throne, and concluded a truce for twelve years with Maximilian II. (1567).

§ 255. In consequence of this truce, Germany enjoyed a long repose. Selim, after attempting, without success, to subdue Persia, turned his arms against the island of Cyprus, which at that time belonged to the republic of Venice (1570). He lost one hundred thousand men in the enterprise, but captured the place, and its fate alarmed the Christian powers (1571). Charles IX., on account of the distracted state of his kingdom, refused to enter into the league against the Turks; the emperor pleaded his truce with Selim, and the German princes were too much engaged with religious dissensions. Philip II., the Venetians, and Pope Pius V., who had succeeded Pius IV. in 1566, embarked in the enterprise. After the conquest of Cyprus, the Turks ravaged the coasts of Italy, as well as those of Dalmatia and Istria. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred and thirty galleys, encountered that of the confederates in the Gulf of Lepanto, near Corinth, when a terrible engagement ensued (Oct. 7, 1571). The Turks were, after a fearful struggle, defeated. They lost thirty thousand men in the conflict. Ten thousand were taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christian slaves set at liberty. Thirty Turkish galleys were sunk, twenty-five burnt, one hundred and thirty taken, and only a wretched remnant escaped. The confederates lost fifteen galleys and about ten thousand men. The victory was not, however, well followed up, and in the ensuing year the Turks reappeared with a new fleet, and regained the ascendancy. The Venetians concluded peace with the Sultan, ceded to him Cyprus and other places, and stipulated to pay him thirty thousand crowns in gold, towards defraying the expenses of the war (1573). The new pope, Gregory XIII., the eulogist of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, who succeeded Pius V. in 1572, was greatly incensed at this treaty, while Philip II., when asked to interfere, declared that the Venetians knew their own business best. Don John of Austria seized Tunis, where he proposed to erect an independent sovereignty (1573). He was attacked by the Sultan with a fleet of three hundred galleys, having forty

thousand land forces on board ; his stronghold was taken and the garrison put to the sword (1574). Germany continued to enjoy tranquillity under the mild government of Maximilian II. He died while preparing to support his election to the kingdom of Poland, and was succeeded by his son Rodolph II., a prince who inherited his father's pacific disposition (1576).^a

^a Camoëns, the great and only epic poet of Portugal, and Tasso, the glory of Italy, flourished about this period. The former returned from his long wanderings, to Lisbon, in 1569, and the latter resided at the court of Ferrara in 1575. The "*Lusiad*" of Camoëns appeared in 1572, and Tasso published his "*Jerusalem Delivered*" in 1575. Both were unfortunate. Tasso was confined as a lunatic in 1579, and in the same year, Camoëns, who had done so much for his country, breathed his last in abject poverty.

CHAPTER X.

LETTER 69.—A general view of the Transactions of Europe, from the Death of Charles IX. to the Accession to the Throne of France of Henry IV., the first French King of the Bourbon branch ; including the Rise of the Republic of Holland, the Catastrophe of Sebastian, King of Portugal, the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. A.D. 1574—1589. Vol. i., pages 448—465.

§ 256. HENRY III., on his accession to the throne of France, following the advice of the queen-mother, laid a scheme for restoring the royal authority, by acting as umpire between the Roman Catholic and Protestant parties. As he had been a principal actor in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, his elevation alarmed the Huguenots, who had since been powerfully reinforced. The duke of Alençon and many moderate Roman Catholics, called the party of the Politicians, joined them. Henry made a treaty with them, and granted them peace on very advantageous terms. They obtained the right of the public exercise of their religion, except within two leagues of the court ; party-chambers, consisting of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics, were elected in all the parliaments of the kingdom, for the more equitable administration of justice ; all attainders were reversed, and six cities were delivered into their hands (1576). This, the fifth treaty of peace concluded with the Huguenots, disgusted the Roman Catholics, and afforded the duke of Guise the opportunity of forming that famous Roman Catholic league projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, which was intended for the entire suppression of Protestantism. Henry III. hearing of this association and its objects, put himself at its head, and war broke out afresh. Little was accomplished in the field, and a sixth treaty of peace, signed at Bergerac, was agreed to, which, though less favourable than the former ones, guaranteed the Protestants in the possession of many of their chief privileges (1577). France continued in a very unsettled state, and while Eliza-

both abetted the cause of the Protestants, Philip II. supported that of the Roman Catholics. Elizabeth protected the Flemish exiles, and even permitted the Flemish privateers, a terror to the commercial navy of Spain, to enter the English harbours, and there dispose of their prizes. This privilege was afterwards, at the remonstrance of the Spanish ambassador, withdrawn, and the Gueux, or *beggars*, afterwards *Water Geusen*, as the Flemish adventurers were called, in 1572 attacked and took possession of the Brille, a seaport in Holland. This alarmed the duke of Alva, he attempted to subdue them, when Holland and Zealand threw off the Spanish yoke, and put themselves under the protection of William, prince of Orange. All Alva's efforts to put down this formidable resistance to the rule of the Spaniards proved unavailing, and in 1573 he petitioned to be recalled from his government.

§ 257. Alva's successor, Requesens, was not more fortunate. The siege of Leyden was prosecuted with great activity for some time (1574), but the Spaniards were at last compelled to retire, and a conference was held at Breda (1575). The emperor Rodolph II. endeavoured to mediate, but the negotiations did not produce peace, and hostilities were renewed. Zealand was at last occupied by the Spaniards, who were about to attempt the reduction of Holland, when the inhabitants offered the sovereignty of Zealand and Holland to Queen Elizabeth. This magnanimous princess declined the proffered honour, but used her best efforts with Philip II. in behalf of the inhabitants of the revolted provinces. Requesens died suddenly in 1576, and a mutiny on account of arrears of pay broke out amongst the Spanish troops at Antwerp. The city was sacked and pillaged, whereupon all the provinces, except Luxemburg, formed a confederacy, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, which had for its object the expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of the ancient liberties of the States. Don John of Austria, who had succeeded Requesens as governor, seeing the impossibility of resistance, agreed to everything demanded of him, promising to confirm the Pacification of Ghent, and to dismiss the Spanish army.

§ 258. As Don John had only accepted these terms upon necessity, he prepared to reduce the revolted provinces to subjection, and had even projected a marriage with Mary, queen of Scots, thus hoping to obtain both Scotland and England. Elizabeth, apprised of these designs, at once

entered into an alliance with the Netherlands, and furnished them with supplies of men, warlike stores, and money. The Archduke Matthias, brother to the Emperor Rodolph, was appointed governor-general of the provinces, and the duke of Orange became his lieutenant (1577). Don John died in the midst of the struggle, and was succeeded by the duke of Parma (1578). The confederates quarrelled instead of acting, and at last William of Orange formed the scheme of uniting the seven northern provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Gröningen, Overysse, and Guelderland, in a close band of union. It was agreed that the seven provinces should unite themselves in interest as one province, each reserving to itself all its own privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; that in all disputes between particular provinces the rest should interpose only as mediators; and that they should assist each other with life and fortune against every foreign attempt upon any single province. It was called the Union of Utrecht, and was signed Jan. 15, 1579. The United Provinces had to struggle against the whole power of the Spanish monarchy, and the duke of Parma made great progress against them, both by arts and arms. Having concluded a treaty with the Walloons, a name usually given to the inhabitants of the southern provinces of the Netherlands, they again offered the sovereignty to Elizabeth, and as she still rejected it, they conferred it on the duke of Anjou, named William of Orange stadtholder, and finally withdrew their allegiance from Philip II. (1581).

§ 259. While Philip was losing the seven United Provinces, a new sovereignty fell into his power. Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, had embarked for Africa in 1578, upon an expedition against the Moors. The Christians were totally routed at the terrible battle of Alcazar-quiver, in which Don Sebastian was slain. He was succeeded by his uncle, Cardinal Henry, who died soon after without issue, when a number of competitors appeared for the vacant throne, amongst whom Pope Gregory XIII., with the usual papal greediness of power, put in his claim. The duke of Alva, at the head of the Spanish armies, settled the dispute, and Philip was crowned at Lisbon and proclaimed in India (1580). As soon as it was known in Spain that the United Provinces had withdrawn their allegiance from Philip, a price was set upon the head of William of Orange, and an attempt was soon after made upon his life (1582). The duke of Anjou, who had been wasting his time paying court

to Queen Elizabeth, was dismissed, and was also obliged to leave the United Provinces, and retire into France, where he died in 1584. The Archduke Matthias had previously withdrawn into Germany, so that the duke of Parma, and the prince of Orange, the two greatest generals of the day, were left to dispute the possession of the Netherlands.

§ 260. England during these commotions had enjoyed perfect tranquillity; but the sky began to be overcast. Troubles occurred in Scotland; the earl of Morton was beheaded (1581), and a formidable conspiracy organized. During these transactions in Scotland, the king of Spain, in the name of the pope, sent a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; but they were defeated and treated with great severity by Earl Grey. When the English ambassador at the court of Madrid complained of this invasion, he was answered by complaints of the piracies of Francis Drake, a bold navigator who had passed into the South Sea by the strait of Magellan, and taken many rich prizes from the Spaniards, returning home by the Cape of Good Hope, in 1580. As he was the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe, his name became celebrated; the queen conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, and accepted a banquet from him on board the ship in which he had performed so memorable a voyage. She caused part of the booty to be restored, in order to appease Philip II. The Roman Catholics did all they could to render Elizabeth unpopular abroad. They not only misrepresented and maligned her, but publicly preached against her, and openly taught that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life. The Jesuits,^a favoured by the pope, the

^a Ignatius Loyola, at first a page in the Spanish court, and then an officer in the army, being wounded at the siege of Pampeluna (1521), quitted the military profession, studied theology, and became an ecclesiastic. Having performed two pilgrimages to the Holy Land, one in 1521 and the other in 1523, he afterwards repaired to Paris to study at the university. He shared his rooms with Peter Faber and Francis Xavier, and they became the founders and the first members of the order of the Jesuits. Being joined by three more students, they, on August 15, 1534, assembled at the church of Montmartre, and took the solemn vows of chastity, absolute poverty, devotion to the care of the Christians, and to the conversion of infidels. In 1540, Paul III. sanctioned, under some limitations, the establishment of the order, and in 1543 accorded to it his full favour. Loyola was chosen president, and remained at Rome to organize and direct the new order, called the Society of Jesus. Loyola's military career was of great service to him

cardinal of Lorraine, and Philip II., endeavoured by every means in their power to arrest the progress of the Reformation, and against Elizabeth, as the head of the Protestant cause, their hatred knew no bounds. They persuaded one William Parry, an English gentleman, a convert to Roman Catholicism, that he could not perform a more acceptable service to heaven than to take away the life of his sovereign. The pope's nuncio, Campeggio, confirmed him in this; and he landed in England, intending to execute the barbarous project. It was however discovered, and he was taken prisoner and executed (1584). Only the year before a man named Somerville had suffered for a similar crime.

§ 261. Elizabeth was not the only ruler against whose life the papists plotted. William prince of Orange was assassinated at Delft, by Balthazar Gerard (1584), whereupon the states of Holland and Zeeland appointed his son Maurice, then only eighteen years old, their stadtholder and captain-general by land and sea. The duke of Parma reduced Ghent and Brussels, and at last captured Antwerp (1585). The confederates then tendered the sovereignty to the king of France, but civil dissensions induced him to refuse the offer. The duke of Guise, anxious to exclude the next heir, the king of Navarre, a professed Protestant, from the succession, revived the Roman Catholic league; and after several attempts, won Henry III. over to his views; and consequently any interference in favour of the distressed Protestants of the Low Countries became on his part impossible. The United Provinces again had recourse to Elizabeth, and although she rejected the sovereignty, she gallantly espoused their cause. Caring little for the Roman Catholic powers, at the head of whom was Philip II., she not only sent forces to the United Provinces, but despatched Sir Francis Drake with twenty sail and a body of land forces to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies. This gallant seaman captured St. Domingo, Carthagena, and several other places, and returned to England with such riches and accounts of the weakness of the Spaniards in the New World, as served to stimulate the nation to future in framing this new institution. The Jesuits laboured zealously in the service of the papacy, and soon began to play an important part in public affairs. Their pernicious system was productive of the most serious evils; in many states the governments were constrained to suppress them, and in 1773 Pope Clement XIV. issued a bull for the suppression of the order. In 1814, Pius VII. solemnly re-established the society as a religious order, under the constitutions of St. Ignatius.

enterprises. Tobacco and potatoes were introduced into England by this expedition (1586). In the same year the victory at Zutphen was gained, at which the gallant Sir Philip Sidney lost his life (Sept. 22).

§ 262. Leicester was not successful in the Low Countries. He was indeed totally unfitted for the command, and as soon as Elizabeth perceived this, she issued orders for his recall. This noble-minded sovereign was, however, environed with enemies. Antony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, instigated by John Ballard, a popish priest of the seminary of Rheims, engaged in a conspiracy against her life, with a view of delivering Mary and establishing the popish system in the country. The plot was happily discovered by Walsingham, and Babington and his associates were executed (1586). During their trial the fact transpired that Babington had been encouraged in this treacherous enterprise by Mary queen of Scots, whereupon Elizabeth and her ministers resolved to bring Mary to a public trial. Her papers were accordingly seized, her principal domestics arrested, and her two secretaries sent prisoners to London. After the necessary information had been obtained, forty commissioners, appointed under the great seal, together with five of the judges, were sent to Fotheringay Castle, where Mary was now confined, to hear and decide this great cause. Mary refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the commissioners, but was at last persuaded to appear and make her defence. She was condemned and executed (Feb. 8, 1587). Never did Mary appear so great as in the last scene of her life; she was not only tranquil, but intrepid and magnanimous. She maintained her dignity to the last moment, declared that she died firm in the Roman Catholic faith, and laid her head upon the block with calm but undaunted fortitude. Such was the end of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland and dowager of France, one of the most beautiful and accomplished of her sex. She was in the forty-fifth year of her age. Of her guilt there can be now no doubt; and neither her beauty, her elegant qualities, nor the wrongs and sufferings which she endured, can palliate her share in the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth, her treacherous intrigues with foreign princes, her violation of the sanctity of the marriage vow, and the guilt of murder.^a

^a Elizabeth's conduct in this matter must be viewed in reference to the events of the period. So long as Mary lived, her position was most

§ 263. Although James at first seemed inclined to resent the indignity offered to him by the trial and execution of his mother, and actually recalled his ambassador, he at last consented to receive Elizabeth's emissaries, and gradually fell into a good understanding with the court of England. Philip II. was secretly preparing his prodigious armament in order to secure the ascendancy of the papists. Sir Francis Drake intercepted his supplies, pillaged his coasts, and destroyed his shipping, and in the harbour of Cadiz alone burnt a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores. Thomas Cavendish, a private adventurer, sailed into the South Sea with three small ships, committed great depredations, took many prizes from the Spaniards, and entered the Thames in a kind of triumph (1587). The sailing of the armada was delayed for twelve months; and in all the ports in Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans were employed building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores were brought up at a great expense, provisions amassed, armies levied and quartered in the maritime provinces, and plans laid for such an embarkation as had never before appeared upon the ocean. Preparations were also made in the Netherlands, the armada was vainly denominated invincible, and Philip imagined that England would fall an easy prey to his attack.

insecure. Plots for the re-establishment of popery, and conspiracies for the removal of Elizabeth, were of continual occurrence; and although Mary was not a prime mover in all of these, yet her participation in some of them, and more particularly in Babington's infamous scheme, has been clearly established. It was a struggle for life and death between the two queens,—the one the representative of Popery, and the other of Protestantism; and that Elizabeth did not wish to proceed to extremities against the queen of Scots is evident from the facts that she had that princess in her power for more than eighteen years, during which period she did not offer the slightest injury to her; and that she had repeatedly refused the demand of her parliament to bring Mary to trial. The truth is, Mary had sold herself to a sanguinary and pernicious system, which has deluged the world with horrors, and she at last fell a victim to the snares she had laid for another. Blood will have blood, they say; and yet while the Romanists taught the doctrine that it was a commendable act to put heretics and converts from the papal errors to death, whilst they attempted to elevate the murderer of Henry III. of France to a level with the Saviour of the world, and whilst they returned thanks for and openly rejoiced at the terrible slaughter of St. Bartholomew, they endeavoured to raise a fearful outcry whenever any of their own agents received the just punishment of their crimes. We can pity the beautiful and unfortunate woman, who, under the withering influence of such a system, lost all those qualities which dignify human nature and command universal esteem.

§ 264. Elizabeth was apprized of all these preparations. She had foreseen the invasion, nor was she dismayed at the aspect of that power by which all Europe apprehended that she must be overwhelmed. Her force was much smaller than that of her opponent. All the sailors in England did not exceed fifteen thousand men; the royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, none of which exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates. The city of London fitted out thirty ships to reinforce this small navy; the other seaport towns a proportional number; and the nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned forty-three vessels at their own charge. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was the chief commander; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The land forces of England were more numerous than those of the enemy, but inferior in discipline and experience. Though some of the chief men in the country trembled for the result, the queen was undaunted. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford. She appeared on horseback at the camp at Tilbury, and promised to lead her soldiers into the field of battle. "I know," she said intrepidly, "I have but the weak and feeble arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too!" (1588).

§ 265. The heroic spirit of Elizabeth communicated itself to the army, and every man resolved to die rather than desert his station. Meanwhile the Spanish Armada, after various obstructions, appeared in the Channel. It consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, carrying about twenty thousand land forces. Disposed in the form of a crescent, this fleet extended a distance of seven miles, from one extremity to the other. As soon as they approached the coast of England, they were attacked on every side. Sir Francis Drake took the large galleon *Andalusia*, and a monster ship of Biscay, which had fallen behind the rest; while the nobility and gentry hastened with their vessels out of every harbour, and reinforced Effingham, who filled eight of his smaller ships with combustibles, and sent them into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fled in disorder and precipitation; the English commanders fell upon them whilst in confusion; and, besides doing considerable damage to the fleet, took twelve ships. The duke

of Parma positively refused to leave Flanders whilst the English were masters of the sea. The Spanish admiral sailed round the island, followed by the English fleet, which, had not the ammunition fallen short, would have compelled the Armada to surrender at discretion. A terrible storm overtook the remnant of the expedition, as it was passing the Orkneys; many vessels were wrecked, not one half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a still smaller proportion of the soldiers and seamen.

§ 266. While the naval power of Spain experienced such disasters, great revolutions happened in France. The Huguenots, notwithstanding the valour of the king of Navarre, who gained at Coutras, in 1587, a complete victory over the royal army, were reduced to the greatest extremity by the League. This, the eighth civil contest, was called the war of the three Henries. Quarrels amongst the Roman Catholics alone saved the Reformers. The Guise faction, at what is called the Battle of the Barricades, drove Henry from his capital, and their audacity aroused him to action. Dissembling his resentment, he entered into negotiation with the duke of Guise and the League, and seemed outwardly reconciled. Henry then induced the gentlemen of his guard to assassinate the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal. "I am now king, madam!" said Henry to the queen-mother, "and have no competitor; the duke of Guise is dead!" (1588). The partisans of the League immediately took up arms; declared that the people were released from their oath of allegiance to Henry, and chose the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise, lieutenant-general of the state royal and crown of France. In this extremity Henry III. joined the Huguenots and the king of Navarre, and at the head of forty thousand men advanced to the gates of Paris, prepared to crush the League and subdue all their enemies. The priests, and the Jesuits in particular, advocated his assassination from the pulpits of Paris; and one Jacques Clement, a Dominican friar, obtained admission to the presence of the king and wounded him mortally (August 1, 1589). The murderer was cut to pieces by the guards; but he was considered as a saint and a martyr; and as a proof of the general degradation of Roman Catholicism, Pope Sixtus V., certainly one of the least iniquitous of the papal despots, compared Clement's enterprise to the incarnation of the Word, and the resurrection of the Saviour. With his

dying voice, Henry III. named Henry, king of Navarre, as his successor. In the person of Henry III. the branch of the Valois became extinct, after having reigned two hundred and sixty-one years, and given thirteen kings to France.

LETTER 70.—The General View of Europe continued, from the Accession of Henry IV. to the Peace of Vervins. A.D. 1589—1598. Vol. i., pages 465—472.

§ 267. The reign of Henry IV., justly styled the Great, forms one of the most memorable epochs in the history of France. Deserted by his troops, he was compelled to abandon the siege of Paris and retire into Normandy. Thither he was followed by the duke of Mayenne, who had proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon king, under the title of Charles X., though he was still a prisoner. Henry sought the assistance of Elizabeth to oppose the progress of the Roman Catholic League and of the king of Spain. Elizabeth furnished both men and money. Although the king's forces were still inferior in numbers to those of his opponents, he attacked the duke of Mayenne at Ivry (March 14, 1590), gained a complete victory, and afterwards invested Paris. The duke of Parma advanced from the Low Countries to the relief of the capital, and having accomplished this object, retired without giving Henry an opportunity of making an attack. After the retreat of the Spaniards, Henry made several fresh attempts upon Paris; but the vigilance of the citizens, particularly of the faction of the Sixteen,^a by which it was governed, defeated all his designs, and new dangers threatened him from every side. Gregory XIV., at the request of Philip II., declared Henry a relapsed heretic, and commanded all Roman Catholics to abandon him, under pain of excommunication; he sent his nephew with money and troops to join the duke of Savoy, and about the same time the young duke of Guise made his escape from the castle of Tours (1590).

^a The Council of the Sixteen was established about 1586, when Paris was under the municipal system. The citizens guarded the walls and the principal posts, and the échevins had the keys of the gates. The city was divided into sixteen sections, in each of which meetings took place, of which the head of the assembly gave in a report to the general council of the League. These sixteen chiefs, having the same interests to sustain, became united, and thus formed the famous Council of the Sixteen, at which Bussy le Clerc, an old master-at-arms, distinguished himself. They got up a great many plots against Henry III., and may be said at one time to have almost governed France.

§ 268. At this juncture, Elizabeth, who had withdrawn her troops on the prosperous appearance of Henry's affairs, saw the necessity of again interposing, and sent seven thousand men, under the command of Sir John Norris and the earl of Essex. Henry at once entered Normandy, and commenced the siege of Rouen; but the duke of Parma again advanced into France, and by rapid marches compelled Henry to raise the siege; refused to come to an engagement; and, in spite of the greatest obstacles, made good his retreat to the Netherlands (1591). Discord reigned in Paris, and the faction of Sixteen hanged the first president of the parliament of Paris, and two of the judges, for not doing their bidding. The duke of Mayenne, on the other hand, put four of the faction of the Sixteen to death. The States were convoked, and the duke of Parma prepared to advance into France. He died whilst assembling his forces, at Arras, and thus freed the duke of Mayenne from a dangerous rival, Henry from a formidable enemy, and perhaps France from becoming a province of Spain (Dec. 2, 1592). The States met, and various schemes were proposed, none of which gave satisfaction, and Henry, while pushing forward his military operations, appointed conferences to be held between divines of the two religions, proposed a truce, at length solemnly made his abjuration at St. Denis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges (July 25, 1593).

§ 269. The most zealous Roman Catholics suspected Henry's sincerity, whilst the Huguenots feared some treachery, and Henry's Protestant allies, particularly the queen of England, expressed much indignation at this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the League and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, Elizabeth at last admitted his apologies, and continued her support. In a short time a wonderful change ensued in the affairs of the French monarch. The marquis of Vitri set the example of submission; cities and provinces followed, even the young duke of Guise acknowledged Henry, and the whole kingdom seemed bent on returning to allegiance to its lawful sovereign. In the midst of these successes, Jean Châtel, a pupil of the Jesuits, incited by their denunciations, attempted to assassinate Henry (Dec. 27, 1594). The king was, however, only wounded in the mouth, the assassin was seized and executed, and the Jesuits were expelled from France. In the mean time war was still carried

on with vigour in the Low Countries. The confederates rose superior to the power of Spain. Prince Maurice surprised Breda (1590), and with the assistance of the English took Gertruydenberg and Gröningen (1594); and none of the Spanish generals ventured to attempt a diversion.

§ 270. Henry IV. succeeded in ejecting the Spaniards from France, and having been absolved, and proclaimed king by Clement VIII., was also reconciled to the duke of Mayenne. In the midst of these successes the Spaniards took Calais (1596), and the next year got possession of Amiens by surprise. The king of France was ready to sink under the weight of these misfortunes, but his nobles rallied round him, Elizabeth, in consequence of a fresh treaty, assisted him, and Amiens was speedily recovered. The duke of Mercœur, the last noble of any consequence that resisted his authority, submitted, and Henry obtained full possession of his kingdom. The League was dissolved, the Roman Catholics seemed satisfied, and the Huguenots alone gave the king uneasiness. In order to obtain their confidence, Henry assembled the heads of their party at Nantes, and issued the celebrated edict of that name (April 13, 1598). It not only secured to them the free exercise of their religion, but a share in the administration of justice, and the privilege of being admitted to all employments of trust, profit, and honour. The confederates were not, in the mean time, idle in the Low Countries. The English forces defeated the Spaniards at Tournhout (1597), and in the previous year the combined Dutch and English fleet dispersed an expedition that Philip was fitting out for the invasion of England. Elizabeth and the United Provinces refused to negotiate with Philip II., but Henry IV. of France concluded a treaty with him at Vervins (May 2, 1598). Henry recovered possession of all the places seized by Philip during the course of the wars, and procured, what he had long ardently desired, leisure to settle the domestic affairs of his kingdom; to cultivate the arts of peace, and to contribute to the happiness and prosperity of his people.

LETTER 71.—Spain and the Low Countries, from the Peace of Vervins to the Truce of 1609, when the Freedom of the United Provinces was acknowledged. A.D. 1598—1609. Vol. i., pages 472—476.

§ 271. Soon after the conclusion of the peace of Vervins between France and Spain, a new treaty was negotiated between England and the United Provinces for the more

vigorous prosecution of the war against Philip II. Scarcely was the negotiation terminated, ere Philip, who had resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands, died at Madrid (Sept. 13, 1598); leaving behind him the character of a gloomy, jealous, haughty, vindictive, and inexorable tyrant. He caused his own son, and heir of the empire, Don Carlos, to be put to death, and poisoned his third wife, Isabella of France, that he might marry his niece, Anne of Austria. No European prince ever possessed such vast resources as Philip II. Besides his Spanish and Italian dominions, Portugal, and the Netherlands, he enjoyed all the commerce of the East Indies, and received the rich produce of the American mines. Neglecting agriculture and manufactures, he made Spain, once a rich and fertile country, only the mint of Europe. The condition of the United Provinces was in all respects the reverse of that of Spain. Whilst the latter country was enfeebled, they, owing everything to industry, extended their commerce and manufactures, and became rich and powerful.

§ 272. Philip III., a virtuous though weak prince, succeeded his father. He endeavoured to induce the United Provinces to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Archduke Albert of Austria, who had married his sister Isabella, in accordance with the contract made by Philip II. just before his death. The United Provinces refused to accept this arrangement, and Philip III. issued an edict precluding all intercourse between these states and the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, or the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch, already strong at sea, attacked the Spanish in India, and soon monopolized that lucrative commerce. Both parties prepared for a renewal of the struggle, and a sanguinary contest took place at Nieuport (1600); in which, after a determined struggle, the Spaniards were defeated. The victory was in a great measure owing to the valour of the English auxiliaries. The archduke pressed the siege of Ostend, and although the garrison were relieved, the place at last surrendered, after a resistance of more than three years' duration (1604). During this memorable siege, Prince Maurice made himself master of Rimbach, Grave, and Sluys, acquisitions that more than balanced the loss of Ostend. Commerce, both foreign and domestic, flourished; Ternate, one of the Moluccas, had been gained (1604); and the East-India Company, the grand pillar of the republic, was established (1595).

§ 273. As a counterpoise to these advantages, the States had lost the alliance of England, in consequence of the death of Queen Elizabeth (1603); for her successor, James I., although he seemed inclined to support them, entered into a treaty with Spain. Philip III. made another desperate attempt to reduce them to subjection; but no decisive success ensued, and at length his troops mutinied for want of pay (1606). A suspension of arms followed, conferences were opened, and after numerous obstacles and delays, a truce for twelve years was concluded at the Hague, through the mediation of France and England (April 9, 1609). This treaty recognized the independence of the United Provinces, secured to them all their acquisitions, freedom of commerce with the dominions of Philip and the archduke, and the full enjoyment of those civil and religious liberties for which they had so gloriously struggled. Philip III., at the instigation of the Inquisition, and by the advice of his minister, the duke of Lerma, issued an edict ordering all the Morescoes, or the descendants of the Moors, to leave the kingdom (1609). They chose for themselves a king, and endeavoured to resist the execution of the mandate; but were overpowered and banished, and Spain thus lost nearly a million of industrious inhabitants (1611).

LETTER 72.—The Domestic History of England, from the Defeat of the Spanish Armada to the Death of Elizabeth; with some Account of Affairs in Scotland and Ireland. A.D. 1588—1603. Vol. i., pages 476—483.

§ 274. The execution of Mary queen of Scots, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada, freed Elizabeth from all apprehensions respecting the safety of her crown. Her foreign policy has been noticed in the preceding chapters, and we turn at once to the domestic affairs of her dominions. The leading characteristics of Elizabeth's administration were economy and vigour. By strict attention to the first, she was able to maintain a magnificent court, and to support the persecuted Protestants in France and the Low Countries, without oppressing her people, or involving the crown in debt; and by a spirited exertion of the second, she humbled the pride of Spain, and gave stability to her throne, in spite of all the machinations of her enemies. Elizabeth was remarkably jealous of her prerogative, which she exercised most royally, and was indeed inclined to be despotic. She erected the court of High Commission,

which was invested with almost inquisitorial powers, and she supported the decrees of the Star Chamber. She also granted patents for monopolies, which fettered industry and commerce. These grievances were frequently complained of in parliament, but more especially by the Puritans, a new religious sect.^a Peter Wentworth, one of their leaders, endeavoured to call the attention of parliament to the succession of the crown; and as the consideration of this subject had been prohibited by Elizabeth, he was sent to the Tower, and all the members who supported his motion to the Fleet (1593).

§ 275. The affairs of Ireland occupied a great share of Elizabeth's attention. She early saw the importance of that island, and took measures for reducing it to order and submission. Besides furnishing her governors of Ireland with a strong force, she founded the University of Dublin (1591). Discord reigned in the island, and as Sir John Parrot had armed the inhabitants of Ulster (1585), and others had obtained a knowledge of military affairs by service on the continent, they were able to maintain a more regular war. Hugh O'Neil, earl of Tyrone, at the instigation of Philip II., raised a formidable insurrection, and defeated the queen's troops on the Blackwater (1598). Tyrone was styled the deliverer of his country. Elizabeth made the earl of Essex lord-lieutenant, and sent him to Ireland with a strong force. This favourite disappointed the queen and the nation, and returned home suddenly, contrary to orders, and without having effected anything (1599). This rash step, together with his imprudent conduct afterwards, caused his ruin. Although tried, and on this occasion pardoned (1600), he plunged into a new course of intrigue, and on being discovered, attempted to create an insurrection. Being taken prisoner, he was tried, condemned, and executed (1601).

§ 276. Lord Mountjoy succeeded Essex in Ireland, and speedily restored the queen's authority in that island (1600). He defeated the rebels near Kinsale, though supported by six thousand Spaniards, whom he expelled

^a This name was first given to some persons who began to find fault with, although they did not then secede from, the Church of England in 1564. They objected to the ceremonies of the church and to the vestments of the clergy; and as they adopted very rigid rules of life, were called Puritans. Being afterwards joined by many others, they finally seceded from the establishment, and at one time possessed great power in the state.

from the island. Even Tyrone petitioned for terms ; which being denied him, he was obliged to throw himself upon the queen's clemency. Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any pleasure from this fortunate conclusion of the war, which had long occupied her councils, exhausted her treasury, and disturbed her peace. Though in her seventieth year, she had hitherto enjoyed good health ; but the infirmities of age began to steal upon her, as well as a deep melancholy, caused, it is supposed, by having no heir to whom to transmit her sceptre. Moreover, the execution of her favourite, Essex, preyed upon her mind. For ten nights and days she lingered, leaning upon cushions ; and having named James, king of Scotland, as her successor, expired without a struggle (April 3, 1603). During this monarch's reign England progressed with rapid strides. Drake, Frobisher, Raleigh, and others, the most adventurous spirits of the age, navigated the distant ocean and made important discoveries. On their return they introduced into the country, plants, flowers, fruits, and other productions hitherto unknown in England. Thus the laburnum, laurustinus, potato, orange, tulip, tobacco, artichoke, asparagus, cauliflower, &c., were all brought into our island during this reign. Elizabeth was also a great encourager of education ; as Harrow, Westminster School, Rugby, and other important foundations, established under her auspices, fully prove. In 1590 the first paper-mill was commenced, at Dartford, in Kent ; a fact that well deserves to be chronicled.

§ 277. History does not afford a more striking instance of the insubstantiality of human greatness than that offered by the close of this celebrated reign. Few sovereigns ever swayed a sceptre with more dignity than Elizabeth ; few have enjoyed more prosperity, and none could be better beloved by their people ; yet this powerful princess, after all her glory and popularity, fell into comparative neglect, and sank into the grave beneath the pressure of a private grief. But the reign of Elizabeth yields other lessons. It shows to what a degree of wealth and consequence a nation may be raised in a few years, by a wise and vigorous administration ; and what powerful efforts may be made by a brave and united people, in repelling or annoying an enemy with greater resources at command. The character of Elizabeth is best delineated in her conduct. To all the personal jealousy, the coquetry,

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and the little vanities of a woman, she united the sound understanding and firm spirit of a man. A greater share of feminine softness might have made her more agreeable as a woman, though not a better queen; but a less insidious policy would have reflected more lustre upon her administration, and a less rigid frugality on some occasions would have given more success to her arms. But as she was, and as she acted, she must be allowed to have been one of the greatest sovereigns that ever filled a throne, and may perhaps be considered as the most illustrious female that ever did honour to humanity.

LETTER 73.—France, from the Peace of Vervins to the Death of Henry IV.; with some Account of the Affairs of Germany under Rodolph II. A.D. 1598—1610. Vol. i., pages 483—488.

§ 278. No kingdom, exempt from the horrors of war, could be more wretched than France, at the peace of Vervins. The crown was encumbered with debts and pensions, the people were poor and miserable, and the nobility, from a habit of rebellion, rapine, and disorder, had lost all sense of justice, allegiance, or legal submission. Happily France was favoured with a king equally able and willing to remedy all these evils; and he found a zealous assistant in the marquis of Rosni, whom he created duke of Sully. Attached to his master's person by friendship, and to his interest and the public good by principle, he employed himself with the most indefatigable industry in restoring the dignity of the crown, without giving umbrage to the nobility, or trespassing upon the rights of the people. Sully's first care was the finances of the country, which he completely restored; and while he diminished the public burthens, he increased the revenue. He also encouraged agriculture, and, convinced that "good morals and good laws are reciprocally formed by each other," sought to raise the general character of all classes of the community. Henry encouraged manufactures, which Sully was inclined to despise; introduced the culture and manufacture of silk, as well as manufactures of linen and tapestry, for which he invited workmen from the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands. In order to facilitate commerce and promote the welfare of his subjects, he built the Pont Neuf, and cut the canal of Briare, which unites the rivers Seine and Loire; and he had projected the union of the two seas, when a period was put to his life.

§ 279. Henry's amorous disposition led him into numerous difficulties. The licentious conduct of Queen Margaret of Valois induced him to apply to the pope for a divorce; but before he had obtained it, he became involved in an intrigue with Gabrielle d'Estrées, whom he created duchess of Beaufort, and promised to raise to the throne. This lady died in 1599, and Henry then formed a new attachment with Henriette d'Entragues, to whom he also made a promise of marriage. He created her marchioness of Verneuil; but soon after, receiving the divorce from Rome, married Mary of Medici, daughter of the grand duke of Florence (1600). The family of the Entragues demanded that the king's engagement in favour of Henriette should be carried out, and leagued with several powerful nobles for the purpose of causing the dauphin to be declared illegitimate. Henry received an intimation of the plot, speedily frustrated it, and turned his attention to another quarter.

§ 280. In order to understand this matter thoroughly, we must cast a glance at the affairs of the German empire. On the death of Maximilian II., his son, Rodolph II., had succeeded to the imperial dignity (1576). His brother Matthias, at one time governor of the United Provinces, having defeated the Turks in Hungary, and made peace with them (1606), obtained the crown of Hungary; and, in return, he granted the people full liberty of conscience, and every privilege which they could desire (1608). Matthias afterwards became master of Austria and Moravia upon the same conditions; and Rodolph, in order to avoid the horrors of civil war, confirmed to him those usurpations, together with the succession to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the Lutheran opinions had taken deep root. As the Protestant religion gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the Protestant princes of the empire became desirous of securing and extending their privileges; and their demands being refused, they entered into a new confederacy, called the Evangelical Union (1608). This association was opposed by another, formed to protect the Roman Catholic faith, under the name of the Roman Catholic League (1609). The succession to the duchies of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, caused the two parties to have recourse to arms.

§ 281. On the death of John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, without issue, several competitors for the succession arose. The emperor summoned them to appear before him, but two of them—John Sigismund and the duke

of Neuburg—united their arms against him, and were supported by the elector palatine and the other princes of the Evangelical Union. The elector of Saxony, one of the claimants, and the members of the Roman Catholic League, espoused the emperor's cause; and in this new war between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, Henry IV. of France was invited to take part. This was just what Henry desired. Anxious to humble the house of Austria, and circumscribe its powers in Germany and Italy, he received the Protestant envoys cordially. Love for one of the family of Montmorency, married to the prince of Condé, and carried by her husband in a fit of jealousy to Brussels, is also said to have furnished Henry with an additional reason for embarking in the cause. His preparations were vigorous, and his negotiations successful. The duke of Savoy, the Italian powers in general, and the Swiss and Venetians, took part in the alliance. The duke of Sully, who had established the financial affairs of the kingdom upon a firm basis, promised abundant supplies. Before taking the command of the army, he had, at the repeated request of his wife, consented to her coronation, and the ceremony passed off without accident; but the day after, as Henry was passing through the streets in his coach, he was stabbed to the heart by Ravallac (May 14, 1610), a bloodthirsty bigot, who had long sought such an opportunity. Thus perished Henry IV., one of the ablest and best princes that ever sat upon the throne of France. His gallantries, however, had a pernicious effect upon the manners of the nation, and led to the most unfortunate results.

LETTER 74.—A General View of the Continent of Europe, from the Assassination of Henry IV. to the Treaty of Prague. A.D. 1610—1635. Vol. i., pages 488—505.

§ 282. The greater part of the European continent, during the period that followed the death of Henry IV., was a scene of anarchy, bloodshed, and confusion. The two great confederacies, distinguished by the names of the Roman Catholic League and the Evangelical Union, which had threatened the empire with a furious civil war, appeared to be dissolved by his sudden removal. But the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg still maintained their claim to the succession of Cleves and Juliers; and being assisted by Maurice, prince of Orange, and some French troops, expelled Leopold, the sequestrator, and took

possession by force of arms. They afterwards quarrelled; and in the midst of the dispute, Rodolph II. died, and was succeeded by his brother Matthias, king of Hungary and Bohemia (1612). Having entered into a treaty with the Turks, and secured Agria, Pesth, Buda, and every other place in Hungary held by the Ottomans, he prepared to pull off the mask which he had so long worn in order to deceive the Protestants, and thus kindled that long and sanguinary contest known as the Thirty Years' War (1618). In order to strengthen his authority, he had previously caused his cousin (1617) Ferdinand of Gratz, duke of Stiria, whom he intended as his successor in the empire, to be elected king of Bohemia, and acknowledged in Hungary, neither himself nor his brothers having any children; and he engaged the Spanish branch of the house of Austria to renounce all pretensions to those crowns.

§ 283. The bigotry of Ferdinand, and this family compact, produced a revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians. Ferdinand's ministers, Slawata and Martinitz, commenced their Jesuitical rule in Bohemia, and were, with their secretary Fabricius, thrown out of the window of the council-house (May 23, 1618); and under the leadership of Count Thum, the Bohemians expelled the Jesuits. From this day dates the commencement of the Thirty Years' War. In the midst of these disorders, the emperor Matthias died (March 20, 1619), and Ferdinand II., in spite of his antecedents, was at once elected in his place. The Bohemians formally deposed Ferdinand, and named Frederic V., elector palatine, for their king, while Bethlem Gabor, voivode of Transylvania, was proclaimed king of Hungary by the Protestants of that country. The Roman Catholic princes espoused the cause of Ferdinand, and the Protestants that of Frederic. The confederates laid siege to Vienna, but were compelled to retire; Frederic was totally routed near Prague (November 9, 1620), and put to the ban of the empire, while Bethlem Gabor consented to resign the crown of Hungary upon advantageous conditions. The house of Austria thus extended its authority in Germany, and the Spanish branch of the family about this time engaged in some atrocious conspiracies in order to obtain the ascendancy in Italy. These were, however, frustrated; and in the midst of them, Philip III. expired (1621), and was succeeded by his son, Philip IV., an enterprising prince. The abilities of Olivares, his prime minister, conferred lustre

upon his reign. His ambition was to raise the house of Austria to absolute dominion in Europe. In prosecution of this bold plan, he resolved to maintain the closest alliance with the emperor,—to make him despotic in Germany,—to keep possession of the Valteline,—to humble the Italian powers,—and to reduce the United Provinces to subjection, as the truce for twelve years had now expired. Nor was this project altogether chimerical. The emperor had already crushed the force of the Protestant League; France was distracted by civil wars, and England was amused by a marriage treaty between the prince of Wales and the Infanta. A change, however, occurred, and an alliance was entered into between France and England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for restraining the ambition of the house of Austria, and recovering the Palatinate (1625).

§ 284. Holland next claims attention. After the truce of 1609, the United Provinces became a prey to religious dissensions, caused by the differences of opinion between two professors of Leyden, Gomar and Arminius; the former maintaining, in all their severity, the doctrines of Calvin in regard to grace and predestination; whilst the latter endeavoured to soften them. Prince Maurice headed the Gomarists, and the pensionary Barneveldt, a firm patriot, the Arminians. Grotius, Vossius, and the learned in general, defended the principles of the latter. But Prince Maurice and the Gomarists prevailed, banished the Arminian preachers, and brought Barneveldt, in his seventy-second year, to the block (1619). Amid their civil and religious dissensions the Dutch extended their commerce and conquests in both extremities of the globe. Batavia was founded (1610), the plan of an extensive empire in the East Indies laid (1618), and they carried on a lucrative trade with the European settlements in the West Indies. The prospect of hostilities with their ancient masters had the effect of composing their domestic animosities; and Maurice compelled Spinola, the Spanish general, to relinquish the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, after he had lost ten thousand of his best troops in the enterprise (1622).

§ 285. In France, during this period, both civil and religious disputes ran much higher than in Holland. Louis XIII. being a minor when his father, Henry IV., was assassinated, Mary of Medici, the queen-mother, was chosen regent (1610). New counsels were immediately adopted, the sage maxims of Sully were despised, and he retired from court.

The attempt of the queen to oppress the Protestants, and her entire submission to foreigners, caused a rebellion amongst the nobles in 1613, which was suppressed, and another in 1615, with the prince of Condé at its head. One of the favourite schemes of her Italian ministers, Concini and Galligai, negotiated in concert with the pope and the duke of Florence, in 1612, was a union between France and Spain, by means of a double marriage, of Louis XIII. with Anne of Austria, the eldest infant; and of Elizabeth, the king's sister, with the prince of Asturias, afterwards Philip IV. These marriages were solemnized in 1615. Albert Luynes managed to ingratiate himself with Louis XIII., obtained an order for the arrest of Concini, his mother's minister, who was afterwards executed, and she herself confined to her apartments (1617). In 1620, Louis XIII., by a solemn edict, united the principality of Bearn to the crown of France, and attempted to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in that province, where there were no Roman Catholics. The Huguenots, alarmed at the impending danger, assembled at Rochelle, and resolved to establish a republic, of which that town was to be the capital. The royal forces in 1621 laid siege to Montauban, but were compelled to abandon the enterprise. Montpellier was beleaguered in the ensuing year, but with so little success that a treaty was made with the Huguenots, confirming the edict of Nantes.

§ 286. The French counsels now began to assume more vigour. Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, who, at the solicitation of the queen-mother, had obtained a cardinal's hat, and succeeded Luynes as prime minister, formed three important projects; to subdue the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, to reduce the rebellious Huguenots, and to curb the encroaching spirit of the house of Austria. In order to put these great designs into execution it was necessary to preserve peace with England. This Richelieu perceived; and concluded, in spite of the courts of Rome and Madrid, a treaty of marriage between Charles, prince of Wales, and Henrietta of France, sister of Louis (1624). The English failed in an attack upon Cadiz (1625), and Breda surrendered to Spinola (1626). Cabals disturbed the peace of France, and Richelieu's attention was occupied in endeavouring to quell the Huguenots.

§ 287. As Louis XIII. was wholly governed by Richelieu, and Philip IV. of Spain by Olivares, so was Charles I., in like manner, by the duke of Buckingham, who felt inclined

to undertake the defence of the Huguenots. He had been severely censured for assisting Richelieu against them, and he suddenly resolved to become their champion. But his expedition for the relief of Rochelle was ill concerted and badly carried out; and although the duke of Buckingham showed great personal courage, he was compelled to re-embark and return to England, having lost two-thirds of his land forces (1627). Rochelle was more closely blockaded, and after a valiant resistance, compelled to surrender (1628). The inhabitants were deprived of their extensive privileges, and their fortifications were destroyed; but they were allowed to retain possession of their goods, and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. Richelieu proceeded to crush the Protestants as an independent party; negotiations were set on foot; and the Protestants were left in possession of their estates, of the free exercise of their religion, and of all the privileges granted by the edict of Nantes; but they were deprived of their fortifications or cautionary towns, as dangerous to the peace of the state. This was called the pacification of Nismes (1629). From this era may be dated the aggrandizement of the French monarchy in later times; and this formidable body once humbled, France began to take the lead in the affairs of Europe.

§ 288. No sooner had Richelieu subdued the Protestants in France than he resolved to support them in Germany, that he might be enabled more effectually to set bounds to the ambition of the house of Austria. Never was the power of that house more formidable, or more dangerous to the liberties of Europe. Christian IV., king of Denmark, who was at the head of the Protestant party, was unable to withstand Tilly and Wallenstein, and at length, after repeated losses and defeats, he sued for peace, which was concluded at Lubeck (1629). Not satisfied with an uncontrolled sway over Germany, Ferdinand II. attempted to revive the imperial jurisdiction in Italy. His attempt to obtain the investiture of Mantua and Montferrat failed miserably (1631). Meanwhile the elector of Saxony, and other princes favourable to the Augsburg Confession, remonstrated against the "Edict of Restitution" issued by the emperor in 1629, requiring the Protestants to give up many church lands. A diet was convoked at Ratisbon, and the emperor invited even by the Roman Catholics to make some concessions, which he resolutely refused to do, and the Protestants formed a secret alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden (1629).

§ 289. Eric XIV., son of Gustavus Vasa, proved a dissolute and cruel prince, and he was dethroned and imprisoned by the States of Sweden (1568); and his brother, John III., made king. He died in 1592, leaving the crown to his son Sigismund, then king of Poland. This prince, like his father, was a Roman Catholic, and he was deposed in 1600, when his uncle Charles IX., a zealous Protestant, succeeded to the throne; in the possession of which, after a severe contest, he was confirmed in 1604. He died in 1611, whereupon his son, the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, received the sceptre. Russia during this period was a prey to civil wars. Ivan IV. died in 1584, leaving two sons, Feodore and Demetrius, the former of which mounted the throne. His minister Boris induced him to murder his brother, soon after which he died; the line of Ruric became extinct, and Boris obtained the sovereignty. A young man appeared in Lithuania, assumed the name and character of the Prince Demetrius, and, assisted by a Polish army, entered Moscow and was proclaimed czar (1605), and Boris committed suicide. Rendering himself obnoxious to the Russians, he was slain (1606): several pretenders appeared; the Poles and the Swedes endeavoured to impose a yoke upon Russia, and anarchy prevailed until Michael Romanoff, a descendant of the house of Ruric, obtained the sceptre (1613). Through the mediation of James I. of England, the peace of Stolbova was made between Russia and Sweden (1617), by which the latter power obtained the payment of a just debt, the formal cession of Livonia, Esthonia, and the country from Narva to the Ladoga; thus including the very site on which St. Petersburg has since been erected. In 1618 a truce for fourteen years was concluded with Poland. Sweden was at this time rising in importance. Gustavus Adolphus not only extorted the aforementioned treaty of Stolbova from Russia, but, having overrun Poland, and entered into a truce of six years with its rulers (1629), prepared to interfere in favour of the German Protestants.

§ 290. Zeal for the Protestant religion was the principal motive that induced Gustavus to take up arms against Ferdinand II. He laid his design before the States of Sweden; and he negotiated with France, England, and Holland before he began his march. Many English and Scotch adventurers flocked to his army, and Charles I. sent a contingent of six thousand men. With France he also made a treaty, and received subsidies from Richelieu.

Gustavus marched into Germany, was joined by some of the Protestant princes, and gained a complete victory over Tilly and the imperialists, at the battle of Breitenfeld or Leipsic (Sept. 7, 1631). The consequences of this victory were important. The members of the Evangelical Union immediately joined Gustavus, while the princes of the Roman Catholic league were utterly disconcerted; and Gustavus made himself master of all the country from the Elbe to the Rhine, comprehending a space of nearly one hundred leagues, full of fortified towns. Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Lech, and Gustavus entered Munich (May 17, 1632). He then attacked Wallenstein near Nuremberg, but was compelled to withdraw after making the most strenuous efforts.

§ 291. Wallenstein had removed his camp to Lützen, and here Gustavus, in opposition to the advice of the most experienced of his generals, resolved to give him battle. Wallenstein, apprised of this intention, fortified his camp. The engagement commenced at nine in the morning. The Swedes fought with their usual courage, and in this action Gustavus received his death-wound. During nine hours the battle raged with inexpressible fierceness. No field was ever disputed with more obstinacy than that of Lützen, where the Swedish infantry not only maintained their ground against a brave and greatly superior army, but broke its force and almost completed its destruction (Nov. 16, 1632). Few princes, ancient or modern, seem to have possessed in so eminent a degree as Gustavus Adolphus the united qualities of the hero, the statesman, and the commander; that intuitive genius which conceives, that wisdom which plans, and that happy combination of courage and conduct which gives success to an enterprise. His greatest fault, as a king and a commander, was excess of valour. He usually appeared in the front of the battle, mounted on a horse of a particular colour, which, with his large and majestic stature, made him known both to friends and foes. He was a pious Christian, a warm friend, a tender husband, a dutiful son, an affectionate father; and may be described in a sentence from one of his own letters to his minister Oxenstiern, as "the prince who fulfilled the duties of that station which Providence had assigned him in this world."

§ 292. The death of Gustavus caused great alterations in the state of Europe. The elector palatine, who had conceived hopes of being restored not only to his hereditary

dominions, but to the throne of Bohemia, died soon after of grief. The German Protestants were divided into factions ; and the imperialists, though defeated, prepared to prosecute the war with vigour, while the Swedes were overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of their heroic prince, whose daughter and successor, Christina, was only six years old. A council of regency was, however, appointed, and the management of the war in Germany committed to the chancellor Oxenstiern, a man of great ability, and the Protestant confederacy again wore a formidable aspect. Yet the war became every day more burthensome and disagreeable both to the Swedes and Germans. Ferdinand II., jealous of the extensive powers he had granted to Wallenstein, resolved to remove him from the command ; whereupon that general revolted, and Ferdinand had him assassinated (1634).

§ 293. The imperialists were reinforced by Spanish and Italian troops, and the Swedish generals, Banner, Horn, and the duke of Saxe-Weimar, maintained a superiority on the Oder, the Rhine, and the Danube, and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. Horn and the duke of Saxe-Weimar united their forces in order to oppose the progress of the king of Hungary, and fought the obstinate battle of Nördlingen (Sept. 6, 1634), in which they were utterly routed. This defeat threw the members of the Evangelical Union into the utmost consternation, and the German princes, with the exception of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, signed at Prague (1635) a treaty with the court of Vienna, to the following effect:—The Protestant princes were to retain for ever the ecclesiastical benefices, which did not depend immediately upon the emperor, seized before the pacification of Passau. They were to retain, for the space of forty years, the immediate benefices, though seized since the treaty of Passau, if actually enjoyed before the 12th day of November, 1627. The exercise of the Protestant religion was to be freely permitted in all the dominions of the empire, except in the kingdom of Bohemia and the provinces belonging to the house of Austria. The duke of Bavaria was to be maintained in possession of the Palatinate, on condition of paying the jointure of Frederic's widow, and granting a proper subsistence to his son, when he should return to his duty ; and there was to be between the emperor and the confederates of the Augsburg Confession, who should sign this treaty, a mutual restitution of everything taken subsequent to the irruption

of Gustavus into the empire. In consequence of this pacification, almost the whole weight of the war devolved upon the Swedes and the French, between whom a fresh treaty had been concluded by Richelieu and Oxenstiern, and a French army marched into Germany, in order to support the duke of Saxe-Weimar.

LETTER 75.—The General View of the European Continent continued, from the Treaty of Prague to the Peace of Westphalia. A.D. 1635—1648. Vol. i., pages 506—525.

§ 294. While Germany was a scene of war and desolation, Cardinal Richelieu ruled France with a rod of iron. Several conspiracies were formed against him at the instigation of the duke of Orleans and the queen-mother; but they were all defeated by his vigilance and vigour, and terminated in the ruin of their contrivers. The widow of Henry IV. was banished (1631); her son Gaston was obliged to beg his life; the marshals Marillac and Montmorency were brought to the block (1632); and the gibbets were every day loaded with inferior criminals, condemned by the most arbitrary sentences, and in a court erected for the trial of the cardinal's enemies. The defeat at Nördlingen induced Oxenstiern to offer to put Louis XIII. in immediate possession of Philipsburg and Alsace, on condition that France should take an active part in the war against the emperor. Richelieu readily embraced a proposal that corresponded so entirely with his views. He also concluded an alliance with the United Provinces, in hopes of sharing the Low Countries, and he sent a herald to Brussels, in the name of his master, to denounce war against Spain. This is said to have been the last declaration of war made by a herald-at-arms. A treaty was at the same time entered into with the duke of Savoy, in order to strengthen the French interest in Italy (1635).

§ 295. If France had not taken a decided part in the war, the treaty of Prague would have completed the destruction of the Swedish forces in Germany. But Louis XIII., or rather Cardinal Richelieu, now began to levy troops with great diligence, and five considerable armies were soon in the field. The first and largest of these was sent into the Low Countries, under the marshals Chatillon and Bresse; the second marched into Lorraine; the third took the route of the duchy of Milan; the duke of Rohan led the fourth into the Valteline; and the fifth acted upon the Rhine,

under Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar. In order to oppose the operations of the French on the side of Lorraine, the emperor sent thither General Gallas, at the head of a powerful army, to join the duke of that territory, who intended to besiege Colmar, but was prevented by the severity of the season. Several actions ensued between the French, supported by the Swedes and the imperialists, in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, in which, although the former were victorious, they afterwards separated and retired (1635).

§ 296. The French and their allies were still less successful in other quarters. Nothing effectual was done in Italy, where the duke of Parma had the misfortune to see himself stripped of the best part of his dominions by the Spaniards, notwithstanding the efforts of Crequi and the duke of Savoy, who, in one battle gained a considerable advantage over the enemy. In the Low Countries, where the highest hopes had been formed, the disappointment of Cardinal Richelieu was still greater. He had computed on the entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands; and a scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the duchy of Luxemburg, the counties of Namur, Hainault, Courtray, Artois, and Flanders, as far as Blackeningberg, Damme, and Ruppelmonde, were to be assigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the territory of Waes, the lordship of Mecklin, and all the rest of the Spanish Netherlands, were to be annexed to the republic of Holland. This scheme, however, proved as vain as it was ambitious. The Dutch were jealous of the growing power of France, and the prince of Orange had a personal pique against Cardinal Richelieu. After various indecisive operations, an army, under the celebrated generals Piccolomini and John of Werth, entered France by the frontier of Picardy; took La Chapelle, Catelet, and Corbie. On perceiving the enemy within three days' march of their gates, the Parisians were thrown into the utmost consternation; but by the vigorous measures of Richelieu fifty thousand men were suddenly assembled, and the Spaniards and Flemings compelled to evacuate France (1636).

§ 297. Richelieu, in order to secure the success of the ensuing campaign, exerted himself to recover the friendship of the prince of Orange. He also concluded a treaty with the prince of Saxe-Weimar, in which it was stipulated that, in consideration of an annual subsidy, the duke should maintain an army of eighteen thousand men, and that Louis should cede in his favour all claims of France to Alsace. The duke

having been joined by a French army, laid siege to Saverne. Gallas made an irruption into Franche-Comté, in conjunction with the duke of Lorraine. Meanwhile Weimar had reduced Saverne, and he omitted nothing that could obstruct or harass the imperialists in their march; and Gallas lost about seven thousand men before he entered Burgundy. He continued his march, and undertook the siege of St. Jean de Lanne, which he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of the overflowing of the adjacent rivers; and being closely pressed by Turenne, he lost about five thousand men, and the greater part of his baggage, in his retreat. During these transactions in Lorraine, Alsace, and Franche-Comté, a decisive battle was fought in Upper Germany, between the Swedes, under General Banner, and the imperialists, commanded by the elector of Saxony. After watching each other for some time, they halted in the plains of Wittstock, where both armies prepared for battle. The imperial camp was pitched upon an eminence and fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the troops stood ready to engage. Banner drew the enemy from that advantageous position by a feint, and then attacked, while he ordered the left wing to charge the imperialists in flank. These movements were executed with such vigour that the Austrian and Saxon infantry were utterly defeated. Five thousand men fell on the field or in the pursuit; seven thousand were taken, together with thirty pieces of cannon, one hundred and fifty ensigns, and an incredible number of waggons. Such was the celebrated battle of Wittstock, which restored the lustre of the Swedish arms, raised the military reputation of Banner, and gave a signal blow to the imperial power (Sept. 24, 1636).

§ 298. Ferdinand II. died soon after this victory, in the eighteenth year of his reign (1637), and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III. War was still prosecuted vigorously, and the duke of Saxe-Weimar besieged Rheinfeldt. The imperialists came to its relief, and a sanguinary battle was fought, which lasted two days, and ended in the total defeat of the imperialists (1638). After this victory the duke of Saxe-Weimar returned to the siege of Rheinfeldt, to which he granted honourable terms of capitulation, in consideration of its gallant defence. Neuburg, Röteln, and Freiburg were also reduced, and Breisach, in spite of the efforts of the imperialists, surrendered. Louis XIII. formed the scheme of annexing Breisach, but to this the duke of Saxe-

Weimar would not consent. Whilst this general triumphed over the imperialists in the manner recounted above, the Swedish general Banner pursued his career of conquest in Pomerania. After the victory obtained at Wittstock, he reduced Gartz, Demmin, and Wolgast; and inflicted several severe losses on the imperial forces. In Westphalia the prince palatine was defeated by the imperialists (1637).

§ 299. In the beginning of the next campaign, the two victorious commanders Banner and Weimar concerted measures for penetrating into the heart of the Austrian dominions. Banner accordingly crossed the Elbe, and made an irruption into the territories of Anhalt and Halbertstadt. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind him, he pushed on with his cavalry, and surprised Salis, grand-master of the imperial ordnance, in the neighbourhood of Oelnitz. The conflict was obstinate and bloody; no less than seven regiments of the imperialists were cut in pieces. The Swedish general next entered Saxony, and advanced as far as the suburbs of Dresden, where he defeated four Saxon regiments, and obliged a larger body of the enemy to take refuge under the cannon of that city. In order to prevent a junction between two armies of the imperialists, Banner attacked the Saxons, and, after a severe conflict, obtained a complete victory (1639). This success was followed by several advantages. He made an irruption into Bohemia, and laid a great part of the country under contribution; then returning, crossed the Elbe, and again defeated the imperialists. Desirous of carrying the war into Silesia and Moravia, the Swedish general recrossed the Elbe, and marched towards those countries, without meeting with the success which he had anticipated.

§ 300. The death of the duke of Saxe-Weimar produced quite a change in the state of affairs. Having just commenced the campaign by the siege and capture of Thann, he took measures to cross the Rhine, but fell ill at Huningen, whence he was conveyed by water to Neuburg, where he expired (July, 1639), in the thirty-sixth year of his age. This great military commander is supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of Richelieu; and Puffendorf positively affirms that he was carried off by poison. Richelieu obtained the direction of his army; and the consequence was, that almost all Alsace fell an easy prey to France. There was a great want of unanimity in the counsels of the confederates; but they at last resolved to

attack Piccolomini. He was so advantageously posted, that the attempt to force his camp proved impracticable; and little was accomplished during the remainder of the year. But the house of Austria was less fortunate in other quarters during the year 1640. The affairs of Philip IV. declined in Italy; Catalonia revolted, and Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke. The Catalans wished to found a republic, but failed in the attempt, and were ultimately compelled to submit. The revolution in Portugal was successful, and the duke of Braganza was proclaimed king, under the title of John IV. All the Spanish governors in the colonies were expelled; Portugal became again an independent kingdom, and by the recovery of Brazil, which during the Spanish administration had been conquered by the Dutch, its former lustre was in some measure restored.

§ 301. Ferdinand III. convoked a diet at Ratisbon, in order to concert measures for carrying on the war, though he pretended to be desirous of peace. Banner formed the design of dispersing this assembly and even of surprising the city. Having effected a junction with the French army at Erfurt, he soon arrived at Hoff, and detaching five regiments of cavalry to Egra, he advanced to Auerbach. The confederates then proceeded to Schwendorff, crossed the Danube upon the ice, and captured above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horse. The emperor himself, who intended to devote that day to the chase, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His advanced guard and equipage were taken. The approach of the French and Swedish armies threw Ratisbon into confusion. Negotiations were in the mean time carried on at Hamburg, between the plenipotentiaries of the contending powers, who agreed that a congress for a general peace should be opened at Munster and another at Osnaburg. It was also determined that France should treat at Munster, and Sweden at Osnaburg; and that each crown should have a secretary attending upon the other's plenipotentiary, in order to communicate the resolutions at which they arrived.

§ 302. Ferdinand III. refused to ratify this convention, and issued orders for a body of troops to be assembled with all despatch. They pursued the French and Swedish armies, which had separated, and completely hemmed Banner in: but he extricated himself from his perilous position with great skill. At Zwickau he effected a junction with Guébriant, and was preparing to oppose the progress of the

imperialists, when he sickened and died (May, 1641). Besides his knowledge in the art of war, which he had acquired under the great Gustavus, to whom he was scarcely inferior as a commander, he was distinguished by his moderation and humanity towards those whom he had vanquished. He always avoided the effusion of blood as far as circumstances would admit; and being robust, patient, indefatigable, and active, he was adored by the soldiery, whose toils and dangers he cheerfully shared. Ferdinand endeavoured to gain this gallant general's troops; but they remained firm in their allegiance, until Torstenson came from Sweden to assume the command. Before he arrived, Piccolomini, at the head of the imperialists, had sustained another humiliating defeat near Wolfenbuttle. By command of Richelieu, the French and Swedish armies separated, the former entering Westphalia, and the latter Bohemia.

§ 303. A new treaty was in the mean time concluded between France and Sweden, and the most vigorous resolutions adopted for prosecuting the war. Guébriant crossed the Rhine early in the spring, captured Ordingen, and defeated the imperialists with terrible slaughter. The victory was followed by the reduction of several places, and Guébriant was soon master of almost the whole electorate of Cologne. In spite of treachery and intrigue, Torstenson maintained his ground, defeated the imperialists in Silesia, and passed the Elbe, with the intention of besieging Leipsic. The approach of the imperialists obliged him to convert the siege into a blockade, and make preparations for receiving the enemy. He inflicted a terrible defeat upon them at Breitenfeld, near Leipsic (Nov. 12, 1642); the same spot on which the Swedes under Gustavus had achieved a brilliant victory a few years before. Leipsic surrendered after a short siege; and, having failed to capture Freiburg, Torstenson retired into Moravia.

§ 304. France had been equally successful on the side of Spain. A French army had entered Roussillon and reduced Perpignan (1642). In the mean time the affairs of the kingdom were in the greatest confusion, and Paris itself was in danger. Francisco de Melo advanced with an army from the Low Countries, routed the duke of Guiche, and would have appeared before the capital, had he not been ordered by Olivares to withdraw. The true reason for this order was a secret treaty between the Spanish minister and the duke of Orleans, who, with the duke of Bouillon, Cinq-Mars, master of the horse, and De Thou, had conspired to

ruin Richelieu, whom they had already brought into discredit with the king (1642). Richelieu gained intelligence of this treaty nearly at the same time that Louis received the news of Guiche's defeat, and was thus enabled to frustrate the plans of the conspirators. The duke of Orleans was disgraced, Cinq-Mars and De Thou lost their heads, and the duke of Bouillon, in order to save his life, was obliged to yield up the principality of Sedan to the crown.

§ 305. So many losses the confederates expected would have disposed the house of Austria sincerely to listen to terms of accommodation; but as the courts of Vienna and Madrid foresaw that France and Sweden, at such a juncture, would necessarily be high in their demands, they seemed very indifferent about renewing the negotiations. It was at length agreed to open the conferences for a general peace in the month of July, in the following year, and the preliminaries having been published, all the unhappy people who had been so long exposed to the calamities of war, congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of tranquillity, when the death of Cardinal Richelieu (Dec. 4, 1642), and that of Louis XIII. (May 14, 1643), again clouded the prospect. France, however, found a worthy successor of Richelieu in Cardinal Mazarine, and a celebrated hero, the duke of Enghien, afterwards honoured with the title of the Great Condé, to shed lustre on the minority of Louis XIV. This able commander cut to pieces in the plains of Rocroi (May 19, 1643), the famous Walloon and Castilian infantry, with an inferior army, and took Thionville, into which the Spanish general, Francisco de Melo, after his defeat, had thrown a reinforcement of ten thousand men. Nine thousand Spaniards and Walloons are said to have fallen in the battle of Rocroi. The French were less fortunate in Germany. The duke of Lorraine renounced his allegiance, Guébriant was mortally wounded before Rotweil; and the French army was defeated at Duttlingen, in Swabia (December 4, 1643). The remains of the French army retreated to Alsace, where they were collected by Turenne, who had been sent there for that purpose.

§ 306. The attention of all Europe was now turned towards the negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg. The principals in the war named their plenipotentiaries, and the other European powers appointed deputies to attend at the conferences. The conduct of the king of Denmark had annoyed the Swedish government, and, amid these advances

for peace, Torstenson was ordered to invade the duchy of Holstein (1643). Oldesloe, Kiel, and other places of importance were captured, and as Torstenson advanced into Jutland, Christian IV. applied to the emperor for assistance. This was granted; but France finding the negotiations disturbed by this war, interfered, and a treaty was concluded at Brömsebro (1645), by which Sweden restored to Denmark all the towns Torstenson had taken in Holstein, and Christian, on his part, ceded Jemtie, Halland, the isle of Gothland, and its dependencies. An alliance was also negotiated between France and Denmark, by which Christian agreed to yield no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of France or those of her allies. The emperor was not in a condition to prevent the ratification of these treaties. Turenne had retrieved the affairs of France upon the Rhine, which he crossed at Breisach, and advancing with a small army towards the source of the Danube, routed the imperialists at Rotweil. He afterwards attempted the relief of Freiburg, but had the mortification of seeing it surrender. Cardinal Mazarine ordered the duke of Enghien to join Turenne; and these generals, in an action that lasted seven hours, defeated the imperialists. They left their baggage and artillery, with all the towns situated between the Rhine and the Moselle, from Mentz to Landau, to the victors (1644).

§ 307. In order further to distract the attention of the imperialists, the French and Swedish ministers entered into negotiations with Ragotsky, voivode of Transylvania, who entered Hungary at the head of thirty thousand men, and got up a very embarrassing diversion. Torstenson pursued the imperial general into Lower Saxony, and having almost annihilated his opponent's army by the effects of fatigue, famine, and the sword, he entered Bohemia, and advanced upon Prague. Ferdinand caused all his forces to be assembled to avert the blow, and both armies remained for some time watching each other's movements. At last the Swedish general grew impatient, attacked the imperialists, and routed them with great slaughter, at Janowitz (Feb. 24, 1645). The pursuit was no less bloody than the battle. The Swedes became masters of the Danube on the side of Moravia, and all the towns in that province surrendered at discretion, except Brunn, which Torstenson besieged. This enterprise occasioned such alarm at Vienna, that the emperor retired to Ratisbon, and the empress and her attendants fled for

refuge to Gratz, in Stiria. But Torstenson found enough to occupy his attention before Brunn.

§ 308. In the mean time Merci resolved to attack Turenne, who had established his head-quarters at Marienthal. The French general was repulsed, with the loss of great part of his infantry, twelve hundred horse, and all his baggage. The duke of Enghien fortunately joined Turenne soon after, with a reinforcement of eight thousand men; and these distinguished generals advanced to meet the imperialists, whom they defeated with terrible loss at Nördlingen (1645). Turenne, after the departure of the duke of Enghien, who went to Paris to receive the applause due to his valour, had the honour of closing the campaign and of re-establishing the elector of Treves in his dominions. That prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty, in consequence of a second treaty with Ferdinand, by which he submitted to the articles of the peace of Prague, and other rigorous conditions. Having signed the treaty with no other view than that of delivering himself from a tedious and grievous imprisonment, he claimed the protection of France, and Mazarine ordered Turenne to effect his restoration. That general accordingly invested Treves; the garrison was obliged to capitulate, and the elector entered the capital amid the acclamations of his subjects. The elector of Saxony, unable to stop the progress of the Swedes under Königsmark, who had reduced a number of towns in Thuringia and Misnia, concluded a truce with that general for six months, as a prelude to a peace with Sweden. The emperor in some degree counterbalanced this advantage by a peace with Ragotsky. He acknowledged that prince sovereign of Transylvania, and restored to him certain possessions in Hungary, which had belonged to his predecessor, Bethlem Gabor. Königsmark, after his truce with the elector of Saxony, effected a junction with Torstenson, and they laid siege to Prague. They could not effect their object, and Torstenson, annoyed and afflicted with gout, retired to his own country. He was succeeded in the chief command by Wrangel, who supported the reputation of the Swedish arms, and, in conjunction with Turenne, ravaged Franconia, Silesia, and Moravia (1646). At this juncture the elector of Bavaria made a separate peace with France. The treaty was concluded at Ulm (March 24, 1647). The archbishop of Cologne, the elector of Mentz, and the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, were compelled by Turenne to embrace the neutrality.

§ 309. The confederates were less successful in other quarters. Nothing of consequence had been effected either in Italy or the Low Countries during the last two campaigns, and in Spain the reputation of two celebrated French generals had been tarnished. In 1646, Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, besieged Lerida, but was compelled to retire. The prince of Condé, formerly duke of Enghien, renewed the attempt, but was also foiled. The conclusion of the year 1647 was not more fortunate for the confederates in Germany. The elector of Bavaria was prevailed upon to renounce the alliance he had concluded with France, and reunite his forces with those of the emperor; and in consequence of this, Wrangel was obliged to abandon Bohemia. Harassed on his march by the Austrian general Melander, he took up his winter quarters in the duchy of Brunswick. Early in the spring the gallant Swede led his army forth, and having effected a junction with Turenne, gained the battle of Sommershausen (1648), in which Melander was mortally wounded. Piccolomini then assumed the command of the imperialists, who had fallen back upon Augsburg, while Wrangel and Turenne continued their victorious career. Other triumphs were gained in different parts; Prague stood in danger of being captured, and the negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg were pushed forward with earnestness and vigour. The young queen of Sweden, Christina, desired peace. The United Provinces, jealous of France, had in 1647 concluded a separate treaty with Spain, by which their independence was acknowledged and the republic declared to be a free and sovereign state. France was left alone to sustain the whole weight of the war against the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, and her prime minister, Mazarine, dreading intestine war, became more moderate in his demands at the congress, as well as more sincerely disposed to promote the tranquillity of Germany.

§ 310. In consequence of these favourable occurrences and corresponding views, the memorable peace of Westphalia was signed at Munster, on the 24th of October, 1648. In order to satisfy the different powers engaged in the struggle, the following important stipulations were found necessary; namely, that France should possess the sovereignty of the three bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun), the city of Pignerol, Breisach, and its dependencies, the territory of Suntgaw, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, with the exception of Strasburg, and the right to

keep a garrison in Philipsburg ; that to Sweden should be granted, besides five millions of crowns, the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verdun secularized, Upper Pomerania, Stettin, the isle of Rügen, and the city of Wismar, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, all to be held as fiefs of the empire, with three votes at the Diet ; that the elector of Brandenburg should be reimbursed for the loss of Upper Pomerania, by the cession of the bishopric of Magdeburg secularized, and by having the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, declared secular principalities, with four votes at the Diet ; that the duke of Mecklenburg, as an equivalent for Wismar, should have the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratsburg, erected, in like manner, into secular principalities ; that the electoral dignity, with the Upper Palatinate, should remain with Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and his male descendants, but that the Lower Palatinate should be restored to Charles Louis, son of the deposed elector, in whose favour an eighth electorate was to be established, to continue till the extinction of the house of Bavaria. All the other princes and states of the empire were re-established in the lands, rights, and prerogatives which they had enjoyed previous to the troubles of Bohemia, in 1618. The republic of Switzerland was declared to be a sovereign state, exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire ; and the long-disputed succession of Cleves and Juliers, with the restitution of Lorraine, was referred to arbitration. The stipulations in regard to religion were no less accurate and comprehensive. The pacification of Passau was confirmed in its full extent ; and it was further agreed that the Calvinists should enjoy the same privileges as the Lutherans ; that the Imperial Chamber should consist of twenty-four Protestant members and twenty-six Roman Catholics ; that the emperor should receive six Protestants into his Aulic council ; and that an equal number of Protestant and Roman Catholic deputies should be chosen for the Diet, except when convoked for the settlement of matters relating only to one or the other of the two religions ; in which case, all the deputies were to be of that faith to which the subject for regulation belonged.^a

^a Much confusion exists in various historical works, with reference to the dates of many events recorded in this and the following chapter. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII. reformed the calendar, making the 5th of October to count as the 15th. This is termed the new style, and although not adopted in England until Sept. 14, 1752, it has been, for the sake of uniformity, followed in this work.

PART II.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE
PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.

CHAPTER I.

LETTER I.—England and Ireland, from the Accession of James I. to the Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and the Fall of Somerset. A.D. 1603—1615. Vol. ii., pages 1—12.

§ 311. AN account of the affairs of England from the death of Queen Elizabeth comes naturally enough in the present division of this work. The accession of the family of Stuart to the English throne forms a memorable era in the history of Great Britain. It gave birth to a struggle between the king and the Parliament, that threw the kingdom into repeated convulsions, and was only finally settled by the expulsion of this royal line. James, named by Elizabeth as her successor, was great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII.; so that, on the failure of the male line of the house of Tudor, his hereditary title became unquestionable. His accession was greeted both by the English and the Scotch with acclamation; and if the new monarch deserves censure for having distributed honours and places amongst his own countrymen rather too liberally, it must not be forgotten that he left all the great offices of state in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of public affairs, both foreign and domestic, for a time, to his English subjects.

§ 312. Ambassadors arrived from almost all the princes and states in Europe, in order to congratulate James on his accession to the crown of England, and to form new treaties and alliances with him, as the head of the two British king-

doms. The marquis of Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully, came to represent Henry IV. of France, and proposed, in his master's name, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern powers, in order to restrain the ambition of the house of Austria. Private considerations induced James to decline entering into such an engagement, although he secretly promised to support the States-General, in conjunction with France, lest their weakness and despair should bring them again under the dominion of Spain. A formidable conspiracy was set on foot for deposing James, and raising Arabella Stuart, his cousin-german, also descended from Henry VII., to the throne. It was concocted by two Roman Catholic priests, Clarke and Watson, who were in consequence executed. The principal conspirators were Lord Cobham and his brother Mr. Broke, Lord Grey, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other discarded courtiers. Some of these were pardoned, Broke was executed, and Sir Walter Raleigh imprisoned (1603).

§ 313. Eager for an opportunity of displaying his theological talents, James seized upon one afforded by the presentation of a petition by the Puritans for reform in the established church, to summon a conference at Hampton Court. The Puritans, noticed in a previous section of this work, remained in the church, although they objected to many of its laws and ceremonies. The impurities of which they chiefly complained were the episcopal vestments, and certain harmless ceremonies, rendered venerable by age and long usage, which the Church of England, in a spirit of moderation, had retained at the Reformation: such as the use of the ring in marriage, of the cross in baptism, and the reverence of bowing at the name of Jesus. If the king would not utterly abolish these abominations, they flattered themselves that he would at least abate the rigour of the laws against non-conformity. Though James had in youth imbibed Calvinistical doctrines, the bias of the Puritans for republicanism, and their dislike of all supremacy but that of their own party, were sufficient to prejudice his mind against these opinions. In this conference the king, instead of being arbiter, became the principal disputant, and the Puritans did not gain what they desired (1604). James next assembled a parliament, at which forty-four English commissioners were appointed to meet the thirty-one Scotch deputies, in order to deliberate upon a union between the two kingdoms.

The Commons also asserted their right of controlling the issuing of writs for new members; many monopolies were abolished, and the abuses in the systems of purveyance and of wardship were vigorously assailed. Soon after the rising of parliament, a treaty of peace, which had been some time in contemplation, was concluded with Spain (August 18, 1604).

§ 314. During the season of peace and tranquillity that followed, one of the most diabolical plots of which there is any record in the history of the human race, was fortunately discovered. The Roman Catholics in general were much disappointed, and even exasperated, by the king's conduct in religious matters. They had expected great favour and indulgence from the son of the unfortunate Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause. These it was soon evident that James did not intend to grant. On finding that he was determined to execute the rigorous laws enacted against them, they resolved upon vengeance. Some of the most zealous of the Jesuits in England conspired to exterminate, at one blow, their most powerful enemies, and to re-establish the Roman Catholic system. Their conspiracy had for its object the destruction of the king and parliament. For this purpose they lodged thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in a vault beneath the House of Lords, usually let as a coal-cellar. The time fixed upon for the execution of this plot was the 5th of November, the day appointed for the meeting of parliament; when the king, queen, and prince of Wales, were expected to be in the house, with the principal nobility and gentry. The rest of the royal family were to be seized and despatched, with the exception of the king's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, then an infant, who was to be raised to the throne under the care of a Roman Catholic protector. The secret was well preserved for more than twelve months, and although at least twenty persons knew it, not a whisper of the plot had been breathed to any but those interested in its success. The hour for striking the blow drew near, and the conspirators regarded failure as almost impossible.

§ 315. Government had, however, by some means or other, obtained cognizance of the infamous plot. Resolved to make an example of the conspirators, they allowed matters to proceed, and thus lulled them into a false security. One of their number eventually made certain revelations to Cecil, but these only served to confirm the intelligence which he

had before received. The constant intercourse carried on between the conspirators, and their frequent meetings in a lonely house near the river side, would have been sufficient to awaken suspicion. The repeated prorogations of parliament troubled the schemers sadly, and their resources began to fail. They were thus obliged to admit new members into their confederacy, and every accession in numbers still further imperilled their safety. Moreover, the earl of Salisbury was anxious to make this plot a weapon that he might use with effect against all Roman Catholics obnoxious to him, whether implicated in the conspiracy or not.^a At last the vaults under the two houses of parliament were ordered to be searched. This was, however, purposely delayed till the day before the opening, when the gunpowder was discovered under large piles of wood and fagots, and Guido Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, was taken prisoner, with the matches, and everything required to set fire to the train, in his pocket. Confinement and dread of the rack induced him to reveal the names of his accomplices. Such of the conspirators as were in London, on hearing that Fawkes had been arrested, hurried into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, one of their associates, was already in arms, hoping to seize the Princess Elizabeth, then at Lord Harrington's seat. They failed in their attempt to secure the princess; the county rose against them, and they were all taken and executed, except three, who fell a sacrifice to their desperate valour; namely, Wright, a daring fanatic, and Catesby and Percy, two active conspirators (1605).

§ 316. Although Elizabeth had subjected, she had not civilized Ireland. Irish customs supplied the place of law. Their chieftains, whose authority was absolute, were not hereditary but elective; or, more properly speaking, were established by force and violence; and although certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profits arose from exactions, dues, and assessments, which were levied at pleasure, and for which there was no fixed law. Every crime was punished, not by death, but by a fine laid upon the criminal. Even murder itself was atoned for in this manner, and the rate was called *Eric*. After abolishing these and other pernicious Irish customs, and substituting English laws in their stead, James proceeded to govern the natives by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A

^a The student will find a full account of this affair in Jardine's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*.

sufficient army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay punctually transmitted from England. Circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. The beneficial effects of these regulations were soon visible, more especially in Ulster, in which the forfeited lands were apportioned to Protestant settlers (1608). By his love of negotiation, and of making undue concessions, James disgusted the people, who began to turn their attention to Henry, prince of Wales, a youth of extraordinary merit. Neither the illusions of passion nor rank ever seduced him into any irregular pleasures; business and ambition engaged his heart and occupied his mind. Had he lived to come to the throne, he might probably have promoted the glory, more than the happiness of his people, as he had strong dispositions for war. But he died suddenly, before he had attained his majority, and his untimely end caused the deepest sorrow in the country (November 6, 1612).

§ 317. James had one weakness which drew on him more odium than either his pedantry, pusillanimity, or extravagant love of amusement; namely, an infatuated attachment to young and worthless favourites. The first and most odious of these was Robert Carre, a young gentleman of good family in Scotland (1611). The king knighted this favourite; created him Viscount Rochester, honoured him with the Garter, brought him into the Privy Council, and without assigning any particular office to him, gave him the chief direction of affairs (1612). Rochester cast his eyes upon Frances Howard, who at the age of thirteen had been married to the earl of Essex. Immediately after the ceremony, her husband, then only fourteen, set off upon his travels until he should be of a proper age to come and claim his bride. On his return the countess demanded a divorce. This, through the influence of the king, was obtained, and Rochester was created earl of Somerset, that the lady might not lose rank by her new marriage (1613). Rochester's friend Sir Thomas Overbury endeavoured to persuade him not to enter into this alliance, which fact having been communicated by him to the lady, aroused her resentment. Sir Thomas Overbury's conduct was misrepresented to the king, and the order issued for his committal to the Tower. The governor of the Tower was dismissed and Sir Gervase Elwes appointed in his stead, and he carried off Sir Thomas by poison. The terrible crime was discovered

a few years afterwards, when Sir Gervase Elwes and others suffered for their guilt. Although Somerset and his countess were found guilty, they received a pardon (1615).

LETTER 2.—England and Scotland, from the Rise of Buckingham to the Death of James I. A.D. 1615—1625. Vol. ii., pages 12—25.

§ 318. The fall of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for a new favourite, who rose at once to the highest honours. George Villiers, a young English gentleman of an engaging figure, attracted James's attention at Cambridge, and was appointed cupbearer (1615). James afterwards created his minion Viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, Knight of the Garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the King's Bench, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral (1618). A price had already been affixed to every rank of nobility, and the title of baronet invented, and currently sold for one thousand pounds, to supply the profusion of Somerset; and in order to satisfy the extravagance of Buckingham, the cautionary towns, Brille, Flushing, and Rammekins, which Elizabeth had induced the United Provinces to consign into her hands, on the breaking out of the war with Spain, as a security for the expenses of the contest, were delivered up to the Dutch in return for a sum of money (1616).

§ 319. James, anxious to establish conformity of worship and discipline between the two kingdoms, and having taken some initiatory steps, went on a visit into Scotland. Presbyterianism was the established form of worship in that country. This system, at first adopted by Zuinglius and Calvin, in Switzerland, abolished all pre-eminence of rank, and introduced republicanism into the government of the Church. From Switzerland it was transferred by John Knox into Scotland; where it soon degenerated into the most gloomy fanaticism. For this James desired to substitute the more moderate and cheerful religion of the Church of England. He had early experienced the insolence of the Presbyterian clergy; who, under the appearance of poverty and sanctity, and a zeal for the glory of God, and the safety and purity of the kirk, had concealed the most dangerous censorial and inquisitorial powers, which they sometimes exercised with all the arrogance of a Roman consistory. In 1596, when James,

by the advice of a convention of estates, had granted permission to Huntley, Errol, and other Roman Catholic noblemen, who had been banished, to return, on giving proper security for future good conduct, a committee of the General Assembly of the kirk had the audacity to write circular letters to all the presbyteries in Scotland, commanding them to publish from their pulpits an act of excommunication against the popish lords, and enjoining them to lay all those who were *suspected* of favouring popery under the *same censure* by a *summary sentence*, and *without observing* the *usual formalities of trial*. On this occasion one of the Presbyterian ministers declared from the pulpit, that the king, in permitting the popish lords to return, had discovered the treachery of his own heart; that all kings were the devil's children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the court! Another affirmed, in the principal church of the capital, that the king was possessed of a devil, and that his subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand!

§ 320. In consequence of these inflammatory speeches and audacious proceedings, the citizens of Edinburgh rose, and surrounding the house in which the Court of Session was sitting, and where the king happened to be present, demanded some of his counsellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces; and James was a prisoner in the heart of his own capital. The king's behaviour on that occasion, which was firm and manly, as well as politic, restored him to the good opinion of his subjects in general. The populace dispersed on his promising to receive their petitions, when presented in a regular form; and this fanatical insurrection, instead of overturning, served only to establish the royal authority. A convention of estates having been called in January, 1597, they pronounced the insurrection to be high treason; ordained every clergyman to subscribe a declaration of his submission to the king's jurisdiction, in all matters civil and criminal; empowered magistrates to commit instantly to prison any minister who should in his sermons utter indecent reflections on the king's conduct, and prohibited ecclesiastical judicature from meeting without the king's license. These ordinances were confirmed the same year, by the General Assembly of the kirk, which also declared sentences of summary excommunication unlawful, and vested in the crown the right of nominating ministers to the parishes in the principal towns.

James was not, however, satisfied with these changes; he longed to bring it nearer the episcopal model, and at last induced the Presbyterians to receive bishops as perpetual presidents or moderators in their ecclesiastical synods. James, anxious to establish a conformity in worship and discipline between the two churches, desired to obtain from the Scotch Parliament an acknowledgment of his own supremacy in all ecclesiastical causes. This was the principal object of his visit to his native country; where he proposed to the great council of the nation, which was then assembled, that an act might be passed, declaring that "whatever his majesty should determine in regard to the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministers, should have the force of a law" (1617). This bill James was, however, compelled to drop; but he next year extorted a vote from the General Assembly of the kirk, for receiving certain ceremonies upon which his heart was more particularly set; namely, kneeling at the sacrament, the private administration of it to sick persons, the confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals (1618).

§ 321. A series of unpopular measures conspired to increase that odium, into which James had now fallen in both kingdoms, and which continued to the end of his reign. The first of these was the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh. This extraordinary man, who suggested the first idea of the English colonies in North America, had also made a voyage, in 1596, to Guiana, in South America. The extravagant account which he published of the riches of this latter country, where no mines of any value have yet been discovered, has drawn much censure upon his veracity. Raleigh's motive for uttering these splendid falsities seems to have been a desire of turning the avidity of his countrymen toward that quarter of the New World where the Spaniards had found the precious metals in such abundance. As he was known, however, to be a man of a romantic turn of mind, little regard seems to have been paid to his narrative either by Elizabeth or the nation. But after he had languished many years in confinement, as a punishment for his share in a conspiracy against James, a report which he propagated of a wonderfully rich gold-mine that he had formerly discovered in Guiana, obtained universal belief. People of all ranks were impatient to take posses-

sion of a country overflowing with the precious metals, and to which the nation was supposed to have a right by priority of discovery. Raleigh was released from prison, and although James refused to grant him a free pardon, he gave him permission to embark in the enterprise (1617). Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, remonstrated, and orders were given by the court of Madrid, for fortifying all its settlements on or near the coast of Guiana. Raleigh sailed up the Orinoco, took, plundered, and burnt St. Thomas. Some disputes occurred, the story of the mine was regarded as an invention, and the expedition returned to England with Raleigh as a prisoner (1618). Whatever may have been his faults, this gallant adventurer deserved a better fate. He was sacrificed to satisfy the resentment of the Spanish court, with which James thought of making an alliance, by marrying the prince of Wales to Philip the Third's second daughter. Raleigh went to the block undaunted (Oct. 29, 1618); and soon after the Spanish match was broken off.

§ 322. Frederic V., elector palatine, was induced by the persecuted Protestants to accept the crown of Bohemia, contrary to the advice of the king of England (1619), whose daughter Elizabeth Frederic had married (1613). He was chased from his kingdom and stripped of all his hereditary dominions, through the influence of the emperor Ferdinand II. (1620), and although the English nation were anxious to espouse his cause, James decided upon remaining neutral. He pretended to be shocked at the revolt of a people against their prince, although the Spanish match, then in agitation, is supposed to have influenced his mind. The Commons accordingly framed a remonstrance to the king, representing the enormous growth of the Austrian power, and the alarming progress of the Roman Catholic religion in England: and they entreated his majesty instantly to take arms in defence of the Palatine, to turn his sword against Spain, whose treasures were the chief support of the Roman Catholic interest over Europe; and to exclude all hope of the toleration or re-establishment of popery in the kingdom, by entering into no negotiation for the marriage of his son Charles with any but a Protestant princess. They also requested that the fines and confiscations to which the Roman Catholics were subject by law, should be levied with the utmost rigour; and that the children of such as refused to conform to the established worship should be taken from their parents, and committed

to the care of Protestant divines and schoolmasters. This led to a controversy between the king and the Commons. The former desired the latter not to interfere in matters that regarded his government, or with weighty affairs of state; but the Commons remonstrated, maintained that they were entitled to counsel in all matters of government, and that entire freedom of speech in their debates on public business was their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors. The king retorted; the Commons then framed a protest, and this grand dispute concerning privilege and prerogative gave birth to the *Court* and *Country parties*, which so long occupied the tongues, the pens, and even swords, of the most able and active men in the nation. The memorable protest of the Commons was to this effect:—"That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel or debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding on these businesses, every member of the House of Parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same." So high did the quarrel run, that the Commons refused to vote supplies, and were dismissed by the king (1621).

§ 323. James continued to pursue his favourite object, the Spanish match, but the duke of Buckingham contrived to ruin all by an absurd adventure. He persuaded the prince of Wales to visit Spain in person, and endeavour to win the princess as an ordinary lover; with which romantic scheme Charles was delighted, and James at last gave his consent. All went on well at first, and Philip IV. received the royal lover and his friend with becoming magnificence. Charles was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attended the kings of Spain at their coronation. All the gaols were thrown open, and the prisoners received their freedom (1623). Buckingham's levity and licentiousness rendered him odious to the whole court; he quarrelled with Olivares, and induced Charles to quit Madrid and break off the match. The earl of Bristol, who had conducted the negotiations at Madrid, returned to

England, and was committed to the Tower. He was afterwards released, ordered to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all interference in parliament.

§ 324. War speedily followed with Spain (1624); and an alliance was entered into between France, England, and the United Provinces, for restraining the ambition of the house of Austria, and recovering the Palatinate. A treaty of marriage was about the same time negotiated between the prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria of France, sister to Louis XIII. and daughter of Henry IV., an accomplished princess, whom Charles had seen and admired in his way to Madrid, and who retained, during his whole life, a dangerous ascendancy over him, by means of his too tender and affectionate heart. James did not live, however, to see the celebration of the nuptials, but died in the fifty-ninth year of his age (March 27, 1625), soon after the failure of the expedition under Count Mansfeldt for the recovery of the Palatinate. That James was contemptible as a monarch, must perhaps be allowed; but that he was so as a man, can by no means be admitted. It may be confidently affirmed, that in no preceding period of the English monarchy was there a more sensible increase of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people than during the reign of this despised prince. Of several legitimate children born to him by Anne of Denmark, James left only one son, Charles I., then in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector palatine.

LETTER 3.—England, from the Accession of Charles I. to the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham. A.D. 1625—1628. Vol. ii., pages 25—36.

§ 325. As Charles and Buckingham, by breaking off the Spanish match and engaging the nation in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, had acquired the favour of the popular party in the House of Commons, the young king was eager to meet the representatives of the people, that he might have an opportunity of showing himself to them in his new character, and of receiving a testimony of their dutiful attachment. In his speech from the throne he slightly mentioned the exigencies of the state, but would not suffer the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to name or solicit any particular sum; he left the whole to the generosity of the Commons. The Commons had no generosity for Charles. Never was prince

more deceived by placing confidence in any body of men. Though they knew that he was loaded with a large debt, contracted by his father; that he was engaged in a difficult and expensive war with the house of Austria; that this war was the result of their own importunate solicitations and entreaties; and that they had solemnly engaged to yield the necessary supplies for the support of it; they granted him only two subsidies, amounting to about a hundred and twelve thousand pounds. The causes of this excessive parsimony deserve to be traced. The heads of the country party, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym, animated with a warm love of liberty, saw with regret a too extensive authority exercised by the crown, and, regardless of former precedents, determined to seize the opportunity which the present crisis might afford them of restraining the royal prerogative within more reasonable bounds, and of securing the privileges of the people by firmer and more precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. They accordingly resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince, without extorting proportional concessions in favour of civil liberty; and how ungenerous soever such conduct might seem, they conceived that it was fully justified by the beneficent end they had in view. This party also hated Buckingham, who had deceived them, and whom they accordingly desired to punish. His arrogant conduct helped to render him unpopular, and they resolved that to him the management of the war should not be intrusted.

§ 326. Parliament was adjourned from London to Oxford on account of the plague (Aug. 1); and there the king, laying aside that delicacy which he had hitherto observed, endeavoured to draw from the Commons a more liberal supply, by making them fully acquainted with the state of his affairs, with the debts of the crown, the expenses of the war, the steps he had taken, and the engagements into which he had entered for conducting the same. But all his arguments, and even entreaties, were employed in vain; the Commons remained inexorable, and answered him only by vexatious petitions and complaints of grievances. Enraged at such obstinacy, Charles dissolved the Parliament, and attempted to raise money by other means (Aug. 12). He had recourse to the old expedient of forcing a loan from the subject. The fleet

was equipped, and consisted of eighty sail, including transports, and carried an army of ten thousand men. It sailed to Cadiz, but took no prizes; and after cruising a while off Cape St. Vincent, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish Plate fleet, but without success, it returned to England, to the great dissatisfaction of the nation. The failure of an enterprise from which he expected so much treasure obliged Charles again to call a parliament, and lay his necessities before the Commons (Feb. 6, 1626). They immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths, and afterwards added one subsidy; yet they only voted it, reserving to the end of the session the power of giving that vote the sanction of a law. In the mean time, under colour of redressing grievances, they proceeded to regulate and control every part of government. They impeached the duke of Buckingham, and when Charles prepared to defend his minister, they drew up a petition demanding his dismissal. This step Charles refused to take, and he at once brought the session to a close (June 11, 1626).

§ 327. The people complained loudly of the benevolences and loans which were extorted from them under various forms; and these complaints were increased by a commission, which was openly issued, for compounding with popish recusants, and dispensing, for a sum of money, with the penal laws enacted against them. While the nation was in this dissatisfied humour, intelligence arrived of the defeat of the Protestants in Germany by the imperial forces. A general loan from the subject was now exacted, equal to the four subsidies and three fifteenths voted by the last Parliament; and many respectable persons were thrown into prison for refusing to pay their assessments. Five gentlemen, with Sir Edmund Hampden at their head, had resolution enough to demand their release, not as a favour from the prince, but as their right by the laws of their country. On examination, it was found that these gentlemen had been arbitrarily committed, at the special command alone of the king and council, without any cause being assigned for such commitment. The question was brought to a solemn trial before the court of King's Bench; and the judges, obsequious to the court, refused to release the prisoners, or to admit them to bail. The cry was now loud that the nation was reduced to slavery. The liberty of the subject was violated for refusing to submit to an illegal imposition! Nor was this the only arbitrary measure of which the people had reason

to complain. The troops that had returned from the fruitless expedition against Cadiz were dispersed over the kingdom, and billeted upon private families, contrary to established custom, which required that they should be quartered at inns and public-houses. In the midst of these alarming dissatisfactions and increasing difficulties, when baffled in every attempt against the dominions of the two branches of the house of Austria, and embroiled with his own subjects, Charles engaged in a war against France! Historians have generally ascribed this conflict to an amorous quarrel between Cardinal Richelieu and the duke of Buckingham, on account of a rival passion for the queen of France; but Buckingham had other reasons for involving his master in a war with that country (1627).

§ 328. One of the articles of impeachment against the duke, and that which had excited the greatest odium, was the sending of some English ships to assist the French king in subduing his Protestant subjects, who were in arms in defence of their religious liberties. To this impolitic, as well as inhuman measure, Buckingham had been seduced by a promise, that as soon as the Huguenots were reduced, Louis XIII. would take an active part in the war against the house of Austria. But afterwards, finding himself deceived by Cardinal Richelieu, who had no object in view but the aggrandizement of the French monarchy, he procured a peace for the Huguenots, and became security to them for its performance. That peace, however, was not observed; Richelieu still meditated the utter destruction of the Protestant party in France. The subjection of the Huguenots, it was readily foreseen, would render France more formidable to England than the whole house of Austria. A fleet of a hundred sail, with an army of seven thousand men on board, was fitted out for the assistance of the Huguenots, under the command of the duke of Buckingham, the most unpopular man in the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with naval or military service. When the fleet appeared before Rochelle, the inhabitants of that city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies of whose arrival they were not apprized. Buckingham made a descent on the Isle of Rhé; but took his measures so unskilfully, that he was unable to make any impression on the principal fort: and the sea was so negligently guarded, that a French army stole over in small divisions, and obliged him to re-embark, after losing near two-thirds of the land forces. With the

wretched remnant he returned to England, totally discredited both as an admiral and general, and universally despised and detested as a minister (1627). The public grievances were now so great, that an insurrection was to be apprehended. The people were not only loaded with illegal taxes, but their commerce, which had been hurt by the Spanish, was ruined by the French war; while the glory of the nation was tarnished by unsuccessful enterprises, and its safety threatened by the forces of two powerful monarchies. In spite, however, of these untoward events, Charles was compelled to summon a parliament.

§ 329. When the Commons assembled (Mar. 17, 1628), the court perceived that they were men of the same independent spirit as their predecessors, and so opulent that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the House of Peers. But although enraged at the late violations of public liberty, by personal injuries, and by the extreme folly with which public measures were conducted, to the disgrace, and even danger, of the nation, they entered upon business with no less temper and decorum than vigour and ability. They proceeded to complain of the grievances under which the nation laboured—the billeting of soldiers, the imposing of arbitrary taxes, the imprisonment of those who refused to comply, and the refusal of bail on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The Commons accordingly proceeded to frame a petition of right, indicating by this name that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties, and Charles, finding his threats had neither awed them into submission, nor provoked them to indecent freedom of speech, thought fit to send them a conciliatory message, intimating that he esteemed the grievances of the house his own, and stood not on precedence in point of honour. He therefore desired that the same committee which was appointed for the redress of grievances, might also undertake the business of supply. Pleased with this concession, the Commons voted him five subsidies; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he was well satisfied. Charles was not at first fully acquainted with the extent of the Petition of Right, and therefore afterwards attempted, by various means, to get it moderated, as well as to evade giving his assent to it in the usual manner; but as it was intimately connected with the vote of supply, which was altogether conditional, the king was at last obliged to

give his solemn sanction to the bill. His seeming reluctance to do this raised the suspicions of the Commons, and they proceeded to require the redress of a number of inferior grievances not mentioned in their petition, which provided only against forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of Parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, billeting soldiers, and martial law : and they took into consideration the duties of tonnage and poundage, which had not yet been granted by Parliament. To levy this duty without their consent, they affirmed, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right, in which those liberties were so lately confirmed. Alarmed at such an unexpected attack upon his prerogative, Charles suddenly prorogued the Parliament (June 26, 1628), and in hopes of conciliating the affections of his subjects, by making a popular use of the supply which they had granted him, as well as recovering the reputation of his arms, turned his eyes toward the distressed Protestants in France. To the relief of Rochelle, the earl of Denbigh was despatched, with ten ships of the line and sixty transports and victuallers ; but by an unaccountable complication of cowardice and incapacity, if not treachery, he returned without so much as affording the besieged a supply of provisions. In order to wipe off this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham repaired to Portsmouth, resolved once more to display his prowess on the coast of France, and defeat the ambitious designs of Richelieu, his competitor in love, in politics, and even in war.

§ 330. But this enterprise was obstructed, and the relief of Rochelle prevented, by one stroke of a desperate enthusiast, named Felton, who had served as a lieutenant in Buckingham's former expedition. Disgusted at being refused a company on the death of his captain, who was killed in the retreat, Felton threw up his commission and retired from the army. Incensed against the duke of Buckingham, he hastened to Portsmouth, and stabbed him in the breast, whilst conversing with Soubise and some French gentlemen (August 23, 1628). The duke expired instantly, and the assassin was arrested. Charles did not appear so much affected by the news of his favourite's death, as people expected ; in fact, he had public cares enough to divert his mind from private griefs. The projected mole being finished, Rochelle was closely blockaded on all sides ; and the inhabitants, though pressed with the utmost rigours of famine, still refused to submit, in hopes of succour from England.

On the death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army destined for their relief was given to the earl of Lindsey, who, on his arrival before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour. But that stupendous monument of Richelieu's genius was now fortified in such a manner as to render the design impracticable; and the wretched inhabitants, seeing all prospect of assistance cut off, were obliged to surrender, in view of the English fleet (Oct. 30, 1628).

LETTER 4.—England and Scotland, from the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham to the Execution of the Earl of Strafford. A.D. 1628—1641. Vol. ii., pages 36—55.

§ 331. The failure of the expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and the ruin of the Protestant cause in France, contributed much to increase the discontents of the English nation, and to diminish the authority of Charles I. On the meeting of Parliament, the Commons complained of many grievances, especially in regard to religion; and in order to obtain a redress of these, they resumed the claim to the right of granting tonnage and poundage (Jan. 20, 1629). This duty, in more ancient times, had commonly been a temporary grant of the Parliament; but since the time of Henry V. it had been conferred on every king during life. Each prince had claimed it from the moment of his accession, and it had been usually voted by the first Parliament of each reign. Charles, during the short interval which passed between his accession and his first parliament, had followed the example of his predecessors, nor had any fault been found with him for so doing. On assembling in 1625, the Commons voted them only for one year, but the Peers rejected the innovation. Charles, aware that the subject would be again discussed, early informed the Parliament, "That he had not taken the duties of tonnage and poundage as pertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever had been, and still was, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people; that he pretended not to justify himself for what he had hitherto levied, by any right which he assumed, but only by the necessity of the case." This concession might have satisfied the Commons, had they been influenced by no other motive but that of ascertaining their own powers and privileges. They had higher views, and insisted that the king should, for a time, entirely desist from levying the duties in question, after which they

would take into consideration the propriety of restoring such revenue to the crown. The proud spirit of Charles could not submit to a rigour that had never been exercised against any of his predecessors. He did not, however, immediately break with them ; but when, instead of listening to his earnest solicitations for supply, they proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, his indignation was roused, and he dissolved the Parliament, with a determined resolution never to call another, unless he should see indications of a more compliant disposition in the nation (March 10, 1629). The Commons, on this occasion, behaved with great boldness. As soon as they had the first intimation of the king's design from the Speaker, who immediately left the chair, they pushed him back into it ; and two members held him there, until a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than by vote. In that remonstrance, all who should seek to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, were declared enemies to the commonwealth. All who should advise the levying of tonnage and poundage, without consent of Parliament, were brought under the same description ; and every merchant who should voluntarily pay these duties, not being granted by Parliament, was to be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to his country.

§ 332. The discontents of the nation rose higher than ever, on account of this violent breach between the king and Parliament : and Charles's subsequent proceedings were ill calculated to appease them. He ordered those popular leaders, who had been most active in the late tumult in the House of Commons, to be taken into custody. Some of them were fined, and condemned to find sureties for their good behaviour. But these severities served only to show more conspicuously the king's disregard of the privileges of Parliament, and the sufferers unanimously refused to find the sureties demanded, or even to express their sorrow for having offended their sovereign, so desirous were they to continue their meritorious distress. Sensible that it was impossible to carry on the war, Charles made peace with France (April 14, 1629) and Spain (Nov. 29, 1630). A cautious neutrality was henceforth Charles's aim, anxious to come to some accommodation with the people and the Parliament. But while the king entertained high notions of his royal prerogative, the Commons were determined upon circumscribing its limits. The queen, to whom Charles was much attached, had induced

him to grant certain indulgences to the Roman Catholics, which caused general dissatisfaction, and increased the odium against the court. Charles managed to enlist Sir Thomas Wentworth, a popular minister of great abilities, whom he created earl of Strafford, in his cause (1630). Other parliamentary leaders were also drawn over to the court. Sir Dudley Digges was created master of the rolls; Mr. Noy, attorney-general; and Mr. Littleton, solicitor-general.

§ 333. This manœuvre served to widen the breach between the king and his Parliament. The seceders were regarded as traitors, while the king was compelled to raise money for the support of government, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations of the rights of the subject. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied; new imposts were even laid on several kinds of merchandise; and the officers of the customs received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar, to search any trunk or chest, and break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of such duties. The oppressive method of raising money by monopolies was revived; the odious expedient of compounding with popish recusants became a regular part of the revenue; several arbitrary taxes were imposed; and, in order to facilitate these exactions, and repress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom, many severe sentences were passed in the Star-chamber and High-commission courts. Some persons were fined, others imprisoned; and such as ventured to arraign the measures of the court were condemned to stand in the pillory. For more than seven years had Charles supported his government by arbitrary impositions, levied by means no less arbitrary, before he met with any vigorous opposition. At length John Hampden, a private gentleman, had the courage to set the crown at defiance, and make a bold stand in defence of the laws and the liberties of his country. Among other taxes, that of ship-money had been revived, and levied on the whole kingdom. This tax, intended for the support of the royal navy, and in itself moderate and equitable, was only exceptionable by being imposed without the consent of Parliament; and, in order to discourage all opposition on that account, the king had proposed, as a question, to the judges, "Whether, in cases of *necessity*, he might not, for the defence of the kingdom, impose such a tax; and whether he was not the *sole judge* of that *necessity*?" The compliant

judges answered in the affirmative, and the tax was generally paid. But Hampden, alike regardless of the opinion of the judges and the example of others, resolved to hazard the issue of a suit, rather than tamely submit to the illegal imposition; and, although only rated at twenty shillings, to risk the whole indignation of royalty. This important cause was heard before all the twelve judges in the Exchequer chamber. The pleadings lasted twelve days; and the nation regarded with the utmost anxiety every circumstance of the trial. The issue was easily to be foreseen, from the former opinion of the heads of the law; but it was not, on that account, considered as less momentous, or expected with less impatience. The crown lawyers could only plead precedent and necessity; but in spite of the powerful arguments against the tax, the judges gave sentence in favour of the crown (1638).

§ 334. During this fermentation in England, Scotland was profoundly agitated. In 1633 Charles visited Scotland, and endeavoured to establish the changes in the religious system projected and commenced by his father. The jurisdictions of presbyteries, synods, and other democratical courts, were already, in a manner abolished; and the General Assembly had not been summoned for two years. The Scotch prelates were raised to the highest offices in the state, and everything done to secure the triumph of episcopacy. Charles and his dignified ecclesiastics employed themselves zealously in framing canons and a liturgy for the use of a people who held both in abhorrence. The canons, which were promulgated in 1635, though received by the nation without much clamour or opposition, occasioned much inward apprehension and discontent. They asserted that the king's authority was absolute and unlimited, and they ordained, among many other things odious to Presbyterian ears, that the clergy should not pray extemporaneously, but by the printed form prescribed in the liturgy; that no one should officiate as schoolmaster without a licence from the bishop of the diocese; nor any person be admitted into holy orders, or allowed to perform any ecclesiastical function, without first subscribing those canons. Even men of moderate principles, who could regard these ordinances with a degree of indifference, were filled with indignation at seeing a body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent, either of church or state. They dreaded a like despotism in civil government: yet a seeming submission was paid to the king's authority, until the reading of

the liturgy. It was chiefly copied from that of England, and consequently was little exceptionable in itself. The Scotch represented the new liturgy as a species of mass, though with less show and embroidery; and when, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, opened the book, and began the service, the meaner part of the audience, especially the women, raised a dreadful clamour, clapping their hands and exclaiming, "A pope! a pope! Antichrist! stone him! stone him!" And the tumult was so great, that it was found impossible to proceed with the service, until the most turbulent of the rioters had been turned out of the church by the civil magistrates. The bishop, who had attempted in vain to appease them, was in danger of falling a sacrifice to their fury, in going home from service (1637).

§ 335. Men of all ranks and conditions joined in petitions against the liturgy; the pulpits resounded with vehement declamations against antichrist. Fanaticism, in a word, mingling with faction, and private interest with the spirit of liberty, produced symptoms of the most dangerous insurrection; yet Charles, as if under the influence of a blind fatality, though fully informed of the disorders in Scotland, obstinately refused to desist from his undertaking, notwithstanding the representations of his ablest ministers and most faithful servants in that kingdom. But what renders this obstinacy still more inexcusable, and makes the king's conduct appear altogether inexplicable, is, that while he was endeavouring to recover so great a part of the property of Scotland as the church lands, from powerful nobles, by no means willing to relinquish them, and was attempting to change the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom, he raised no forces to carry his violent designs into execution! The Scots saw the weakness of his administration, at the same time that they had reason to complain of its rigour: and on a proclamation being issued, containing a pardon for all past offences, and exhorting them peaceably to submit to the liturgy, they entered into a civil and religious convention, generally known by the name of the COVENANT, which proved an effectual barrier against all regal encroachments. In this convention were comprehended all orders of men in the state, divided into different tables or classes; one table consisting of nobility, another of gentry, a third of clergy, and a fourth of burgesses (1638). In the hands of commissioners, chosen from these four tables, the whole authority

of the kingdom was placed. The articles of their covenant consisted, first, of a renunciation of popery, formally signed by the late king in his youth; then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers bound themselves to resist innovations in religion, and to defend each other against all violence and oppression. And as everything was pretended to be done by the Covenanters for the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the advantage of their country, people of all ranks, without distinction of age or sex, crowded to subscribe the Covenant. Even the king's ministers and counsellors were seized with the general frenzy.

§ 336. At length Charles, who began to apprehend the consequences of such a powerful combination, despatched the marquis of Hamilton into Scotland, with authority to treat with the Covenanters. But they had grown bolder, and accordingly refused the concessions; Charles next consented utterly to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the court of High-commission; but he would not agree to abolish episcopacy, which he thought as essential to the very being of a Christian church, as his Scottish subjects deemed it incompatible with that sacred institution. The king had empowered Hamilton to propose the summoning of the General Assembly of the church, an offer which the Covenanters readily embraced. Their first object was the utter abolition of episcopacy. The bishops sent a protest, denying the authority of the Assembly; and the commissioner dissolved it, in his majesty's name, after declaring it illegally constituted. But this measure, though unforeseen, was little regarded: the members continued to sit, and finished their business. All the acts of Assembly, since the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, were declared null and void, as being procured by the arbitrary influence of the sovereign; and the acts of parliament, which affected ecclesiastical affairs, were considered, on the same account, as of no authority. Thus episcopacy, the court of High-commission, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished, and declared unlawful. Everything, in a word, which, during a long course of years, James and Charles had been labouring with such care and policy to build up, was thrown at once to the ground; and the Covenant, so obnoxious to the crown and hierarchy, was ordered, under pain of excommunication, to be signed by every one (1638). The whole kingdom was engaged in the Covenant, and forces were raised under the direction of the earl of Argyle.

§ 337. Charles prepared to resist this formidable insurrection. The moment he set his forces in motion, the Covenanters sent submissive messages and offered to treat. The consequence was, that Charles concluded a sudden truce, called the Pacification of Dunse, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots, within eight-and-forty hours, should dismiss their forces; that the forts taken by the Covenanters should be restored, the royal authority acknowledged, and the General Assembly and Parliament summoned, in order to compose all differences (June 17, 1639). But this did not lead to a definite peace. The concessions which the king was willing to make did not satisfy the Scotch, and war was renewed with great advantage on the side of the Covenanters. Charles had disbanded his troops, and it was some time before he could get an army together, while the Covenanters had made all their arrangements for reopening the struggle. In this emergency the king was compelled to summon a parliament, although none had sat for nearly eleven years; but they refused to grant supplies before grievances had been redressed, and were dissolved (May 5, 1640). By loans from the nobility and the contributions of the clergy, Charles at last raised an army. But the Scotch were much more powerful, and having gained an advantage in a skirmish at Newburn (August 28), advanced towards Newcastle. Having neither troops nor supplies, the king agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen, who met eleven Scotch commissioners at Ripon; and the result was a cessation of hostilities.

§ 338. Civil discontents had now arrived at an alarming height. In compliance with a number of petitions, Charles summoned a parliament, which was afterwards known by the name of the Long Parliament (Nov. 3, 1640). Its first act was to order the impeachment of the earl of Strafford, whose political apostasy seems, indeed, to have been his chief crime with the popular leaders, and one only to be expiated with his blood. Elated with their success, the popular leaders ventured also to impeach Archbishop Laud, the Lord-keeper Finch, and Secretary Windebank. The last two made their escape beyond sea, before they could be taken into custody: the primate was committed. The Commons declared the sanction of the two houses of Parliament, as well as of the king, necessary to the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons; they expelled from their house all monopolists; and com-

mittees were appointed to inquire into all the violations of law and liberty of which any complaint had been made. From the reports of these committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, at the same time that they animated and inflamed the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hampden was cancelled; compositions for knight-hood were stigmatized; the extension of the forest laws condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every recent measure of administration was treated with reproach and obloquy. All moderate men perceived that a design was formed to subvert the monarchy, and that the church was in no less danger. While the harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration, the pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the Commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism; and the popular leaders, in order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, and inspire confidence into their friends, as well as to overawe their opponents, judged it requisite still to delay the departure of the Scots. Meantime the chaplains to their commissioners began openly to use the Presbyterian form of worship, which had not hitherto been tolerated in England. The puritanical party among the Commons, emboldened by their success in civil matters, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. Every day produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops; and so highly disgusted were all the lovers of liberty at the political doctrines propagated by the clergy, that no distinction, for a time, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitancies of the hierarchy, and such as wanted totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction (1640).

§ 339. A bill was brought in to prohibit all clergymen from the exercise of civil power. Charles, who had remained passive during the violent proceedings of the present Parliament, was roused by the danger that threatened his favourite episcopacy. He sent for the two houses to Whitehall, and told them that he intended to reform all innovations in church and state, and to reduce matters of religion and government to what they were in the purest times of Queen Elizabeth. While professing himself willing to admit

of reformation, the king resolutely set his face against alteration in the government. The measure was rejected, although a bill was passed declaring it to be unlawful to levy the duties of tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament, and another to prevent the discontinuance of parliaments for above three years (1641); both of which were assented to by the king. The victory of the Commons was now complete; and had they used it with moderation, they would have merited the praise of all sincere lovers of their country. Nor would their subsequent abolition of the arbitrary courts of the Star-chamber and High-commission, so grievous to the nation, have been imputed to them as cause of blame. But their cruel persecution of Strafford, and their future encroachments upon the king's authority, which made resistance a virtue, and involved the three kingdoms in all the horrors of civil war, must render their patriotism very questionable in the opinion of every dispassionate man.

§ 340. The impeachment of Strafford had been pushed on with the utmost vigour. Immediately after he was sequestered from parliament and confined in the Tower, a committee of thirteen was chosen by the Commons, and intrusted with the office of preparing a charge against him. This committee, assisted by a few peers, was vested with authority to examine all witnesses, to call for every paper, and to use any means of scrutiny, in regard to any part of the earl's behaviour or conduct. Nothing, however, was found against Strafford that could by any means be brought under the description of treason; a crime which the laws of England had defined with the most scrupulous exactness, in order to protect the subject against the violence of the king and his ministers. Aware of this, the Commons attempted to prove against the prisoner "an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom:" and as the Statute of Treason makes no mention of such a species of guilt, they invented a kind of accumulative, or constructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in an inferior degree, should, when united, amount to treason, and subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law; the king and Parliament, as they asserted, having power to determine what is treason, and what is not. They accordingly voted that the facts proved against the earl of Strafford, taken collectively, were treasonable. Strafford defended himself with firmness and ability. "Certainly," says Whitelocke, "no man ever acted such a

part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person : and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity." It is truly remarkable, that the historian who makes these candid and liberal observations, was himself chairman of that committee which conducted the impeachment against this unfortunate nobleman ! The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days ; and Strafford behaved with so much firmness and vigour, that the Commons would have found it impossible to obtain a sentence against him, if the Peers had not been overawed by the tumultuous populace. Reports were every day spread of the most alarming plots and conspiracies ; and about six thousand men, armed with swords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and surrounded the two houses of parliament. Intimidated by these threats, only forty-five, out of about eighty peers, who had constantly attended this important trial, were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house, and nineteen of that number had the courage to vote against it ; a strong presumption that, if no danger had been apprehended, it would have been rejected by a considerable majority. Crowds of people next besieged Whitehall, and clamoured for the blood of this brave man. His courtiers, the judges, and even the queen, advised the king to ratify the sentence ; and on receipt of a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, entreating him to let the people have their will, Charles granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. These commissioners were also empowered, at the same time, to give assent to a bill that the Parliament then sitting should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without the consent of the majority of the members. Such was the origin of the Long Parliament.

§ 341. Strafford, finding his fate inevitable, prepared to meet death with the same dignity with which he had lived. In those awful moments his mind found resources within itself ; and, supported by the sentiment of conscious integrity, maintained its unbroken resolution amid the terrors of death and the triumphant exultations of his vindictive enemies. His discourse, and also his deportment on the scaffold, discovered equal composure and courage. "The shedding of innocent blood," said he, "as a propitiatory sacrifice, is a bad omen, I fear, of the intended reformation

of the state." And on preparing himself for the block, he made this memorable declaration: "I thank God I am no way afraid of death, nor daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose!" He accordingly submitted to his doom, and thus perished, in the forty-ninth year of his age, the last great prop of royalty under the turbulent reign of Charles I. (May 12, 1641). His character, as might be expected, has been severely handled by our zealous republican writers. His abilities as a statesman, and his unshaken attachment to his master, were the chief causes of his ruin; and in the future proceedings of that Parliament to whose resentment he fell a sacrifice, will be found the best apology for his administration. The Commons brought in a bill, which was unanimously passed by both houses, for abolishing the arbitrary Star-chamber and High-commission courts. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the privy council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles, after some hesitation, gave his assent to this excellent statute, which produced a material but salutary change in our constitution. Several other arbitrary courts of an inferior nature were abolished. Had the Commons proceeded no farther, they would have deserved the praise of all the friends of freedom. Like all political bodies which had rapidly acquired power, having gone so far, they did not know where to stop; but advanced insensibly, from one gradation to another, till they usurped the whole authority of the state. After sending home the Scots, and dismissing the English army, the Parliament put a temporary stop to its proceedings; and Charles paid a visit to Scotland, in order to settle the government to the satisfaction of the Covenanters (Aug. 8, 1641).

LETTER 5.—Great Britain and Ireland, from the Execution of Strafford to the Beginning of the Great Rebellion. A.D. 1641—1642. Vol. ii., pages 56—69.

§ 342. When Charles arrived in Scotland, he found his subjects of that kingdom highly elated with the success of their military expedition. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters at Newcastle, as long as the popular leaders had occasion for their services, the English Parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their *brotherly assistance*. The Scotch Parliament began with abolishing the Lords of

Articles ; who, from their constitution, were supposed to be entirely devoted to the court. A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed ; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing. They also enacted that no member of the privy council, no officer of state, none of the judges, should be appointed but by the advice and approbation of Parliament. Charles was preparing to return to England when he received intelligence that a bloody rebellion had broken out in Ireland, accompanied with circumstances of cruelty and devastation which fill the soul with horror. The conduct of James I. in regard to the affairs of Ireland was truly politic, and the same plan of administration was pursued by his son Charles ; namely, to reconcile the turbulent natives to the authority of law, by the regular distribution of justice, and to cure them of that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been addicted, by introducing arts and industry amongst them. The vigorous administration of the earl of Strafford had secured the tranquillity as well as the prosperity of Ireland. Agriculture had made great advances, the shipping of the kingdom had been doubled, the customs tripled, and manufactures introduced and promoted. After his fall, a love of innovation prevailed. The court of High-commission was voted to be a grievance, martial law was abolished, the jurisdiction of the council annihilated, and proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority.

§ 343. The English settlers were the chief movers of these measures, and they did not perceive, in their rage for liberty, the danger of weakening the authority of government, in a country where the Protestants scarcely formed the sixth part of the inhabitants, and where two-thirds of the natives were still in a state of wild barbarity. The opportunity, however, thus afforded them, did not escape the discernment of the old Irish. They determined upon a general revolt, in order to free their country from the dominion of foreigners, and their religion from the insults of profane heretics. In this resolution they were encouraged by a gentleman named Roger More, distinguished among them by his valour and abilities, and who, by going from chieftain to chieftain, roused every latent principle of discontent. More maintained a close correspondence with Lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'Neil, the most powerful of the old Irish chieftains ; and he took every opportunity of

representing to his countrymen, that the king's authority in Britain was reduced to so low an ebb, that he could not possibly exert himself with any vigour in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland. The concessions granted by the king, the Scotch revolt, and other matters, were referred to, and their importance exaggerated. All the heads of the native Irish engaged in the conspiracy, and they hoped that the old English planters, or the English of the Pale, as they were called, being all Roman Catholics, would join them. An attempt to gain possession of the castle of Dublin miscarried; but O'Neil and his confederates took up arms in Ulster, and a general massacre of the English Protestants ensued (Sept. 23, 1641), under circumstances of fearful barbarity. The defenceless people were marked out by the Roman Catholic priests for slaughter, as heretics abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men. Perfidy, as well as cruelty, was accordingly represented as meritorious; and if anywhere a number of Englishmen assembled together, in order to defend themselves to the last extremity, they were induced to capitulate, by promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels made them share the same fate with the body of their unhappy countrymen and fellow Protestants. Nor was this all. While death finished the sufferings of each unhappy victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his ears that these dying agonies were but a prelude to torments infinite and eternal. Such were the barbarities by which Sir Phelim O'Neil and the Irish in Ulster signalized their rebellion. The English colonies there were totally annihilated; and from Ulster the flames of rebellion suddenly spread over the other three provinces of Ireland. In these provinces, however, though death and slaughter were not uncommon, the Irish pretended to act with more moderation and humanity. But cruel, alas! was their humanity, and unfeeling their moderation. Not content with expelling the English planters from their houses, with despoiling them of their property, seizing their possessions, and wasting their cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out naked and defenceless to all the severities of the season. Even the English of the *Pale*, who at first pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied, in a little time joined the old Irish, and rivalled them in every act of violence and

cruelty against the English Protestants. Numbers of persons perished by these barbarities; and the principal army of the rebels, amounting to twenty thousand men, thirsting for further slaughter and richer plunder, threatened Dublin, where the miserable remnant of the English planters had taken refuge (1641).

§ 344. The messenger bringing the news of this sad revolt, reached Charles as he was making preparations to leave Edinburgh. He endeavoured to induce the Scotch to assist him in suppressing the rebellion, and they resolved to make an advantageous bargain for any succour they might afford, and as the English Commons, with whom they were already closely connected, could alone fulfil any article that might be agreed upon, they sent commissioners to London, to treat with that order in the state, to which the sovereign authority was really transferred. Thus disappointed in his expectation of aid from the Scotch, Charles was obliged to have recourse to the English Parliament, to whose care and wisdom he imprudently declared he was willing to commit the conduct and prosecution of the war. The Commons seemed to consider it as a peculiar happiness, that the rebellion in Ireland had succeeded, at so critical a period, to the pacification of Scotland. They levied money under colour of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for enterprises that concerned them more nearly; they took arms from the king's magazines, under the same pretext, but kept them with a secret intention of employing them against himself. Whatever law they deemed necessary for their own aggrandizement was voted, under pretence of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first excited the popish conspiracy in that kingdom, and which still threatened total destruction to the Protestant interest throughout all his dominions. But so great was the confidence of the people in those hypocritical zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the rebels, that although no forces were sent to Ireland, and very little money was remitted during the deepest distress of the Protestants, the fault was never imputed to the Parliament! The Commons in the mean time were employed in framing that famous remonstrance, which was soon after followed by such extraordinary consequences. It was not, as usual, addressed to the king, but was a declared appeal to the people. Besides gross false-

hoods and malignant insinuations, it contained an enumeration of every unpopular measure which Charles had embraced, from the commencement of his reign to the calling of the Parliament that framed it, accompanied with many jealous prognostics of future grievances; and the acrimony of the style was equal to the harshness of the matter (Nov. 22, 1641).

§ 345. The remonstrance was violently opposed; it only passed the Commons by a small majority, and was not sent up to the Peers. No sooner was it published, than the king framed an answer to it. Sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured in this contest, Charles contented himself with observing, that, even during the period so much complained of, the people had enjoyed not only a greater share of happiness and prosperity than was to be found in other countries, but than England itself had experienced during times esteemed the most fortunate. He mentioned the great concessions made by the crown, protested his sincerity in the Reformed religion, and blamed the infamous libels everywhere dispersed against his person, government, and the established church. But the ears of the people were too much prejudiced against the king, to listen patiently to anything that he could offer in his own vindication; so that the Commons proceeded in their usurpations upon the church and monarchy, and made their purpose of subverting both every day more evident. During the king's residence in Scotland, they had accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without consent of Parliament, though no other method had ever been practised since the foundation of the government; and they now insisted, that the Peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in parliament, and commit them to prison. The Lords opposed this, for which the most furious denunciations were breathed against them. Unfortunately, some of the peers joined with the popular party, who had recourse to intimidation, and even went armed to their deliberations. The populace crowded about Whitehall, and insulted and threatened the king and the royal family. Such audacious behaviour roused the young gentlemen of the inns of court, who, with some reduced officers, undertook the defence of their sovereign; and between them and the populace frequent skirmishes ensued, which seldom ended without bloodshed. These gentlemen, by way of reproach, gave the fanatical insulters of majesty the name

of ROUNDHEADS, on account of the short, cropped hair which they wore, while the rabble called their more polished opponents, by reason of their being chiefly on horseback, CAVALIERS; names which became famous during the civil war that followed. The Cavaliers, who affected a liberal way of thinking, as well as a gaiety and freedom of manners inconsistent with puritanical ideas, were represented by the Roundheads as a set of abandoned profligates, equally destitute of religion and morals; the devoted tools of the court, and zealous abettors of arbitrary power. The Cavaliers, on the other hand, regarded the Roundheads as a gloomy, narrow-minded, fanatical herd, determined enemies to kingly power, and to all distinction of ranks in society. But in these characters, drawn by the passions of the two parties, we must not expect impartiality; both are certainly overcharged. The Cavaliers were, in general, sincere friends to liberty and the English constitution; nor were republican and levelling principles by any means general at first among the Roundheads, though they came at last to predominate. It must, however, be admitted, that the Cavaliers, in order to show their contempt of puritanical austerity, often carried their convivial humour to an indecent excess; and that the gloomy temper and religious extravagancies of the Roundheads afforded an ample field for the raillery of their facetious adversaries.

§ 346. The bishops were compelled to absent themselves from their duty in parliament, and they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and void, which should be passed during their forced and involuntary absence. For this an impeachment of treason was sent up against twelve of them; they were immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody (Dec. 30, 1641). The king, who had hastily approved of the protest of the bishops, rather indiscreetly ordered the attorney-general to enter an accusation of high treason against Lord Kimbolton and five commoners; namely, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, and Strode (Jan. 4, 1642). A serjeant-at-arms was sent to the House of Commons, to demand, in the king's name, the five members accused. He returned without any positive answer; and messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them, wherever they might be found. The house voted these violent proceedings to be a breach of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty.

of the members. Irritated by so much opposition, the king went in person to the House of Commons, in hopes of surprising the persons whom he had accused, and demanded in vain; but they, having private intelligence of his resolution, had withdrawn before he entered. Charles endeavoured to excuse himself, but the Commons were in the utmost disorder during his stay; and when he was departing, some members cried aloud, "Privilege! privilege!" The house adjourned till the following day; and the accused members, in order to show the greater apprehension of personal danger, removed into the city the same evening. The king went the next day into the city, and endeavoured to conciliate the lord mayor and common council; but he failed in his efforts, and on his return was greeted with treasonable cries.

§ 347. The Commons appointed a guard for their security, and then adjourned for several days; and afterwards conducted the accused members in great triumph to resume their seats (Jan. 11). Charles, apprehensive of danger from the furious multitude, retired from London. In successive messages to the Commons, he told them that he would desist from his prosecution of the accused members; that he would grant them a pardon; that he would concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; that he would make reparation to the house for the breach of privilege, of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain; and he declared that, for the future, he would be as careful of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life. The Commons thought he could now deny them nothing, and therefore refused to accept any concession for the breach of privilege, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure. But Charles, whose honour as a gentleman was sacred and inviolable, had still spirit enough left to reject with disdain a condition which would have rendered him for ever despicable, and unworthy of all friendship or confidence. Insubordination reigned in the kingdom. Petitions of the most inflammatory character poured in, and the Commons did all they could to fan the flame. The bills sent up by the Commons, and which had hitherto been rejected by the Peers, were now passed, and presented for the royal assent; namely, a bill vesting the Parliament with the power of impressing men into the service, under pretence of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, and the long-contested bill for depriving the bishops of the privilege of voting in

the House of Lords. The king's authority was reduced so low, that a refusal would have been both hazardous and ineffectual; and the queen, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, prevailed upon her husband speedily to pass those bills, in hopes of appeasing the rage of the multitude, until she could make her escape to Holland (1642).

§ 348. These important concessions were of no avail, as the Parliament had resolved upon wielding supremacy. The governors of Hull and Portsmouth were commanded to obey no orders but those sent by the Parliament, and one of their own party was placed in command of the Tower. They brought in a bill, by the express terms of which the lord-lieutenants of counties, or principal officers of the militia, who were all named in it, were to be accountable, not to the king, but to the Parliament. Charles here ventured to put a stop to his concessions, though he durst not hazard a flat denial. But what was more extraordinary than all this, while the Commons thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence in London, where they knew he would be entirely at their mercy. To this the king refused to assent; and the Commons continued their usurpations, armed the people, and spread rumours of intended massacres and invasions. Alarmed at those threatening appearances, the king thought it prudent to remove to a greater distance from London. Taking with him his two sons, the prince of Wales and the duke of York, he accordingly retired northward, and made the city of York, for a time, the seat of his court (March 19). The queen had already taken refuge in Holland. There she resided with her daughter Mary, who had been given in marriage to the prince of Orange. The marks of attachment shown the king at York exceeded his fondest expectations. The principal nobility and gentry, from all quarters of England, either personally or by letters, expressed their duty toward him, and exhorted him to save them from that democratical tyranny with which they were threatened. As he still persisted in refusing the militia bill, they had framed an ordinance, in which, by the sole authority of the two houses of Parliament, they had named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force—of all the guards, garrisons, and forts in the kingdom. Charles issued proclamations against this usurpation; and declared, that, as he had formed a resolution strictly to observe the laws himself, he was determined

that every one should yield a like obedience. The Commons, on their part, were neither destitute of vigour nor address. In order to cover their usurped authority with a kind of veil, and to confound in the minds of the people the ideas of duty and allegiance, they bound, in all their commands, the persons to whom they were directed to obey the orders of his majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament. Thus by a distinction, hitherto unknown, between the office and the person of king, they employed the royal name to the subversion of the royal authority!

§ 349. Although many memorials, remonstrances, and addresses were issued, both sides made preparations for deciding the contest by the sword. The parliamentary party had long anticipated this mode of settlement, and were consequently in a much better condition to wage war than the king. But Charles, finding that the urgent necessities of his situation would no longer admit of delay, prepared for defence, with a spirit, activity, and address, that alike surprised his friends and his enemies. The resources of his genius on this, as on all other occasions, seemed to increase in proportion to the obstacles to be overcome. He never appeared so great as when plunged in distress or surrounded by perils. The Commons, however, conscious of their superiority in force, and determined to take advantage of it, yet desirous to preserve the appearance of a pacific disposition, sent the king conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement, but to which they knew he would not submit. Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical government, and would have involved in ruin the royal party. Amongst other things they demanded control of the privy council, as well as of the sovereign, the nomination of all the principal officers of state, and of the chief judges, rigorous enforcement of the laws against Roman Catholics, and a reformation of the liturgy and church government. To these demands Charles could by no means accede, and he accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms. Collecting, therefore, some forces, and advancing southward, he erected his royal standard at Nottingham (August 22, 1642). The greater part of the nobility, and the gentlemen of ancient families, fearing a total confusion of ranks from the fury of the populace, attached themselves to the throne, from which they derived their lustre, and to which it was again commu-

nicated. They zealously adhered to the case of their sovereign ; which was also supported by most men of a liberal education, or a liberal way of thinking, and by all who wished well to the church and monarchy. But, on the other hand, as the veneration for the Commons was extreme throughout the kingdom, and the aversion against the hierarchy general, the city of London, and most of the great corporations, took part with the Parliament, and adopted with ardour those principles of freedom on which that assembly had originally founded its pretensions, and under colour of maintaining which it had taken up arms. Besides these corporations, many families that had lately been enriched by commerce, seeing with envious eyes the superior homage paid to the nobility and elder gentry, eagerly undertook the exaltation of a power under whose dominion they hoped to acquire rank and distinction.

LETTER 6.—Great Britain and Ireland, from the Commencement of the Civil War to the Battle of Naseby. A.D. 1642—1645. Vol. ii., pages 70—87.

§ 350. No contest could seem more unequal than did that between Charles I. and his Parliament when the sword was first drawn. Almost every advantage lay on the side of the latter. The parliamentary party were in possession of the legal means of supply, and of all the seaports except Newcastle. The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the seaports to which they belonged ; and the earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral, having engaged in the cause of the Commons, had named, at their desire, the earl of Warwick as his lieutenant. Warwick at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of his party. They were likewise in possession of all the magazines of arms and ammunition in the kingdom, and had intercepted part of the stores the queen had purchased in Holland. The king's only hope of counterbalancing so many advantages on the part of his adversaries, arose from the supposed superiority of his adherents in mental and personal qualities. In order to gain time as well as to manifest a pacific disposition, he sent ambassadors to the Parliament with offers of treaty, before he began hostilities. Both houses replied, " that they could not treat with the king until he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations," in which the members supposed themselves to be declared traitors ; and when, by a

second message, he offered to recall those proclamations, they desired him to dismiss his forces, to reside with his parliament, and to give up delinquents to justice; or, in other words, to abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies. Hoping that the people were now fully convinced of the insolence of the Parliament, and its aversion to peace, the king made vigorous preparations for war. Aware, however, that he was not yet able to oppose the parliamentary army, which was commanded by the earl of Essex, he left Nottingham, and retired, by slow marches, first to Derby, and afterwards to Shrewsbury. At Wellington, in that neighbourhood, he collected his forces, and made the following declaration before the whole army: "I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion established in the Church of England; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die. I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just right; and if it pleased God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergency, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed, by God and man, to the authors of this war; not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom." This declaration was received with the warmest expressions of approbation and gratitude by the generous train of nobility and gentry by whom he was attended.

§ 351. Charles was welcomed at Shrewsbury with marks of duty and affection; and his army increased so fast, that he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men. With these he resolved to give battle to the parliamentary forces, and accordingly directed his march towards the capital, in order to bring on an engagement. Essex was prepared to oppose him. The two armies met on Edgehill, near Keinton, in Warwickshire, where a desperate battle.

was fought. Essex drew up his army with judgment; but in consequence of the desertion of a troop of horse under Sir Faithful Fortescue, and the furious shock made upon them by Prince Rupert, his left wing of cavalry immediately gave way, and was pursued two miles. Nor did better fortune attend the right wing of the parliamentary army, which was also broken and put to flight (October 23, 1642). The victory must now have been decisive in favour of the royalists, had not the king's body of reserve, commanded by Sir John Byron, heedlessly joined in the pursuit. The advantage afforded by this imprudence being perceived by Sir William Balfour, who commanded Essex's reserve, he immediately wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now quite destitute of horse, and made great havock among them. Five thousand men were found dead on the field, and the loss of the two armies, from comparing opposite accounts, appears to have been nearly equal. The troops of both parties suffered much by cold during the night after the engagement. Though this first battle was so little decisive, that the Parliament claimed the victory as well as the king, it was of great service to the royal cause. Charles immediately made himself master of Banbury; and, as soon as his army was recruited and refreshed, he advanced to Reading; the governor and garrison of which place, on the approach of a detachment of royalists, had fled with precipitation to London. The capital was struck with terror, and the Parliament voted an address for a treaty; but as no cessation of hostilities had been agreed on, the king continued to advance, and took possession of Brentford. By this time Essex had reached London, and the declining season put a stop to further operations.

§ 352. During the winter the king and the Parliament were employed in real preparations for war, although engaged in seeming advances towards peace. Oxford, where the king resided, was chosen as the place of treaty. But the Parliament was still too arrogant, and insisted, amongst other things, upon the abolition of episcopacy. During the winter several skirmishes occurred and some sieges were carried on, and in the spring Reading was besieged and taken by the parliamentary army (April 26, 1643), which afterwards advanced upon Oxford. Prince Rupert fell suddenly upon them, and put them to flight, and in this action John Hampden fell (June 18). The royal cause was supported with no less spirit in the western counties. The

Cornish royalists defeated the parliamentary forces near Stratton (May 16). Both armies were strongly reinforced, and after some skirmishes, in which the royalists had the advantage, they met at Landsdown Hill, which Sir William Waller, the parliamentary general, had fortified. There a pitched battle was fought (July 5) with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive advantage; for although the royalists, after an obstinate engagement, gained the top of the hill, and beat the enemy from their ground, the fugitives took refuge behind a stone wall, where they maintained their post until night, and then retired to Bath, under cover of the darkness. Hertford and Maurice, disappointed of the success they had promised themselves, attempted to march eastward, and join the king at Oxford. But Waller hung on their rear, and harassed their army until they reached Devizes. There, being reinforced with a large body of fresh troops, he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of a battle. Waller was now so confident of capturing the infantry left at Devizes, that he wrote to the Parliament their work was done. But the king had despatched a body of cavalry to the relief of his army in the west, under Lord Wilmot. In order to prevent the intended junction, Waller drew up his army on Roundway Down, about two miles from the town of Devizes; and Wilmot, in hopes of being supported by the infantry, did not decline the combat. Waller's cavalry, after a smart action, were totally routed, and he himself fled with a few horse to Bristol; while the victorious Wilmot, being joined by the Cornish infantry, attacked the enemy's foot with such impetuosity that almost all of them were either killed or taken prisoners (July 13, 1643).

§ 353. These victories struck great dismay into the Parliament, and they were discouraged by hearing of the queen's arrival at Oxford with ammunition and artillery; and that, having landed in Burlington Bay, she had brought from the north a reinforcement of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. Essex immediately retired to the neighbourhood of London. Freed from this principal enemy, the king sent his main army westward, under Prince Rupert; and by the junction of that army with the Cornish royalists, under the marquis of Hertford, a force was composed, respectable from numbers, but still more so from valour and reputation. Prince Rupert undertook the siege of Bristol

the second city in the kingdom. The place was in a good state of defence, and had a garrison of three thousand five hundred men, well supplied with ammunition and provisions; but, as the fortifications were found to be not perfectly regular, it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed by assault, though little provision had been made for such an operation. After an obstinate struggle, a lodgment was made within the enemy's works; and Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, son of Lord Say, a noted parliamentary leader, surrendered the place at discretion. He and his garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, but without their colours (July 26, 1643). The taking of Bristol was a severe blow to the power of the Parliament; and if the king, who soon after joined the camp, had boldly marched to London, as he was advised by the more daring spirits, the war might in all probability have been finished equally to his honour and advantage. But this undertaking was judged too hazardous, on account of the number and force of the London militia; and Gloucester, lying within twenty miles of his late conquest, seemed to present to Charles an easier, and yet an important acquisition. It would put the whole course of the Severn under his command, open a communication between Wales and the western counties, and free one half of the kingdom from the dominion of the enemy. At this juncture Charles published a manifesto, in which he renewed the solemn protestation he had formerly made, and expressed his earnest desire of making peace as soon as the constitution could be re-established.

§ 354. About this time Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet, who had always opposed the violent proceedings of the Parliament, began to agitate his scheme of forming a combination between the peers and the citizens, to refuse payment of the illegal and oppressive taxes imposed by the Parliament without the royal assent. His brother-in-law Tomkins, and an intimate friend Chaloner, embarked in the plot, which was betrayed to Pym. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner were immediately seized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned, the two latter were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors; but Waller saved his life by counterfeiting sorrow and remorse, by bribing the puritanical clergy, and by paying a fine of ten thousand pounds (July 5, 1643). The cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. Many of

the popular noblemen had deserted the Parliament, and gone to Oxford. The House of Lords sent down terms of accommodation more moderate than any that had hitherto been offered; a vote was even passed, by a majority of the Commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the king. But this pleasing prospect was soon darkened. The zealous republicans took the alarm: a petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented to the Parliament by Pennington, the factious lord mayor. The pulpits thundered their anathemas against malignants; rumours of popish conspiracies were spread; and the majority being again turned towards the violent side, all thoughts of pacification were banished, and every preparation made for the relief of Gloucester. Massey, the governor, defended it valiantly; Essex advanced to its relief, obliged the king to raise the siege, and threw a supply of ammunition and provisions into the city (Sept. 5, 1643). Charles determined to intercept Essex's retreat and a battle was fought near Newbury (Sept. 20), to which night put an end, leaving the victory undecided. Next morning Essex pursued his march; and although his rear was severely harassed by Prince Rupert, he reached London without losing either cannon or baggage. The king followed him; and taking possession of Reading, established a garrison, to be a kind of curb upon the capital.

§ 355. Several gallant noblemen and soldiers fell in the battle of Newbury. Beside the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, who had served their royal master with courage and ability in the field, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, no less eminent in the cabinet, the object of universal admiration while living, and of regret when dead, was killed. Devoted to the pursuits of learning, and fond of polite society, he had abstracted himself from politics till the assembling of the present parliament; when, deeming it criminal any longer to remain inactive, he stood foremost in all attacks upon the high prerogatives of the crown, and displayed, with a bold freedom, that warm love of liberty and masculine eloquence which he had imbibed from the sublime writers of antiquity. But no sooner did he perceive the purpose of the popular leaders, than, tempering the ardour of his zeal, he attached himself to his sovereign; and, convinced that regal authority was already sufficiently reduced, he embraced the defence of those limited powers that remained to it, and which he thought necessary to the support of the English constitution. Still, however, anxious

for the liberties of his country, he seems to have dreaded the decisive success even of the royal party; and the word peace was often heard to break from his lips, accompanied by a sigh. Though naturally of a gay and cheerful disposition, he became, from the commencement of the civil war, silent and melancholy, neglecting even a decent attention to his person; but on the morning of the battle of Newbury, as if he had foreseen his fate, he dressed himself with his usual elegance and neatness, giving as a reason for so doing, his desire that the enemy might not find his body in a slovenly condition. "I am weary of the times," added he, "and foresee much misery to my country; but believe I shall be out of it before night!" He charged in the front of Byron's regiment, and was shot in the belly. The shock which both armies had received in the battle of Newbury discouraged them from any second trial of strength before the close of the campaign; and the declining season soon obliged them to retire into winter quarters.

§ 356. In the northern counties the marquis of Newcastle supported the royal cause. He had, however, to deal with two antagonists, who about this time began to be distinguished for their valour and military talents; namely, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell; the former, son of Lord Fairfax, put to flight a party of royalists at Wakefield, and the latter obtained a victory over another party at Gainsborough. But the total rout of Lord Fairfax, at Atherton Moor (June 29, 1643), more than balanced both those defeats; and the marquis of Newcastle, with an army of fifteen thousand men, sat down before Hull, into which the elder Fairfax had thrown himself with the remnant of his forces. He was compelled to raise the siege (Oct. 12), and the parliamentary army gained a considerable advantage over the royalists at Horncastle. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the king's forces in the early part of the year, the English Parliament had sent commissioners to Edinburgh, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. The Scots, not satisfied with having accomplished the restoration of the Presbyterian religion in their own country, still indulged an ardent passion for propagating that religion in the neighbouring kingdom; they declared themselves ready to assist their brethren of England, and proposed that the two nations should enter into a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy and a more intimate union of the English and Scotch Par-

liaments. By the address of the younger Sir Harry Vane, who took the lead among the English commissioners, the famous SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT was accordingly framed at Edinburgh. A copy of that covenant was transmitted to the two houses of Parliament at Westminster, where it was received without opposition; and after having been subscribed by the Lords, the Commons, and an assembly of divines, it was ordered to be received by all who lived under their authority. The subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to strive to extirpate popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of Parliament, and defend his majesty's person and authority; to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants; to humble themselves for their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation (June 15, 1643).

§ 357. Money was remitted from England, the Scotch troops were recalled from Ireland, and soon, to the number of twenty thousand men, entered England. The king, in this extremity, turned his attention towards Ireland, in which country the civil war still raged. He gave orders to the marquis of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, to conclude a truce for one year with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny, and to transport part of the Protestant army to England. The Parliament exclaimed loudly against this truce, and the forces brought over from Ireland, though the cause of so much odium, were of little service to the king. They landed in North Wales, took several castles, advanced into Cheshire, and commenced the siege of Nantwich. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at their progress in this quarter, assembled in Yorkshire an army of four thousand men; and, having joined Sir William Brereton, suddenly attacked Byron's camp. The rising of the river Wever, caused by a thaw, had divided one part of the royal army from the other, and both portions were routed and dispersed (Jan. 15, 1644). The invasion from Scotland, in favour of the Parliament, was attended with more momentous consequences. The Scottish army, under the command of the earl of Leven, having summoned the town of Newcastle without effect, crossed the Tyne, and advanced upon Durham, which was defended by the marquis of Newcastle. This general, hearing of the return of Fairfax from Cheshire, threw himself into York, where he was closely besieged by

the parliamentary forces. Prince Rupert collected a considerable army, marched to its relief; and the rival generals prepared for battle on Marston Moor. Fifty thousand British troops were, on this occasion, led to mutual slaughter. The numbers on each side were nearly equal, and victory continued long undecided. At length Cromwell, who commanded the best troops of the Parliament, having broken the right wing of the royalists, led by Prince Rupert, returned from the pursuit, and determined a contest which before seemed doubtful. Sir Charles Lucas, who, with the left wing of the royalists, had put the right wing of the parliamentary army to flight, was surprised to see that he must again renew the combat for victory. Cromwell was also a little disappointed to find that the battle had yet to be gained. The second engagement was no less furious than the first, and after the utmost efforts of courage by both, success turned wholly to the side of the Parliament. The king's artillery was taken, and his army pushed off the field (July 3, 1644).

§ 358. This victory gave the parliamentary leaders command of the north, and Newcastle was immediately carried by assault. In the mean time the king's affairs in the south, though no less dangerous or critical, were conducted with more ability and success. Sir William Waller was defeated near Daventry, and Essex reduced to such straits at Lostwithiel, in Cornwall, that he only saved himself by flight, whilst his infantry were compelled to surrender their arms, artillery, ammunition, and baggage (Sept. 1, 1644). The Commons, in order to conceal the effects of this repulse, voted thanks to Essex, armed his troops afresh, and sent powerful reinforcements. Charles, having thrown succours into Donnington Castle, long besieged by the parliamentary forces, and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, had taken post at Newbury, where an obstinate battle, as we have seen, was formerly fought. There the generals of the Parliament attacked him with great vigour; and the royalists, though they defended themselves with their wonted valour, were at last overpowered by numbers. Night came seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total defeat (Oct. 27, 1644). Leaving his cannon and baggage at Donnington Castle, the king retreated to Wallingford, and afterwards to Oxford; where having been joined by Prince Rupert with considerable bodies of cavalry, he again ventured to advance towards the enemy. They declined

battle, though still greatly superior in force ; and the king had the satisfaction of bringing off his cannon from Donnington Castle, in the face of his adversaries, and of putting his army into winter-quarters without molestation.

§ 359. At this juncture the dissensions between the parliamentary generals, which had long been fomenting, broke out anew. The causes of these disputes require explanation. Among the Puritans, or parliamentary party, a secret distinction, though it had been concealed for a time, by the dread of the king's power, began to discover itself in proportion as the hopes of success became more definite, and at last broke forth in contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first sheltered themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now openly appeared as a distinct party, actuated by different views and pretensions. They rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, nor any interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns. Each congregation, according to their principles, united voluntarily, and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church ; and, as the election of the congregation was alone sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character and office, to which no benefits were annexed, all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy. No ceremony, no institution, no imposition of hands, was thought requisite, as in every other church, to convey a right to holy orders ; but the soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the spirit, resigned himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated by a supposed intercourse and immediate communication with heaven. Nor were the Independents less distinguished from the Presbyterians by their political than their religious principles. The Presbyterians were only desirous of restraining within narrow limits the prerogatives of the crown, and of reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate ; but the Independents aspired at a total abolition of the monarchical and even of the aristocratical branch of the English constitution. They projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic quite free and independent. Of course, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace ; rigidly adhering to the maxim, that whoever draws his sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. Sir Harry Vane, Cromwell, Fiennes, and St. John, were the leaders of this party,

whilst the earls of Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis, Massey, Whitelocke, Maynard, Glyn, and other eminent men, and a much greater majority in the nation, were attached to the Presbyterian party. But the Independents, first by cunning and deceit, and afterwards by violence, accomplished the ruin of their rivals, as well as of the royal cause.

§ 360. Cromwell's ambitious designs attracted notice, and the earl of Manchester actually denounced him in parliament. These violent dissensions brought matters to an extremity between the two sects, and impelled the Independents to the immediate execution of their designs. The command of the sword was their grand object; and this they craftily obtained, under pretence of remodelling the army. The scheme was advocated from the pulpit, and in spite of the opposition of Whitelocke, and other Presbyterians, a committee was appointed to frame what was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*; by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments—a few offices, which were specified, excepted; and it at last received the sanction of Parliament (Dec. 9, 1644). In consequence of this ordinance, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, and others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of both houses. Cromwell, who was a member of the lower house, should also have been discarded; but this impartiality would have disappointed the views of those who had introduced the Self-denying Ordinance. Sir Thomas Fairfax, the new general, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, desired leave to retain Cromwell for a few days, and shortly after begged, with much earnestness, that Cromwell might be permitted to serve during the ensuing campaign. Thus the Independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the Presbyterians, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax, but in reality upon Cromwell. Fairfax, who was equally eminent for courage and humanity, sincere in his professions, disinterested in his views, and open in his conduct, would have formed one of the most shining characters of that age, had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in everything but war, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when vested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate. Cromwell, by whose sagacity and insinua-

tion the general was entirely governed, though naturally of an imperious and domineering temper, knew how to employ, when necessary, the most profound dissimulation, the most refined artifice, and the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity. His vigorous capacity enabled him to form the deepest designs, and his enterprising spirit was not dismayed at the boldest undertakings.

§ 361. Whilst this competition was going on between the Presbyterians and Independents, Archbishop Laud was brought from prison, tried, and executed (Jan. 10, 1645). After a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witnesses, the Commons found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against him, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away his life. Seven peers only voted on this important question, the rest absenting themselves either from fear or shame. This new example of the vindictive spirit of the Commons promised little success to the negotiations for peace, which were soon after set on foot at Uxbridge (Jan. 30). It was agreed that the Scotch and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands with respect to three important articles—religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be successively examined and discussed, in conferences with the king's commissioners. The king's partisans had always maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the Parliament, after the effectual measures taken in 1641 for the security of public liberty, were either feigned or groundless. Charles, however, offered that the arms of the state should be intrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the Parliament, or one half by him, and the other by the Parliament. But the parliamentary commissioners positively insisted on being intrusted with the absolute power of the sword, for at least seven years. After the debate had been carried on to no purpose for several days, the commissioners separated, and returned to London and Oxford (Feb. 24).

§ 362. James Graham, marquis of Montrose, raised a powerful division in Scotland, and with an army of two thousand men, very indifferently armed, defeated six thousand Covenanters near Perth, and killed two thousand of them. Montrose, whose daring soul delighted in perilous undertakings, eluded every danger, and gained several victories. But, unhappily for Charles, before Montrose

could carry his success so far as to oblige the Covenanters to withdraw any part of their forces, events had taken place in England which rendered the royal cause almost desperate. In consequence of the change in the formation of the parliamentary army, the officers, in most regiments, assumed the spiritual as well as military command over their men. Praying and psalm-singing took up much of their time, and a religious enthusiasm pervaded all ranks. The Cavaliers in derision of this religious mania ran into the opposite extreme, and the depredations committed in Scotland, by the Highlanders under Montrose, made the approach of the royal army the object of terror to both parties over the whole island. On the opening of the campaign, Charles left Oxford with fifteen thousand men, relieved Chester, and took Leicester (May 31). In his absence Fairfax had besieged Oxford; but these successes induced the parliamentary general to advance for the purpose of giving battle to the royal army. Fairfax had a great advantage in point of numbers; but in spite of this he was attacked by the royalists in his position on a rising ground near Naseby. The king and Prince Rupert performed prodigies of valour, but were obliged to quit the field; and although the Parliament had a thousand, and the king only eight hundred men slain, scarcely any victory could be more complete. Nearly five thousand of the royalists were made prisoners, among whom were five hundred officers; and all the king's baggage, artillery, and ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy (June 14, 1645).

LETTER 7.—England, from the Battle of Naseby to the Execution of Charles I. and the Subversion of the Monarchy. A.D. 1645—1649. Vol. ii., pages 87—101.

§ 363. After the battle of Naseby, the king's affairs went so fast to ruin in all quarters, that he ordered the prince of Wales, then fifteen years of age, to make his escape beyond sea. The king himself retreated first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, in hopes of raising a body of infantry in that loyal but exhausted country. The parliamentary generals and the Scotch made themselves masters of almost every place of importance in the kingdom, and even Prince Rupert surrendered Bristol, in which city he had sought refuge, at the first summons (Sept. 9, 1645). The king returned from Wales, and after an unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege of Chester, took

refuge with the remains of his broken army in Oxford, where he continued during the winter season. In Scotland Montrose was routed and compelled to make his escape, while the Covenanters used their victory with great rigour. The king's condition was truly deplorable, and in vain did he attempt to negotiate with the Parliament: they would not listen to him, but gave him to understand that he must yield at discretion. The rest of his troops, which he had ordered to march towards Oxford under Lord Astley, in order to reinforce the garrison of that place, were totally defeated by Colonel Morgan at Stow-on-the-Wold (March 21, 1646). The advance of Fairfax upon Oxford caused the king to flee, and he took refuge with the Scotch army at Newark (May 5, 1646). They at first treated the royal fugitive with respect, but afterwards delivered him up to the parliamentary commissioners, and he was conducted to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire (Feb. 16, 1647).

§ 364. The civil war was now over. No sooner was the king subdued, than the division between the Presbyterians and Independents burst forth afresh; and the Independents, who, in consequence of the Self-denying Ordinance, had obtained the command of the army, solaced themselves with the prospect of a new revolution. Such a revolution as they desired was accomplished by the assistance of the military power, which tumbled the Parliament from its slippery throne. The Presbyterians still retained the superiority among the Commons, and all the peers, except Lord Say, were esteemed of that party; but the Independents, to whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated in the army, and the troops on the new establishment were universally infected with that enthusiastic spirit. Aware of this, as well as that their antagonists trusted to the sword, in their projects for acquiring an ascendancy, the Presbyterian party in Parliament, under pretence of easing the public burdens, obtained a vote for disbanding one part of the army, and for sending another part of it into Ireland, in order to subdue the rebels in that kingdom. These orders caused a meeting amongst the forces, and the two Houses of Parliament, under apprehensions for their own safety, sent Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, the secret authors of these discontents, to negotiate. In opposition to the Parliament at Westminster, a kind of military convention was formed; consisting, first, of a council of the principal officers, in imitation of the House of Peers; and next, of a more

free representation of the army, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of *Agitators*, from each troop or company. This terrible consistory declared that they found no distempers in the army, but many grievances, and immediately voted the offers of the Parliament unsatisfactory. Cromwell seized the king's person, and having thus deprived the Parliament of any means of accommodation with him, advanced to St. Alban's in order to intimidate them. The Parliament soon became an object of general hatred and aversion. Though near one-half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been sequestered, the taxes and impositions were much higher than in any former period of the English government. The excise, an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation, had been introduced; and it was extended to provisions and the common necessities of life. But what excited the most universal complaint was the unlimited tyranny and despotic rule of the country committees; which could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish without law or remedy. They interposed even in questions of private property; and, under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. Thus, instead of one Star-chamber, which had been abolished, a great number were erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority. Dissensions increased; the army was removed to Reading, still keeping the king in custody, who had at length become of consequence to both parties. Various offers were made to him. A proposal for an alteration in the militia of the city of London produced a serious disturbance, whereupon the army advanced from Reading towards the capital. They were met on Hounslow Heath by the speakers of the two houses, accompanied by eight peers and about sixty commoners; who complained of the violence put upon them, and craved protection. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, renewed their orders for enlisting troops, and commanded the train-bands to man the lines. The army marched in triumph through the city, but without committing any outrage. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who resumed their seats as if nothing had happened; and the eleven impeached members, being accused as the authors of the tumult, were expelled. Several arrests took place, the Independents triumphed, and the Parliament being reduced to absolute servitude, a day was

appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the restoration of its liberty. The Independents, who had secretly concurred in all the encroachments of the military upon the civil power, exulted in their victory. They had now a near prospect of moulding the government into the form of that imaginary republic which had long been the object of their wishes; and they vainly expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the nation, without perceiving that they must themselves, by such conduct, become slaves to some military despot (1647).

§ 365. Charles was removed to Hampton Court (Aug. 16, 1647), and being treated with great rigour, he made his escape (Nov. 11). Indeed it is supposed, that the republicans, aware of the general feeling that existed in his favour, wished to get rid of him in this manner. After wandering about for some time, Charles placed himself under the protection of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, by whom he was conveyed as a prisoner to Carisbrook Castle. Cromwell being now freed from all anxiety in regard to the custody of the king's person, and entirely master of the army, set himself about curing its disorders. The camp, in many respects, had more the appearance of civil liberty than of military subordination. In order to mortify their spiritual pride, Cromwell issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the Agitators. But the *Levellers*, as the fanatical party in the army were called, secretly continued their meetings; and at length began to affirm that the military establishment, as much as any part of the church or state, stood in need of reformation. Several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions. At a general review of the forces, Cromwell ordered the ringleaders to be seized in the face of their companions. He held a council of war in the field; shot one mutineer, confined others, and by this well-timed rigour reduced the whole army to discipline and obedience.

§ 366. Cromwell could not bear a rival, and his next object was to get rid of Charles. To murder him privately would have exposed all concerned in the foul deed to universal execration. In order to extricate himself from this difficulty, Cromwell had recourse to the counsels of Ireton, who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, and the statesman on the saint, thought himself absolved from the ordinary rules of morality in the prosecution of his holy purposes. At his suggestion, Cromwell secretly called, at

Windsor, a council of the chief officers of the army, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person; and in that hypocritical conference, was first opened the daring counsel of subjecting the king to a judicial sentence. This resolution being solemnly formed, it became necessary to concert such measures as would make the Parliament adopt it; and to lead them insensibly from violence to violence, till that last act of atrocious iniquity should seem essential to their own safety. The conspirators accordingly, as a first step toward their bloody purpose, instigated the Independents in the House of Commons to frame four propositions, by way of preliminaries, which were sent to the king; and to each of which they demanded his positive assent, before they would condescend to treat with him, though they knew that the whole would be rejected. These propositions were altogether exorbitant. Charles therefore demanded a personal treaty with the Parliament; and desired that the general terms on both sides should be adjusted, before particular concessions on either side should be insisted upon. It was voted, that no more addresses be made to the king, nor any letters or messages received from him; and that it be accounted treason for any one, without leave of the two Houses of Parliament, to have any intercourse with him. By this vote the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown. By command of the army, he was shut up in close confinement; all his servants were removed, and all correspondence with his friends was cut off. In this state of dreary solitude, while he expected every moment to be poisoned or assassinated, he reposed with confidence upon that Great Being who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose chastisements, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of favour and affection. The Scotch protested against the four propositions, and both in England and Scotland many prepared to espouse the cause of their injured sovereign. The Presbyterians again obtained the ascendancy in the Parliament, and attempted to make a treaty with the king, and after a violent debate of three days, it was carried by a majority of forty-six against an opposition of eighty-three, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the Parliament to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. This was the time for the generals to interpose; and they seized in the passage forty-one members of the Presbyterian

party : above a hundred and fifty more commoners were excluded ; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the Independents, who did not exceed sixty in number. This remnant, ludicrously called the *Rump*, instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory (1648).

§ 367. Thus far the extreme party had triumphed, and they prepared to put their designs into execution. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed to bring in a charge against the king ; and on their report a vote passed, declaring it high treason in a king to levy war against his Parliament, and appointing a High Court of Justice to try Charles Stuart for that crime. This vote was sent up to the House of Peers, and rejected without one dissenting voice, contemptible as were the few peers that now attended ! (Jan. 2, 1649). But the Commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle ; and they declared that their authority was sufficient without the consent of the king or House of Peers (Jan. 4). Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. The form of the trial was soon regulated, and the High Court of Justice, or rather of iniquity, fully constituted. It sat in Westminster Hall, and consisted of near a hundred and fifty persons, named by the Commons ; though scarcely seventy ever attended, and few of these were men of either birth or character. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and other officers of the army, some members of the lower house, and some citizens of London, were the judges appointed to try their sovereign. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president ; Coke, another lawyer, was appointed solicitor for the people of England ; and Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The king conducted himself with becoming dignity, denied the authority of his judges, and referred to the breaches of faith of which the Parliament had been guilty. Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often did he refuse to acknowledge its jurisdiction. At the fourth sitting sentence of death was pronounced against him. Firm and intrepid in all his appearances before his judges, the unfortunate monarch never forgot himself either as a prince or as a man ; nor did he discover any emotion at this extraordinary sentence. Three days were allowed him between his sentence and execution. These he passed in great tranquillity, occu-

pied himself chiefly in reading and devotion, and every night slept as sound as usual, though the noise of workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and making other preparations for his exit, continually resounded in his ears. His appearance upon the scaffold won the hearts of all. He vindicated himself from the accusation of having commenced war against his Parliament. But, although innocent toward his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eye of Heaven; and observed, that an unjust sentence which he had suffered to take effect upon the earl of Strafford was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. He declared, that he forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. It being remarked that the king, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had emphatically pronounced the word REMEMBER! great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals insisted that Juxon should inform them of its latent meaning. The bishop told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course by an act of benevolence toward his greatest enemies. These exhortations being finished, the king prepared himself for the block. One of the executioners, at a single blow, severed the king's head from his body, and the other holding it up, streaming with blood, cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor!" Grief, terror, and indignation took possession of the hearts of the astonished spectators; each of whom seemed to accuse himself either of active disloyalty to his murdered sovereign, or with too indolent a defence of his oppressed cause. The same sentiments spread throughout the whole kingdom. The people were everywhere overwhelmed with sorrow and confusion, as soon as informed of the fatal catastrophe of the king, and filled with unrelenting hatred against the authors of his death. His sufferings, his magnanimity, his patience, his piety, and his Christian deportment, caused all his errors to be forgotten; and nothing was heard but lamentations and self-reproaches (Jan. 30, 1649). Charles I. was of a middling stature, strong, and well-proportioned. His judgment was sound, his taste elegant, and his general tem-

per moderate. He was a sincere admirer of the fine arts, and a liberal encourager of those who pursued them. As a man, his character was unexceptionable, and even highly exemplary; in a word, we may say with Lord Clarendon, that "he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian in his dominions." But he had the misfortune, as a king, to be educated in high notions of the royal prerogative, which he thought it his duty to support, at a time when his people were little inclined to respect such rights; and to be superstitiously devoted to the religion of his country, when the violence of fanaticism was ready to overturn both the church and monarchy.^a

* Amongst the various religious sects that rose during this turbulent period, may be mentioned the Quakers, not hitherto noticed in the body of this work. The founder of this sect was George Fox, born in Drayton, Leicestershire, in 1624. He was the son of a weaver, and bred a shoemaker. At the time when every ignorant fanatic imagined that he could invent a new system of religion or government, he separated himself from his family and abandoned his trade (1647). Living in seclusion, he believed himself filled with inward light, and soon began to make converts. They committed the greatest excesses, and one of their number, John Naylor, assumed the character of the Messiah. They were at first called Seekers, from pretending to seek after the truth. Various explanations are given of the origin of the term Quaker. By some Fox is said to have admonished a magistrate and others present to tremble at the word of the Lord, and hence to have received the name. Others assert they were first called Quakers because of the agitation under which they laboured when prompted by the spirit to discourse.

CHAPTER II.

LETTER 8.—A General View of the European Continent, from the Peace of Westphalia to the Pyrenean Treaty, and the Peace of Oliva. A.D. 1648—1660. Vol. ii., pages 101—108.

§ 368. **THOUGH** the peace of Westphalia restored tranquillity to Germany and the north of Europe, war continued between Spain and France, and the latter country was also distracted by civil broils. The coadjutor-archbishop of Paris, afterwards the celebrated cardinal of Retz, jealous of the greatness of Mazarine, endeavoured to set princes, nobility, and people against his administration. The Parliament of Paris adopted his views, and boldly placed itself in opposition to the court. Louis XIV. was at that time a minor, under the regency of Anne of Austria. Mazarine, who actually governed the kingdom, ordered the president and one of the most factious counsellors to be arrested, and sent to prison. The populace rose; barricaded the streets; threatened the cardinal and the queen-regent; and continued their outrages, till the prisoners were set at liberty. Thus encouraged by the support of the people, the Parliament and the archbishop proceeded in their cabals. The queen-regent could not appear in public without being insulted, and she left Paris, accompanied by her children and her minister, and retired to St. Germain's. In the mean time the Parliament, by a solemn decree, declared Cardinal Mazarine a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom. A separation of parties took place; and the prince of Conti, the duke of Longueville, the duke of Beaufort, the duke of Bouillon, and their adherents, came and offered their services to the Parliament. Seduced by the example of Paris, other cities, other parliaments, and even provinces revolted: the whole kingdom became a scene of anarchy and confusion. Condé rushed to the rescue, dispersed the malcontents, and a conference was agreed to, and a treaty concluded at Rouel, by which a general amnesty was

granted, and a temporary quiet procured, but without any extinction of hatred on either side (March 11, 1649).

§ 369. While parties remained in such a temper, no solid peace could be expected. The court, however, returned to Paris, and the cardinal was received with expressions of joy and satisfaction. The prince of Condé, presuming on his great services, repeatedly insulted the queen and the cardinal. He also by his haughtiness disgusted the coadjutor, and entered into cabals against the court with other factious leaders. By the advice of this intriguing prelate, Condé was arrested at the council-table, together with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, the very heads of the malcontents. But the triumph of the minister was of short duration. The imprisonment of the princes roused their partisans to arms in every corner of the kingdom; and the duke of Orleans headed the malcontents. Mazarine, after setting the princes at liberty, in hopes of conciliating their favour, was obliged to flee first to Liege, and then to Cologne; where he continued to govern the queen-regent, as if he had never quitted the court. By their intrigues the duke of Bouillon and his brother Turenne were detached from the malcontents. Mazarine re-entered the kingdom, escorted by six thousand men. Condé once more flew to arms; and the Parliament declared him guilty of high treason, nearly at the same time that it set a price upon the head of the cardinal, against whom only he had taken the field! The battle of St. Antoine (July 2, 1652), was gained by Condé over Turenne; and the duke of Orleans was declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom, while Condé was styled commander-in-chief of the armies of France. These new dignities, however, were of short duration. A popular tumult, in which several citizens were killed, and of which the prince of Condé was supposed to be the author, obliged him to quit Paris, and the king, in order to appease his subjects, being now of age, dismissed Mazarine, who retired to Sedan. That measure had the desired effect. The people everywhere returned to their allegiance, and Louis entered his capital amid the acclamations of persons of all ranks. The duke of Orleans was banished the court, and the cardinal of Retz committed to prison (1652). Condé, being condemned to lose his head, continued his unhappy engagements with Spain. The Parliament was humbled, and Mazarine recalled; when, finding his power more firmly established than ever, the subtle Italian, in the exultation of

his heart at the universal homage that was paid him, looked down with an eye of contempt on the levity of the French nation, and determined to make them feel the pressure of his administration, of which they had formerly complained without reason. Thus ended what are called the civil wars of the Fronde, in which an archbishop, certain magistrates, and the most beautiful and accomplished women in Europe took part (1653).

§ 370. During this civil contention, the war with Spain had still been carried on. Barcelona was recovered (Oct. 13, 1652); Gravelines reduced, and Dunkirk captured, in the same year. The termination of the Fronde wars changed the aspect of affairs. Turenne checked Condé's victorious career, took Stenay; and the ammunition, artillery, and baggage of the Spaniards were captured by another division of the French army. Several skirmishes and encounters ensued, and at last an alliance was entered into between France and England (1657). Dunkirk was immediately attacked by sea and land, and although Condé came to its relief, it surrendered (1658), and was given up to the English, according to the terms of the treaty. Furnes, Oudenarde, Ypres, Gravelines, and other towns submitted to the arms of France, and the Spanish government perceived the necessity of suing for peace. Conferences were held in the Isle of Pheasants, in the Pyrenees, and peace was at length concluded on these terms:—Louis XIV. was to marry Maria Theresa, the Infanta of Spain. Philip IV. agreed to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and Louis to receive Condé into favour. Spain renounced all pretensions to Alsace, and the long-disputed succession of Juliers was granted to the duke of Neuburg (Nov. 7, 1659). Such was the peace of the Pyrenees. Cardinal Mazarine died soon after (March 9, 1661). He had the singular honour of extending the limits of the French monarchy, while France was distracted by intestine hostilities; and of twice restoring peace to the greater part of Europe, after the longest and most bloody wars it had ever known. Nor must his attention to the Spanish succession, which has since made the house of Bourbon so formidable to its neighbours, and is a striking proof of his political foresight, be forgotten.

§ 371. The tranquillity which the peace of Westphalia had restored to Germany, continued unmolested till the death of Ferdinand III. (April 2, 1657), when an interregnum of five months ensued, and the Diet was violently agitated in

regard to the choice of a successor. At last, however, his son Leopold was raised to the imperial throne (1658). While the Turks remained masters of Buda, the French in possession of Alsace, and the Swedes of Pomerania, a powerful emperor seemed necessary. The first measure of Leopold's reign was the finishing of an alliance, which his father had begun, with Poland and Denmark, in opposition to Sweden, which kingdom had been raised to the highest pitch of military reputation by the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, the champion of the Protestant cause. His daughter Christina, no less ambitious of fame, immortalized her short reign, by declaring herself the patroness of learning and the polite arts. She drew to her court, Grotius, Vossius, Descartes, and other eminent men, whom she liberally rewarded. The Senate of Sweden proposed that she should marry her cousin, Charles Gustavus. This she refused to do, but prevailed upon the States to declare Charles Gustavus her successor (1650). An universal discontent arose, and Christina was again pressed to marry. The disgust occasioned by this importunity first suggested to her the idea of quitting the throne. She accordingly signified her intention of resigning, in a letter to Charles Gustavus, and of surrendering her crown in full senate. But Charles refused to accept the crown, and Christina, having been waited upon by the Senate and the chief officers of state, consented to retain the sceptre. Finding it impossible, however, to reconcile her literary pursuits with the duties of her station, Christina finally resigned her crown (June 16, 1654); and Charles Gustavus ascended the throne of Sweden; under the name of Charles X. After despoiling the palace of everything curious or valuable, Christina left her kingdom. She travelled through Germany in men's clothes; and having a design of fixing her residence at Rome, that she might have an opportunity of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity, she embraced the Roman Catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly renounced Lutheranism at Inspruck (1655). She soon grew weary in her new position at Rome, and made two journeys into France; but having ordered the assassination of Monaldeschi, one of her favourites, in the great gallery of Fontainebleau (1657), she was compelled to leave France, and again to take refuge at Rome.

§ 372. While Christina was thus rambling over Europe, and amusing herself in a manner as unworthy of her former character as of the daughter of the great Gustavus, her

successor, Charles X., indulged the martial spirit of the Swedes, by the conquest of Poland. This he accomplished, after several signal victories, in which he displayed both courage and conduct. Warsaw, the capital, was obliged to surrender; and Casimir, the Polish king, took refuge in Silesia (1655). But that conquest was of small advantage to Sweden. The Poles revolted, in violation of the most solemn oaths and engagements; and the Russians, the Danes, the elector of Brandenburg, and the emperor Leopold, assisted them in expelling their invaders. But the king of Sweden, though assailed by so many enemies, was not discouraged. Depending on the valour of his troops, he suddenly entered Denmark, then governed by Frederic III., laid siege to Copenhagen (1658), and compelled the king of Denmark to sign the treaty of Roskild, which was afterwards broken, and the siege renewed. He made a second attack on the same capital the year following, though without success; and the ardour of his spirit being still unabated, he was taking measures to push the war with redoubled vigour against all his enemies, when he was carried off by an epidemic fever that raged in his camp (Feb. 13, 1660). As the son of this warlike and ambitious monarch was yet a minor, peace now became necessary to Sweden. Treaties for the general pacification of the North were accordingly concluded at Oliva, May 3, and at Copenhagen, June 6, 1660; by which Polish Prussia was restored to Casimir, who ceded Esthonia and the Northern Livonia to Sweden. The Danish monarch, still under the terror of the Swedish arms, also made considerable sacrifices.

LETTER 9.—History of the Commonwealth of England to the Death of Cromwell, with some Account of the Affairs of Scotland, Holland, and Ireland. A.D. 1649—1658. Vol. ii., pages 109—130.

§ 373. No sooner was the monarchy abolished, than Cromwell began to aspire at absolute sovereignty. After the dissolution of the constitution, England was divided into a variety of sects and factions, many of which were dissatisfied with the ruling powers, and longed for the restoration of monarchy. But all these were overawed by an army of fifty thousand men, by which the republican and independent faction was supported, and of which Cromwell was the soul. The Commonwealth Parliament, as that inconsiderable part of the House of Commons that remained was called, finding everything composed into

seeming tranquillity, began to assume the air of legal authority, and to enlarge a little the narrow foundation on which it stood, by admitting, under certain conditions, such of the excluded members as were liable to least exception. A council of state was also named, consisting of thirty-eight persons, to whom all addresses were made; who gave orders to all generals and admirals; who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament (Feb. 14, 1649). But although the force of the army kept everything quiet in England, the prince of Wales, who wandered about from place to place on the continent, assumed the title of Charles II., and the Scotch Covenanters seemed inclined to espouse his cause.

§ 374. Upon the decline of the king's cause, the marquis of Ormond, who commanded the royalist forces in Ireland, was compelled to make terms with the English Parliament (1647), and having visited his royal master in England, he afterwards retired to the continent. A formidable insurrection afterwards broke out against the authority of the Parliament, and Ormond returned to resume possession of the government (1649). Prince Charles was invited to visit this portion of his dominions; but at this juncture Cromwell assumed the command, and reduced the country to subjection. He carried Drogheda by assault, and put the garrison to death (Sept. 11, 1649). During the winter Ormond's troops deserted, and he left the island. Cromwell allowed the Irish soldiers and officers to engage in foreign service, and about forty thousand Roman Catholics embraced this voluntary banishment.

§ 375. These unexpected events, which blasted all the hopes of the young king from Ireland, induced him to listen to the offers of the Scottish Covenanters, and appoint a meeting with their commissioners at Breda (March 15, 1650). Charles was required to submit, without reserve, to the most ignominious terms ever imposed by a people upon their prince. They insisted, that he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons; or, in other words, all who, under Hamilton and Montrose, had ventured their lives for his family; that no English subject, who had served against the Parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the Covenant; that he should ratify all acts of Parliament by which Presbyterian discipline and worship were established; that in civil affairs, he should con-

form himself entirely to the direction of the Parliament, and in ecclesiastical, to that of the General Assembly of the Kirk. Charles, yielding to the advice of Buckingham, accepted these conditions, and set sail for Scotland, where he soon after arrived (June 23). Montrose, who had in the mean time raised the royal standard, was defeated, taken prisoner, and hanged (May 21). Thus the very Covenanters who had become his executioners, now conducted Charles, as a captive, into the kingdom. Before he was permitted to land, he was obliged to sign the Covenant, and to hear many sermons and lectures on the duty of persevering in that holy confederacy. The duke of Hamilton, formerly earl of Lanark, the earl of Lauderdale, and other noblemen who had shared his counsels abroad, and whom the Covenanters called *Engagers*, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their own houses. None of his English courtiers, except the duke of Buckingham, were allowed to remain in the kingdom; so that he found himself entirely in the hands of Argyle and the more rigid Presbyterians, by whom he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and at whose mercy lay both his life and liberty. Not satisfied with this, they compelled him to sign a declaration in which his father's policy was condemned, and he engaged not to tolerate popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness. In the mean time he found his authority totally annihilated. He was not called to assist at any public council, and his favour was sufficient to discredit any candidate for office or preferment. The same jealousy rendered abortive all his attempts to reconcile the opposite parties. Argyle, the chief leader of the Covenanters, artfully eluded all the king's advances towards a coalition. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be objects of general hatred and persecution; and whoever happened to be obnoxious to the clergy was sure to be branded with one or other of those epithets.

§ 376. Other actors were preparing to make their appearance upon the scene. The English Parliament was no sooner informed of the issue of the negotiations at Breda, than Cromwell was recalled from Ireland; and vigorous preparations were made for hostilities, which it was foreseen would prove inevitable between the two British kingdoms. Fairfax refused to bear arms against the Covenanters, and resigned his commission as commander-in-chief, whereupon Cromwell obtained the appointment of captain-general of all the forces in England. He advanced rapidly into

Scotland at the head of sixteen thousand men, and defeated the Covenanters at Dunbar (Sept. 3, 1650). Cromwell, improving his advantage, made himself master of Edinburgh and Leith, while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. An ague, with which he was seized, and the approach of winter, prevented him from pushing his conquests further, before the close of the campaign. This defeat compelled the Covenanters to give Charles more authority, but he was still in a condition ill suited to his temper and disposition. Charles put himself at the head of his troops encamped in a very advantageous position near Stirling, and being hard pressed by Cromwell, suddenly crossed the border, and marched into England at the head of fourteen thousand men (Aug. 6, 1651). But he was disappointed in the reception he received. The English Presbyterians, having no notice of his design, were not prepared to join him; and the Cavaliers, or old royalists, to whom his approach was equally unknown, were deterred from such a measure, by the necessity of subscribing the Covenant. Both parties were overawed by the militia of the counties, which the Parliament had, everywhere, authority sufficient to raise. Having reached Worcester, he was overtaken and attacked by Cromwell, with overwhelming forces, and Charles, after giving many proofs of personal valour, had no resource but flight (Sept. 3, 1651). The Scotch were nearly all killed or taken, and the prisoners, to the number of eight thousand, were sold as slaves to the American planters.

§ 377. Charles encountered numerous perils after this defeat. Owing to the unshaken fidelity of a few friends, his life was preserved, although his pursuers were, on several occasions, close upon his heels. The earl of Derby, Penderel the honest farmer, Lord Wilmot, Mr. Lane, Col. Wyndham and his family, and many others, risked their lives in behalf of their sovereign. A report of his death was circulated, and this caused his enemies to relax their search. Charles was obliged to shift his quarters, to assume new disguises, and intrust himself to other friends, who all gave proofs of incorruptible fidelity and attachment. At last a small vessel was found at Shoreham, in Sussex, where he embarked, and arrived safely at Fescamp, in Normandy, after one-and-forty days' concealment, during which the secret of his life had been intrusted to forty different persons (Oct. 17, 1651). The battle of Worcester, which utterly extinguished the hopes of the royalists, afforded

Cromwell what he called his crowning mercy,—an immediate prospect of that sovereignty which had long been the object of his ambition. Extravagantly elated with his good fortune, he would have knighted in the field of victory Lambert and Fleetwood, two of his generals, had he not been dissuaded by his friends from exercising that act of regal authority. Every place now submitted to the arms of the Commonwealth: not only in Great Britain, Ireland, and the contiguous islands, but also on the continent of America, and in the East and West Indies; so that the Parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert its vigour against foreign nations.

§ 378. The independence of the United Provinces having been secured by the treaty of Munster, that republic had become the greatest commercial state in Europe. The English had long been jealous of the prosperity of the Hollanders; but the common interests of religion, for a time, and afterwards the alliance between the house of Stuart and the family of Orange, prevented any rupture between the two nations. This alliance had also led the States to favour the royal cause, during the civil wars in England, and to overlook the murder of Dorislaus, one of the regicides, who was assassinated at the Hague by the followers of Montrose. But after the death of William II., prince of Orange, more respect was shown to the English commonwealth by the governing party in Holland, which was chiefly composed of violent republicans. Through the influence of that party, a perpetual edict was issued against the dignity of stadtholder. Encouraged by this revolution, the English Parliament thought the season favourable for cementing a close confederacy with the States; and St. John, who was sent over to the Hague, in the character of plenipotentiary, had entertained the idea of forming such a coalition between the two republics as would have rendered their interests inseparable (1650). But their High Mightinesses, unwilling to enter into such a solemn treaty with a government whose measures were so obnoxious, and whose situation seemed precarious, only offered to renew their former alliances with England; and the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at some affronts which had been put upon him by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, returned to London with a determined resolution of taking advantage of the national jealousy, in order to excite a quarrel between the two commonwealths (1651).

§ 379. The Parliament seconded the resentment of their ambassador; and the famous *Act of Navigation* was passed, which provided, among other regulations of less importance, that no goods should be imported into England, from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships; nor from any part of Europe, except in such vessels as belong to that country of which the goods are the growth or manufacture (Dec. 1, 1651). This act, though necessary and truly politic as a domestic measure, and general in its restrictions on foreign powers, more especially affected the Dutch, as was foreseen; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsisted, and still subsist, chiefly by being the carriers and factors of other nations. A mutual jealousy, accompanied with mutual injuries, accordingly took place between the two republics; and a desperate naval war, ultimately occasioned by a dispute about the honour of the flag, was the consequence. Some naval actions occurred, in which the Dutch, owing to the great superiority of their forces, were victorious, and Van Tromp sailed through the Channel with a broom at his masthead (1652). A fleet of eighty sail, under the command of Blake, was speedily fitted out, to avenge this insult. They soon fell in with Van Tromp and De Ruyter, with seventy-six ships of war, and a convoy of three hundred merchantmen. The battle lasted three days, and the Dutch were completely defeated (Feb. 18—20, 1653). After this signal overthrow, the naval power of the Dutch seemed, for a time, to be utterly annihilated, and with it their trade. Their commerce by the Channel was cut off; even that to the Baltic was much reduced; and their fisheries were totally suspended. Almost two thousand of their ships had fallen into the hands of the English seamen. Convinced at last of the necessity of submission, they resolved to gratify the pride of the English Parliament by soliciting peace; but their advances were treated with disdain (June 20).

§ 380. The Parliament grew jealous of the success of Cromwell, and these rival powers in the state soon became involved in a struggle. The latter called for a new representative body, whilst the former refused to separate. Cromwell went down to the house with three hundred soldiers, forcibly expelled the members, put the key in his pocket, and retired to his lodgings at Whitehall (April 20, 1653). This extraordinary man was born at Huntingdon. He had launched into a dissolute course of life, when sent to study the law in one of the inns of court, and consumed the

earlier years of his manhood in gaming, drinking, and debauchery. But all of a sudden he was seized with a religious qualm; affected a grave and sanctified behaviour, and was distinguished amongst the puritanical party, by the fervour of his devotional exercises. His career in the army and his treatment of the king have been already noticed. When Cromwell assumed the reins of government, he had three parties in the nation against him; the royalists, the Presbyterians, and the republicans. But as each of these had a violent antipathy against both the others, none of them could become formidable to the army: and the republicans, whom he had dethroned, and whose resentment he had most occasion to fear, were divided amongst themselves. Beside the Independents, they consisted of two sets of men, who had a mutual contempt for each other; namely, the Millenarians, or *Fifth-monarchy men*, who expected suddenly the second coming of Christ; and the Deists, who utterly denied the truth of revelation, and considered the tenets of the various sects as alike founded in folly and error. Cromwell courted the *Fifth-monarchy men*, and formed a parliament by their aid. One of its most active members, a leather-seller in London, bore the name of Praise-God Barebone: hence this contemptible assembly was ludicrously called Barebone's Parliament. This was dissolved (Dec. 12, 1653), and an Instrument of Government was drawn up by the army, by which Cromwell was named Protector, or chief magistrate of the commonwealth (Dec. 16). The protector was to be assisted by a council of state, of not more than twenty-one, nor of less than thirteen persons; in his name all justice was to be administered, and from him all honours derived; he was to have the right of peace or war; the power of the sword was invested in him jointly with the Parliament while sitting, and, during the intervals, jointly with the council of state: Parliament was to be summoned every three years, and allowed to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The council of state, named in the instrument, consisted of fifteen persons, strongly attached to the protector, who, in case of a vacancy, had the power of choosing one out of three presented by the remaining members.

§ 381. Another naval engagement took place with the Dutch, which lasted two days, and terminated in the defeat of the latter (June 2, 1653). The States made one more effort to retrieve the honour of their flag, and in a short

time manned and sent forth a new fleet. Van Tromp assumed the command, and met the English fleet, commanded by Monk. The battle raged from morning till night, without any sensible advantage in favour of either party. Next day the action was continued, and the setting sun beheld the contest undecided. The third morning the struggle was renewed ; and victory seemed still doubtful, when Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musket-ball (July 29—31, 1653). That event at once decided the sovereignty of the ocean. The Dutch lost thirty ships, and were glad to purchase a peace, by yielding to the English the honour of the flag, and making such other concessions as were required of them (April 5, 1654). This successful conclusion of the Dutch war, which strengthened Cromwell's authority both at home and abroad, encouraged him to summon a free parliament, according to the stipulation in the Instrument of Government. He took the precaution, however, to exclude all the royalists who had borne arms for the king, and all their sons. Thirty members were returned from Scotland, and as many from Ireland. The new Parliament began its deliberations by questioning his right to that authority which he had assumed over the nation. Enraged at the refractory spirit of the Commons, he sent for them to the Painted Chamber, and required them to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this despotism ; but retained, notwithstanding, the same independent spirit which they had discovered at their first meeting. Cromwell therefore found it necessary to put an end to their debates. He accordingly dissolved the Parliament, before it had sat five months—the time prescribed by that Instrument of Government which he had lately sworn to observe (Jan. 22, 1655).

§ 382. Both the republicans and the royalists plotted against this tyrannical form of government. A royalist conspiracy with most extensive ramifications had been formed, and Charles II. was proclaimed at Salisbury. Cromwell, however, obtained information of the scheme, which he suppressed. The chief conspirators were executed, and the lower orders were sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes (1654). Cromwell resolved no longer to keep terms with the royalists. With the consent of his council, he

therefore issued an edict for exacting the tenth penny from the whole party: and in order to raise that imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, he constituted twelve major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions. These officers, assisted by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion. They acted as if absolute masters of the liberty and property of every English subject: and all reasonable men were now made sensible that the nation was cruelly subjected to a military and despotic government. In the mean time the alliance with France rendered war with Spain almost inevitable, and great naval armaments were fitted out. One of these fleets, consisting of thirty ships of the line, was sent into the Mediterranean, under the famous Admiral Blake, who, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained from the duke of Tuscany reparation for some injuries which English commerce had formerly sustained from that prince. Blake next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to restrain his piratical subjects from depredations on the English. He presented himself also before Tunis; and having made the same demand, the dey of that place desired him to look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake placed his ships close to the castles and tore them in pieces with his artillery, while he sent a detachment of sailors in long-boats into the harbour, and burned every vessel that lay there. The coasts of the Mediterranean, from one extremity to the other, rung with the renown of English valour; and no power, Christian or Mahometan, dared to oppose the victorious Blake (1655). The other fleet, commanded by Admiral Penn, and which had four thousand troops on board, sailed for the West Indies; where it was reinforced with nearly five thousand militia, from the islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher. The object of the enterprise was the conquest of Hispaniola, the most valuable island in the American archipelago. St. Domingo, the capital, was attacked; the Spaniards mustered courage and repelled the invaders (April 13), but Jamaica was captured (May 3, 1655), although Cromwell sent the commanders of the expedition to the Tower on their return to England.

§ 383. The king of Spain, on being informed of these

proceedings, declared war against England (Feb. 16, 1656), and ordered all the ships and goods belonging to the English merchants to be seized throughout his dominions. The Spanish commerce, so profitable to England, was cut off, and an incredible number of vessels fell into the hands of the enemy. Nor were the losses of the Spaniards less considerable. An English squadron, having been sent to cruise off Cadiz, took two galleons richly laden, and set fire to two others, which had run on shore. This success proved an incentive to a bolder, though a less profitable enterprise. Blake having got intelligence that a Spanish fleet of sixteen sail had taken shelter among the Canaries, immediately steered his course thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very strong posture of defence. Blake, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sailed full into the bay, and soon found himself in the midst of his enemies. After an obstinate dispute, the Spaniards abandoned their galleons, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure; and the wind fortunately shifting, while the English fleet lay exposed to the fire of the castle and of all the other forts, Blake was enabled to weather the bay, and left the Spaniards in astonishment at his successful temerity (1657). These vigorous exertions rendered Cromwell's authority equally respected at home and abroad. He had again ventured to summon the Parliament; but not trusting, as formerly, to the good-will of the people, employed all his influence to fill the house with his own creatures, and even placed guards at the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council (Sept. 17, 1656). A majority in favour of the protector being procured by these undue means, a motion was made for investing him with the dignity of king; and notwithstanding the opposition of the republicans, a bill to this purpose was voted, and a committee appointed to reason with him, in order to overcome his pretended scruples. The conference lasted for several days; and although Cromwell's inclination, as well as his judgment, was on the side of the committee, he found himself obliged to refuse so tempting an offer. Not only the ambitious Lambert, and other officers of the army, were prepared to mutiny on such a revolution, but the protector saw himself about to be abandoned even by those who were most intimately connected with him by family interest. Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, and Desborough, his brother-in-law, actuated merely by principle, declared, that if he accepted

the crown, they would throw up their commissions. Cromwell accepted a new political system, called the *humble Petition and Advice*, and was again inaugurated in Westminster Hall, with great pomp and ceremony. Cromwell dissolved this Parliament the moment that it offered to oppose his will.

§ 384. Several plots were formed against Cromwell, and he was under continual apprehension of assassination. He never moved a step without strong guards—he wore armour under his clothes, and carried offensive weapons—he returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went—he performed every journey with hurry and precipitation—he seldom lay above three nights together in the same chamber, and he never let it be known beforehand in which he intended to pass the night; nor did he trust himself in any that was not provided with a back door, at which sentinels were carefully placed. Equally uneasy in society and solitude, the protector's body began to be affected by the perturbation of his mind, and his health seemed visibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague, attended with dangerous symptoms. It put an end to his life on the 3rd of September, the day that had always been esteemed so fortunate to him, being the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester (1658). Oliver Cromwell was of a robust but ungraceful make, and of a manly but clownish and disagreeable aspect. Fortune had a considerable share in his most successful violences. The *Self-denying Ordinance*, and the conscientious weakness of Fairfax, led him, by easy steps, to the supreme command; and the enthusiastic folly of the Covenanters served to confirm his usurped authority. Yet he was not without talents; he possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of discerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of discovering the motives of others, and of concealing his own; of blending the wildest fanaticism with the most profound policy; of reconciling a seeming incoherence of ideas with the most prompt and decisive measures; and of commanding the highest respect amid the coarsest familiarity.

LETTER 10.—The Commonwealth of England, from the Death of Oliver Cromwell to the Restoration of the Monarchy. A.D. 1658—1660. Vol. ii., pages 130—136.

§ 385. On the death of Cromwell, his son Richard quietly succeeded to the protectorship. Although none opposed

his succession, cabals were soon after formed against him, and one, the meetings of which were held at Fleetwood's residence, was called the cabal of Wallingford House. Richard did not exert himself, but actually dissolved parliament at the bidding of these military intriguers (April 22, 1659), soon after signed his resignation in form, and withdrew to his private estate. He had done hurt to no man, so no man ever attempted to hurt him; a striking instance, as Burnet remarks, of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence. The council of officers who had induced him to retire, agreed to revive the Rump, or that remnant of the Long Parliament which had been expelled by Cromwell. They proved refractory, appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted an express article in his commission, that it should continue only during the pleasure of the house. They chose seven persons, who were to fill up such commands as became vacant; and they voted that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and signed by him in the name of the house. These precautions, the purpose of which was visible, gave great disgust to the principal military officers; and their discontent would, in all probability, have immediately broken out in some resolution fatal to the Parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the common enemy. The bulk of the nation now consisted of royalists and Presbyterians. To both these parties the dominion of the pretended Parliament, and of the army, was become equally obnoxious: a secret reconciliation, therefore, took place between them; and it was agreed, that, burying former animosities in oblivion, every possible effort should be made for the overthrow of the Rump, and the restoration of the royal family. A resolution was accordingly taken, in many counties, to rise in arms; and the king, attended by the duke of York, arrived secretly at Calais, determined to put himself at the head of his loyal subjects (1659).

§ 386. This confederacy was disconcerted by the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, who had been trusted by Edward Hyde, the king's chief adviser. Many of the conspirators were thrown into prison, and a few armed men were dispersed by a body of troops under Lambert. The Parliament refused to submit to the rule of the military, and Sir Arthur Haselrig even proposed the impeachment of Lambert. But that artful and able general, despising such impotent resolutions, advanced with his hardy veterans to

London; and taking possession early in the morning, of all the streets leading to Westminster Hall, intercepted the speaker; excluded the other members from the house (Oct. 13, 1659); and appointed a military committee of safety (Oct. 26). In the mean time, Charles II. was wandering on the continent a neglected fugitive. Sir Edward Hyde, who had shared all his misfortunes as well as those of his father, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and advisers. At last, reduced to despair, by the failure of their attempt for his restoration, he resolved to try the weak resource of foreign aid, and went to the Pyrenees, when the two prime ministers of France and Spain were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Louis of Haro received him with warm expressions of kindness, and indicated a desire of assisting him, if it had been consistent with the low condition of the Spanish monarchy; but the cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the Commonwealth of England, refused so much as to see him. At this very time, however, when Charles seemed abandoned by all the world, fortune was paving the way for him, by a surprising revolution, to mount the throne of his ancestors in peace and triumph. It was to General Monk, commander-in-chief in Scotland, that the king was to owe his restoration, and the three kingdoms the termination of their bloody dissensions.

§ 387. George Monk, descended from an ancient and honourable family in Devonshire, somewhat fallen to decay, was properly a soldier of fortune. He had acquired military experience in Flanders, and had distinguished himself in the royal cause, during the civil wars of England, as colonel in the service of Charles I. Having been taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower, he was at last induced by Cromwell to enter into the service of the Parliament, and sent to act against the Irish rebels; a command which, he flattered himself, was reconcilable to the strictest principles of honour. Having once, however, engaged with the Parliament, he was obliged to obey orders, and found himself necessitated to act both against the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and against Charles II. in Scotland. On the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk was vested with the supreme command; and, by the equality and justice of his administration, he acquired the good-will of the Scots, at the same time that he kept their restless spirits in awe, and secured the attachment of his army. Although he had

remained faithful to Richard Cromwell and acknowledged the Long Parliament, he at once declared against the military despotism that triumphed over both. He marched into England; whereupon the Parliament was restored, and Lambert and others were sent to the Tower. Monk, however, continued his advance, and took up his quarters in Westminster (February 4, 1660), restored the Presbyterian members to their seats, and was appointed general of the forces. The Parliament began by repealing the ordinances by which they had been excluded: they renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers: they established a council of state, consisting chiefly of those men who, during the civil war, had made a figure among the Presbyterians; and having passed these and other votes for the present composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new parliament (March 16, 1660).

§ 388. The elections for the new parliament were everywhere carried in favour of the friends of monarchy; for although the Parliament had voted that no one should be elected who had borne arms for the late king, little regard was paid to this ordinance. The passion for liberty, which had been carried to such violent extremes, and produced such bloody commotions, began to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience. The republican party took the alarm, and dreading vengeance for their numerous excesses, endeavoured to turn the popular tide. Lambert suddenly escaped from the Tower, but was fortunately recaptured. When Parliament met, the proceedings of Cromwell were condemned, the most bitter invectives against his memory expressed, and at the announcement that a messenger had arrived from Charles II., the loudest acclamations burst forth. The declaration sent by the king was well calculated to promote the satisfaction inspired by the prospect of a settlement. It offered a general amnesty, leaving particular exceptions to be made by Parliament; it promised liberty of conscience; it assured the soldiers of their arrears, and the same pay they then enjoyed; and it submitted to parliamentary arbitration, an inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations. The Peers resumed their place in parliament. The two houses attended while the king was proclaimed in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar; and a committee of Lords and Commons were despatched

to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the kingdom. The respect of foreign powers soon followed the allegiance of his own subjects; and the formerly neglected Charles was, at the same time, invited by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, to embark at one of their sea-ports. He chose to accept the invitation of the latter, and had the satisfaction, as he passed from Breda to the Hague, to be received with enthusiasm. The States-General, in a body, made their compliments to him with the greatest solemnity; and all ambassadors and foreign ministers expressed the joy of their masters at his change of fortune. The English fleet came in sight of Scheveling; and Montague, who had not waited the orders of the Parliament, persuaded the officers to tender their duty to their sovereign. The king went on board, and his brother the duke of York took the command of the fleet, as high admiral. When Charles disembarked at Dover, he was received by General Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and honoured with the appellation of father. He entered London on the 29th of May, which happened to be his birthday, amid the acclamations of an innumerable multitude of people, whose fond imaginations formed the happiest presages from the concurrence of two such joyful occasions; and the nation in general expressed the most sincere satisfaction at the restoration of their ancient constitution and their native prince, without the effusion of blood (1660).

LETTER 11.—The Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century. A.D. 1500—1650. Vol. ii., pages 136—145.

§ 389. The discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies, and of the Spaniards in America, soon excited the ardour, the avarice, and the ambition of other European nations. The English and Dutch exerted every effort to share in the riches of the East and West; and the Reformation, by abolishing the papal jurisdiction, left them free from religious restraints. While Cortes was endeavouring to turn the conquest of Mexico to good account, Fernando Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman, who had served under the famous Albuquerque, disgusted with his general, and slighted by his sovereign, fled to the court of Spain, and endeavoured to recommend himself by reviving Columbus's original project of discovering a passage to India by a westerly course, and without encroaching on

that portion of the globe allotted to the Portuguese by the pope's line of demarcation. Cardinal Ximenes had recommended the proposal to his master, Charles, who honoured Magellan with the habit of St. Jago and the title of captain-general, and furnished him with five ships, victualled for two years. With this squadron Magellan sailed from Seville on the 10th of August, 1519; and after touching at the Canaries, stood directly south, along the coast of America, but did not reach the river de la Plata till the 12th of January, 1520. On the 31st of March he arrived at Port St. Julian, where he resolved to winter. Here he lost one of his ships; and the Spaniards suffered so much from the excessive rigour of the climate, that they insisted on returning to Europe. But Magellan, by ordering the principal mutineer to be assassinated, and another to be publicly executed, overawed the remainder of his followers, and continued his voyage towards the south. In holding this course, he at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, and gave his name, and soon after the great Southern Ocean opened to his view. Magellan, however, was still at a greater distance from the object of his wishes than he imagined. Three months and twenty days did he sail in one direction towards the north-west, without discovering land; his people suffered incredible distress from scarcity of provisions, putrid water, and all their attendant maladies. One circumstance afforded them some consolation: they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather, with such mild winds as induced Magellan to bestow on that ocean the epithet of Pacific. At length they fell in with a cluster of small islands, which afforded them refreshments in such abundance that their health was soon restored. From these islands, which he called the Ladrões, he continued his voyage, and soon made a discovery of the Manillas. He fell fighting gallantly in a conflict with the natives (April 26, 1520). The expedition discovered several islands in the India Ocean, touched at Borneo, and at last at one of the Moluccas, and the Portuguese could not conceive how the Spaniards had reached this point by sailing in quite an opposite direction. The vessels reached Seville by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1522, having completed the circumnavigation of the globe in 1,154 days.

§ 390. The Portuguese and Spaniards quarrelled about these possessions, and Charles V. at last abandoned his claims

to the Moluccas, for a sum of money (1529). In consequence of this agreement, the Portuguese continued masters of the trade of India; and the Manillas lay neglected, till Philip II. succeeded to the crown of Spain. Soon after his accession, Philip formed the scheme of planting a colony in those islands, to which he gave the name of the Philippines (1556). This he accomplished by means of an armament fitted out for New Spain. Manilla, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the capital of the new establishment; and, in order to induce the Spaniards to settle there, the rising colony was authorized to send India goods to America, in exchange for the precious metals. From Manilla an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippines under the Spanish protection. By their means the colony was so amply supplied with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as soon enabled it to open an advantageous trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our globe. This trade was originally carried on with Callao, the port of Lima, and the most commodious harbour on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered many difficulties in that mode of communication, and the superior facility of an intercourse with New Spain, the staple of the commerce between America and Asia was removed from Callao to Acapulco. The Spanish colony in the Philippines gave no uneasiness to the Portuguese. They not only continued to monopolize the whole commerce of the East, but were masters of the coast of Guinea as well as that of Arabia, Persia, and the two peninsulas of India. They possessed the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the isles of Sunda, with the trade of China and Japan; and they had made their colony of Brazil one of the most valuable districts in America. When Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, in consequence of the destruction of Sebastian and his nobility, on the coast of Africa (1578), its colonies were neglected, and soon after the breaking out of the war in the Low Countries, the Dutch seized several of their fairest possessions, and established the East-India Company. They waged war with the Portuguese for many years, and at length deprived them of Ceylon, the Moluccas, and all their valuable possessions in the East, except Goa, at the same time that they acquired the almost exclusive trade of China and Japan. The island of Java,

however, where the Dutch had erected their first fortifications, and early built the splendid city of Batavia, continued to be, as it is at present, the seat of their principal settlement, and the centre of their power in India. They turned their eyes also towards the West: they established a colony, to which they gave the name of Nova Belgia, on Hudson's River, in North America; they annoyed the trade, and plundered the settlements of the Spaniards, in every part of the New World; and they made themselves masters of the important colony of Brazil, in South America. But this was not a permanent conquest. When the Portuguese had shaken off the Spanish yoke in Europe, they bore with impatience in America that of the Dutch: they rose against their oppressors; and, after a variety of struggles, obliged them finally to evacuate Brazil, in 1654. Since that era the Portuguese have continued in possession of this rich territory, the principal support of their declining monarchy, and the most valuable European settlement in America.

§ 391. The English East-India Company was established as early as the year 1600, and with a fair prospect of success. A fleet of five stout ships was fitted out the year following, under the command of Captain James Lancaster, who was favourably received by the king of Acheen, and other Indian princes, with whom he formed a commercial treaty, and arrived in the Downs, after a prosperous voyage of near two years. Other voyages were performed with equal advantage. But, notwithstanding these temporary encouragements, the English East-India Company had to struggle with many difficulties, and laboured under essential inconveniences. Their rivals, the Portuguese and Dutch, had harbours of which they were absolute masters; places of strength, which they had built, and secured by garrisons and regular fortifications; whole provinces, of which they had acquired possession either by force or fraud; whereas the English, at first, acted as mere traders. They were compelled, however, to protect their commerce, and erected forts, and established factories in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda. The Dutch were alarmed at these establishments. Having driven the Portuguese from the Spice Islands, they never meant to suffer any European nation to settle there; much less a people whose maritime force, government, and character, would make them dangerous rivals. They accordingly endeavoured to dispossess the English by every possible means. The Indian Ocean became the scene of

the most sanguinary conflicts, which were temporarily suspended by a treaty that gave satisfaction to neither party (1619). This treaty was first broken by the Dutch, and under the feeble rule of James I., and amid the civil wars in the reign of his son Charles, the English power in India declined.

§ 392. The English were more successful in establishing themselves, during this period, in North America and the West Indies. As early as the year 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian mariner, in the service of Henry VII., had discovered the island of Newfoundland, and sailed along the northern shore of the American continent, from the Gulf of St. Laurence to Cape Florida. But no advantage was taken of these discoveries before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth; when the bigotry and ambition of Philip II. roused the indignation of all the Protestant powers, but more especially of England, and incited many bold adventurers to commit hostilities against his subjects in the New World. The most distinguished of those was Sir Francis Drake, who passed with four ships into the South Sea, by the Straits of Magellan, took many rich prizes, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope (1580). His success awakened the avidity of new adventurers, and in 1584, owing to the representations of Sir Walter Raleigh, two ships were sent out. They took formal possession of the country now known by the name of North Carolina, to which Queen Elizabeth, in order to encourage the undertaking, gave the name of Virginia. This settlement, however, never arrived at any degree of prosperity, and was finally abandoned in 1588. In 1606 the project was revived, and a new colony of Virginia founded, which ultimately attained great prosperity. Numbers of the royalists took refuge here; and the neighbouring province, Maryland, was soon after founded for the same purpose by the English Roman Catholics (1632). The Nonconformists, in exactly the same manner, established the settlement of New Plymouth and the colony of New England. John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell are said to have repaired on board ship for the purpose of going into voluntary exile, when the royal proclamation (1635) compelled them to disembark.

§ 393. Besides these large colonies in North America, the English had established a colony at Surinam, on the coast of Guiana, in South America, and taken possession of

several of the West-India islands, early in the seventeenth century. Barbadoes and St. Christopher's were thriving colonies before the conquest of Jamaica; and England soon obtained the command of the sugar-trade of Europe. For the benefits of this, however, and of the colonial trade, England is ultimately indebted to the sagacity of the heads of the Commonwealth Parliament. They passed the famous Navigation Act, which prohibited all foreign ships, unless under particular exceptions, from entering the harbours of the English colonies, and obliged their principal produce to be exported directly to countries under the dominion of England. The Dutch had before monopolized the trade; but this salutary regulation gave an impetus to our commerce; and to all those settlements England thenceforth exported, without a rival, her various manufactures. Nor was her trade confined merely to America and the East and West Indies. Early in the sixteenth century she had opened a beneficial trade to Russia, by discovering a passage round the North Cape; and the ingenuity of her manufacturers, who now excelled the Flemings, to whom the greater part of her wool used formerly to be sold, insured her a market for her cloths in all the ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic. France was late in establishing any permanent colony. At this time Canada was only in its infancy; and the plantations in Martinico and Guadaloupe were very inconsiderable. Nor had her silk manufacture yet attained that high degree of perfection which afterwards rendered it so great a source of wealth. Spain continued to receive annually immense sums from the mines of Mexico and Peru. But as the decline of their manufactures obliged the Spaniards to depend upon foreigners for the supply of that demand, their wealth became the common property of Europe. The industrious manufacturer of every country had his share; and the conquerors of the New World found themselves dwindle into the factors of England and Holland. Such was the commercial state of Europe when Louis XIV. assumed the reins of government, and Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors. War continued to rage between the Spaniards and Portuguese; but, after an ambitious struggle of twenty-eight years, Spain was obliged to acknowledge the right of the family of Braganza to the crown of Portugal (1668). The rest of Europe was in peace.

CHAPTER III.

LETTER 12.—A General View of the Affairs of Europe, with a particular Account of those of England, from the Restoration of Charles II. to the Triple Alliance. A.D. 1660—1668. Vol. ii., pages 145—161.

§ 394. CHARLES was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne of his ancestors; and might have been supposed to be past the levities of youth and the intemperance of appetite. But being endowed with a strong constitution and a great flow of spirits, a manly figure and an engaging manner, animal love was still his predominant passion, and amusement his chief occupation. He was not, however, incapable of application to business, nor unacquainted with affairs either foreign or domestic; but having been accustomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers as a companion rather than a monarch, he loved to indulge, even after his restoration, in the pleasures of society as well as of unrestrained gallantry, and hated everything that interfered with these favourite avocations. The king himself, who appears to have been little under the influence of either moral or religious principles, conscious of his own irregularities, could easily forgive the deviations of others, and admit an excuse for any system of opinions. This accommodating character at first raised the highest idea of his judgment and impartiality. Without regard to former distinctions, he admitted into his council the most eminent men of all parties. Nor was he less impartial in the distribution of honours. Admiral Montague was not only created earl of Sandwich, and Monk duke of Albemarle, promotions that might have been expected; but Annesley was created earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley; and Denzil Holles, Lord Holles. His choice of ministers and public servants was also judicious. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was made lord chancellor. The marquis, created duke, of Ormond, less remarkable for his talents, than his courtly accomplishments, his honour, and his

fidelity, was constituted steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, a man of abilities and integrity, was appointed lord treasurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas and Mr. Morice, secretaries of state. The secretaries were both men of learning and virtue, but little acquainted with foreign affairs. These ministers entered into a free and open correspondence with the leading members of both houses; in consequence of which the *Convention* received the name of a parliament. All judicial decrees passed during the Commonwealth or Protectorship were affirmed; and an act of indemnity was passed, conformable to the king's declaration from Breda. In that declaration Charles had wisely referred all exceptions to the Parliament, which excluded such as had any immediate hand in the late king's death. Only six of the regicides, however, with four others, who had been abettors of their treason, were executed. The rest made their escape, were pardoned, or confined in different prisons. Lambert and Sir Harry Vane, though not immediately concerned in the late king's death, were also attainted. Lambert was pardoned, in consequence of his submission; but Vane, for his presumptuous behaviour during his trial, was executed. The same lenity was extended to Scotland; where only the marquis of Argyle, and one Guthry, a seditious preacher, were executed. Argyle's case was thought peculiarly hard; but as Guthry had personally insulted the king, as well as pursued a conduct subversive of all legal authority, his fate was lamented only by the wildest fanatics.

§ 395. Charles's government was at first remarkably mild and equitable, the only measure that excited any alarm being the Act of Uniformity. The new parliament summoned after the dissolution of the Convention, was essentially royalist (May 8, 1661). An act was immediately passed for the security of the king's person and government, containing many severe clauses; and as the bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from parliament, in consequence of a law passed by Charles I. immediately before the civil wars, that act was now repealed, and they were permitted to resume their seats in the House of Lords. But what showed the zeal of the Parliament for the church and monarchy, was the Act of Uniformity, and the repeal of the Triennial Act (1642). Instead of the exact stipulations of the latter, a general clause provided that parliaments should not to be interrupted above three years

at most. By the Act of Uniformity, it was required that every clergyman, capable of holding a benefice, should possess episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the Solemn League and Covenant, and renounce the principle of taking arms against the king, on any pretence whatsoever. The Presbyterian clergy refused to subscribe, and in one day about two thousand of them relinquished their cures (August 24, 1662). In the mean time the ejected clergymen were prosecuted with unrelenting rigour; severe laws being enacted, not only against conventicles, but against any non-conforming teacher coming within five miles of a corporation. The Presbyterians in Scotland did not experience more favour than their brethren in England. As Charles had made them no promises before his restoration, he resolved to pursue the absurd policy of his father and grandfather, of establishing episcopacy in that kingdom. He therefore replied to the earl of Lauderdale, when pressed to establish presbytery, that "it was not a religion for a gentleman!" and he could not agree to its continuance in Scotland. The consequences were such as might have been foreseen. A vast majority of the Scottish nation looked with horror upon the king and his ministers, and exposed themselves to the most severe persecutions rather than relinquish their form of worship.

§ 396. Certain political measures conspired with those of religion to diminish the popularity which the king had enjoyed at his restoration. His marriage with Katherine of Portugal, to which he was chiefly prompted by the largeness of her portion (May 21, 1662), was by no means agreeable to his subjects, who were desirous, above all things, of his marrying a Protestant princess. The sale of Dunkirk to France, in order to supply his prodigality, occasioned universal disgust (Oct. 17, 1662); and the Dutch war (1665) increased the public dissatisfaction. Indemnity was demanded of the Dutch for depredations on English traders in different parts of the world. These, however, had all taken place before the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed between England and the States. Several squadrons were fitted out, and the Dutch settlements attacked. John de Wit, who then wielded great power in Holland, sent De Ruyter with a strong fleet, and this brave sailor recovered most of the

English conquests on the coast of Africa. He even dispossessed them of some of their old settlements ; and sailing for America, insulted Barbadoes, committed hostilities on Long Island, and took a considerable number of ships. A declaration of war was the consequence of these mutual hostilities, and both sides prepared for the most vigorous exertions of their naval strength. The duke of York, the king's brother, took the command of the fleet, and immediately put to sea. A terrible engagement ensued off Harwich, which was continued for four hours with great obstinacy : at length Opdam's ship blew up ; and the Dutch, discouraged by the awful fate of their admiral and his gallant crew, fled towards the Texel. They lost nearly thirty ships, and their whole fleet might have been sunk or taken, had the English made a proper use of their victory. But unfortunately about midnight, orders were given to shorten sail, so that, at morning, no hopes of overtaking the enemy remained. And thus was neglected an opportunity of destroying the naval force of the Dutch, which never returned in this, or in any succeeding war. The English lost only one ship (June 3, 1665).

§ 397. The terrible plague which had broken out in St. Giles's, London, in April, and carried off nearly one hundred thousand persons in the capital alone, somewhat diminished the joy of the nation at this victory. France and Denmark supported the cause of the Dutch, and the war was renewed with great fury. An English fleet of sixty sail encountered a Dutch naval force of double that number, and an engagement, which extended over four days, took place. Both fleets were reinforced, yet the Dutch retained a manifest superiority in point of numbers, and in spite of the heroic efforts of the combatants, the battle remained undecided (June 1—4, 1666). But the English admirals were men of too high valour to be satisfied with less than victory. While they sent the disabled ships to different docks to be refitted, they remained on board their own. The entire fleet was soon ready to put to sea, and a new engagement was eagerly sought. Nor was it long denied them. De Ruyter and Tromp, with the Dutch fleet, consisting of about eighty sail, had posted themselves at the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of being joined by a French squadron, and of riding triumphant in the Channel. They were descried by the English fleet under Prince Rupert and Albemarle. The force on both sides was nearly equal. The Dutch bore towards the coast of Holland, but

were closely pursued. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English white squadron, attacked the Dutch van with irresistible fury, and killed the three admirals in command. Tromp engaged and defeated Sir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue; but unfortunately for his countrymen, by pursuing too eagerly, he was utterly separated from the Dutch centre, where his assistance was much wanted. Meanwhile De Ruyter, who occupied that dangerous station, maintained with equal conduct and courage the combat against the centre of the English fleet, commanded by Rupert and Albemarle. Overpowered by numbers, his high spirit was at last obliged to submit to a retreat, which he conducted with the greatest ability. Tromp too, after all his success, was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of the English red and blue squadrons (July 25 and 26). Though the loss sustained by the Dutch in this engagement was not very considerable, it occasioned great consternation among the Provinces. The English, absolute masters of the sea, rode in triumph along the coast, and insulted the Hollanders in their harbours. A squadron, under Sir Robert Holmes, entered the road of Vlie, and burnt two men-of-war and a hundred and forty rich merchantmen, together with the large village of Brandaris; the whole damage being computed at several millions sterling (1666).

§ 398. At one o'clock in the morning of Sunday, September 2, 1666, the great fire of London broke out, in a baker's shop near London-bridge. It had acquired much force before it was observed. The neighbouring houses were composed chiefly of wood; the weather had long been remarkably dry; the streets were narrow, and the wind blew violently from the east: so that the flames spread rapidly, till the whole city was in a blaze. Terror and consternation seized upon the distracted inhabitants. Three nights and three days did the flames rage with increasing fury; on the fourth day, the wind falling, the fire ceased in a manner as wonderful as it had commenced. Of twenty-six wards, into which the city was divided, fifteen were burnt down; four hundred streets and lanes, and thirteen thousand houses were destroyed. But this calamity, though severely felt at the time, contributed to the health, safety, and future convenience of the inhabitants of London, by the judicious method observed in constructing the new buildings; and, what is truly remarkable, it does not appear that, during the whole conflagration, one life was lost either

by fire or otherwise. In Scotland, the introduction of episcopacy led to a rebellion; but the insurrection was suppressed by the king's forces, at Pentland Hill (Nov. 27). A considerable number of prisoners were taken, and treated with great severity; ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors, in different parts of the country. Ireland was also in a very deplorable condition, but by mutual concessions tranquillity was in a great measure restored, when an impolitic act passed by the English Parliament, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England, threatened to revive agitation. The king finding the measure unpopular, refused to give his assent. He was, however, induced to alter his determination; and this severe law brought great distress upon Ireland for a time; but it has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom, and hurtful to England, by obliging the Irish to apply with more industry to manufactures, and to cultivate a commercial correspondence with France.

§ 399. These grievances and discontents in all the three kingdoms, and the little success in a war from which the greatest advantages were expected, induced the king to turn his thoughts towards peace. The Dutch, whose trade had suffered extremely, were no less disposed to such a measure; and after some ineffectual conferences, held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, it was agreed to transfer the negotiations to Breda. De Wit protracted the negotiations, and hastened the naval preparations of Holland. The Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, took possession of the mouth of the Thames; while a squadron commanded by Van Ghent, assisted by an east wind and a spring tide, after reducing Sheerness, broke a chain which had been drawn across the river Medway, and destroyed three ships stationed to guard it; advanced as far as Chatham, and burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all first-rates, and carried off the hull of the Royal Charles (June 11, 1667). The destruction of the ships at Chatham threw the city of London into the utmost consternation. It was apprehended the Dutch would next sail up the Thames, and that they might carry their hostilities even as far as London-bridge. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, five at Blackwall; platforms were built in many places, furnished with artillery; the country was armed, and the train-bands of the city were called out. These precautions, and the difficult navigation of the Thames, induced De Ruyter to steer to the

westward. He made a fruitless attempt upon Portsmouth, and also on Plymouth; he returned to the mouth of the Thames, where he was not more successful; but he rode triumphant in the Channel for several weeks, and spread universal alarm along the coast. These fears, however, were dispelled by the signing of the treaty at Breda. In order to facilitate that measure, so necessary in his present distressed situation, Charles had instructed his ambassadors to recede from those demands which had hitherto obstructed the negotiation. No mention was now made of the restitution of the island of Poleron, in the East Indies, formerly insisted upon; nor was any satisfaction required for those depredations, which had been assigned as the cause of the war. England, however, retained possession of New York; and the English settlement of Surinam, which had been reduced by the Dutch, was ceded to the republic (July 10, 1667). In consequence of this peace, the improvidence of the government, and his prodigality, Charles became unpopular, and he at once resolved to sacrifice his minister, in order if possible to save his own credit. The earl of Clarendon was regarded as the author of every obnoxious measure introduced under the reign of Charles. The king's marriage, in which he had merely acquiesced; the sale of Dunkirk, to which he had only given his assent, as one of the council; the Dutch war, which he had opposed; and all the persecuting laws against the different sectaries, were universally ascribed to him. This great minister was first impeached; and as this failed, he withdrew to France (Nov. 30), and was then formally banished (Dec. 19).

§ 400. Louis XIV. had assumed the reins of government in France nearly at the same time that Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors. He possessed many qualities that rendered him popular, and seemed resolved to raise France amongst European nations. Colbert, an able and active minister, had put the finances into excellent order; enormous sums were raised for the public service; a navy was created, and a great standing army supported, without being felt by that populous and extensive kingdom. Louis at once began to act in a very arrogant manner; demanded precedence for his ambassador at London over the representative of Spain, and refused to pay the honours of the flag. Though by the treaty of the Pyrenees, he had solemnly renounced all title to the succession of any part of the Spanish dominions, which might occur

in consequence of his marriage with the infanta Maria Theresa, he had still kept in view, as a favourite object, the eventual succession to the whole of that monarchy; and on the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. (1665), he retracted his renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and succession, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles II. of Spain, a sickly infant, whose death was daily expected; but as the queen of France was the offspring of a previous marriage, Louis laid claim to the Spanish Netherlands (1667), and entered Flanders at the head of forty thousand men. Turenne commanded under him; and Louvois, his minister for military affairs, had placed large magazines in all their frontier towns. The Spaniards, though apprized of their danger, were in no condition to resist such a force. Charleroy, Aeth, Tournay, Furnes, Armentieres, Courtray, and Douay, immediately surrendered; and Lisle, though well fortified, and furnished with a garrison of six thousand men, capitulated after a siege of nine days. Louvois advised the king to leave garrisons in all these towns, and the celebrated Vauban was employed to fortify them.

§ 401. A progress so rapid filled Europe with terror and consternation, and while people were debating on the danger, Charles resolved to act. Sir William Temple was ordered to repair to the Hague; and by his exertions a defensive alliance was concluded between Holland and England (Jan. 13, 1668), to which Sweden soon after acceded. This was the famous Triple alliance, which at once raised Charles in general estimation. France and Spain were equally displeased at the terms of this treaty. At length, however, both agreed to treat, and the plenipotentiaries of all the parties met at Aix-la-Chapelle, when peace was concluded (May 2, 1668). Other circumstances seemed to combine to insure the balance of Europe. After a ruinous war of almost thirty years, carried on by Spain, in order to recover the sovereignty of Portugal, and attended with various success, an equitable treaty was at last concluded between the two crowns; in consequence of which the independence of Portugal was acknowledged. This was framed through the mediation of England, and was called the treaty of Lisbon (Feb. 13, 1668). The bold ambition of Louis XIV., aided by the pernicious policy of our faithless Charles II., threatened Europe with even greater dangers than those which were for a time averted by the Triple alliance.

LETTER 13.—The General View of the Affairs of Europe continued, from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Peace of Nimeguen. A.D. 1668—1678. Vol. ii., pages 161—183.

§ 402. Louis XIV. was highly incensed at the republic of Holland, but other matters for a time diverted his attention from that quarter. The Turks, after a long interval of inaction, had again become formidable to Europe. The grand vizier, Kupruli, who at once directed the counsels and conducted the armies of the Porte, had entered Hungary at the head of a hundred thousand men, in 1664; and although he was defeated in a great battle, near St. Gotthard upon the Raab (August 1), by the imperial troops, under the famous Montecuccoli, the Turks obtained a favourable peace, called the peace of Temeswar, from Leopold, who was threatened with a revolt from the Hungarians. The Hungarian nobles, whose privileges had been invaded by the emperor, flew to arms, and even craved the assistance of the Turks, their old and irreconcilable enemies. The rebels were quickly subdued by the vigour of Leopold. In the mean time Kupruli turned the arms of the Porte against the Venetians; and an army of sixty thousand Janisaries, under that able and experienced general, besieged Candia for upwards of two years. Though this island was reputed one of the chief bulwarks of Christendom against the infidels, no general confederacy had been formed for its defence. The pope and the Knights of Malta were the only allies of the Venetians, against the whole naval and military force of the Ottoman empire. At length, however, Louis XIV., whose love of glory had made him assist the emperor against the Turks even in Hungary, sent a fleet from Toulon to the relief of Candia, with seven thousand men on board, under the duke of Beaufort. But as no other Christian prince imitated his example, these succours served only to retard the conquest of that important island. The duke of Beaufort was slain in a sally; and the capital being reduced to a heap of ruins, surrendered to Kupruli (Sept. 6, 1669). These distant operations did not for a moment divert the attention of Louis from his favourite project, the conquest of the Low Countries, which he meant to resume, with the invasion of Holland. But, in order to render that project successful, it seemed necessary to detach England from the Triple alliance.

§ 403. George Monk, duke of Albemarle, died (Jan. 4,

1670), just after the exile of Clarendon, when Charles's counsels were wholly directed by five persons, commonly denominated the CABAL, in allusion to the initial letters of their names: Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale: all men of ability, but destitute of either public or private virtues. By the counsels of two of these men, Clifford and Arlington, both secretly Roman Catholics, in conjunction with those of the duke of York, a secret treaty with France was concluded at Paris; in which it was agreed, not only that Charles should co-operate in the conquest of the Low Countries, and in the destruction of Holland, but that he should propagate, to the utmost of his power, the Roman Catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly declare himself a convert to that religion. In consideration of this last article, he was to receive from Louis the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and a body of troops, in case the change of his religion should occasion a rebellion in England; and, by another article, a large annual subsidy was to be paid him, in order to enable him to carry on the war without the assistance of parliament. During these negotiations, Charles had been visited by his sister, the duchess of Orleans, who died suddenly soon after her return to Paris (June 30, 1670). Amongst her attendants, she brought over to England a beautiful young lady of the name of Querouaille, with whom the fickle monarch was enchanted, and he created her duchess of Portsmouth. Satisfied with this treaty, Louis immediately gave orders for the invasion of Lorraine, as the first step towards an aggression upon Holland. Charles II., though under no apprehensions from the ambition of the French monarch, took advantage of the general terror, in order to demand a large supply from his parliament. He informed the two houses, by the mouth of the Lord-keeper Bridgeman, that both France and Holland were arming by sea and land, and that prudence dictated similar preparations to England. He urged, besides, the necessity he was under, in consequence of the engagements into which he had entered by the Triple alliance, of maintaining a respectable fleet and army, in order to enable him to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. Deceived by these representations, the Commons voted a supply of nearly three millions sterling; the largest that had been granted to a king of England, and surely for the most detestable purpose that ever an abused people voluntarily aided their prince. This money was soon spent, and

as Charles dared not again apply to his parliament, he had recourse to the desperate and unconstitutional expedient of closing the Exchequer, and stopping the repayment of loans and deposits (January 12, 1672). The shutting of the Exchequer occasioned universal consternation, and even ruin in the city: the bankers failed, the merchants could not answer their bills, and a total stagnation of commerce was the consequence. The king and his ministers, however, seemed to enjoy the general confusion and distress. Charles cared but little for this, and even before the declaration of war, an insidious and unsuccessful attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet, valued at two millions sterling, by an English squadron under Sir Robert Holmes. Charles had the infamy of violating the faith of treaties, without obtaining such advantage as could justify the measure on the principles of political prudence (March 14, 1672).

§ 404. War was declared against Holland by both France and England (March 17): a treaty had been entered into between the two last-mentioned powers (Feb. 12, 1672). Europe had not beheld such a naval and military force, or so extensive a confederacy, since the league of Cambray, as was formed for the destruction of the republic of Holland. Sweden, as well as England, was detached from the Triple league, by the intrigues of Louis, in order to be a check upon the emperor. The bishop of Munster, a warlike and rapacious prelate, was engaged by the payment of subsidies and the hopes of plunder to take part with France. The elector of Cologne had also agreed to act offensively against the States; and having consigned Bonn and other towns into the hands of Louis, magazines were erected there, and it was proposed to invade the United Provinces from that quarter. The combined fleet of France and England, amounting to upwards of one hundred sail, was ready to ravage their coasts; and a French army of a hundred and twenty thousand choice troops, commanded by the ablest generals of the age, was preparing to enter their frontiers. The Dutch were in no condition to resist such a force, especially by land. The security procured by the peace of Westphalia; the general tranquillity, in consequence of that treaty; the subsequent connection of the States with France; the growing spirit of commerce; and even their wars with England, had made them neglect their military establishments, and direct all their attention to the navy. De Wit on this account lost his influence with the States, and their

young prince, William III., now twenty-three years of age, began to rise in popular esteem. His behaviour was extremely suitable to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and silent, even in youth; ready to hear, and given to inquire; destitute of brilliant talents, but of a sound and steady understanding; greatly intent on business, little inclined to pleasure, he strongly engaged the hearts of all men. William was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of seventy thousand men. De Ruyter, his firm adherent, and the greatest naval officer of his age, put to sea with ninety-one men-of-war, and forty-four frigates and fire-ships, and sailed in quest of the enemy.

§ 405. Before war had been declared, an English squadron attacked a Dutch fleet returning from Smyrna (March 14, 1672), and, although the attempt miscarried, the Dutch longed to avenge this breach of faith. They fell in with the French and English fleets in Southwold or Solebay; a furious engagement ensued, and on the second day De Ruyter fled, and was pursued by the duke to the coast of Holland (May 28). As the English hung close on his rear, fifteen of his disabled ships were only saved by a sudden fog, which prevented all further consequences. The French had scarcely any share in this action; and as backwardness is not their national characteristic, it was universally believed that they had received orders to keep at a distance, while the English and Dutch were weakening each other: an opinion which was confirmed by all the subsequent engagements during the war. It was certainly honourable for the Dutch to have fought, with so little loss, the combined fleet of France and England; but nothing less than a complete victory, and not perhaps even that, could have preserved the credit of De Wit, or prevented the execution of those schemes which were formed for the ruin of his country.

§ 406. The king of France having divided his army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, into three bodies, put them all in motion about the beginning of May. The first he headed in person, assisted by the famous Turenne; the prince of Condé led the second; and Chamilli and Luxemburg commanded the third. The armies of the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster appeared

on the other side of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. Too weak to defend their extensive frontier, the Dutch troops were scattered into so many towns, that no considerable body appeared in the field; and yet a strong garrison was scarcely to be found in any fortress. Orsoy, Wesel, Rhinberg, and Burick, were taken almost as soon as invested, by the French generals. Groll surrendered to the bishop of Munster; and Louis XIV., to the universal consternation of the Hollanders, advanced to the banks of the Rhine. The passage was speedily effected, and Holland overrun by his formidable forces. Louis entered Utrecht in triumph, surrounded by a splendid court, and followed by a gallant army, and in this place he wasted in vain parade the proper season for completing his conquest. The inhabitants of the States attributed all their misfortunes to De Wit. They sent ambassadors to Louis, but their offers being rejected, William, prince of Holland, was declared stadtholder. Still further enraged against De Wit, who nobly stood by his brother Cornelius, falsely accused of endeavouring to assassinate the prince of Orange, the populace rose against them and tore them in pieces (1672).

§ 407. William of Orange animated his countrymen to a determined resistance. By his advice they rejected the humiliating terms offered by Louis, and resolved, in case of defeat, to retire to their settlements in the East Indies, to erect a new empire in the south of Asia, and preserve that liberty of which Europe was unworthy. They had already concerted measures for executing this extraordinary resolution, and found that the ships in their harbours adequate to such a voyage, were capable of carrying fifty thousand families, or about two hundred thousand persons. No sooner did the confederate kings perceive the new spirit with which the Dutch were animated, than they bent all their efforts to corrupt the prince of Orange. They offered him the sovereignty of the province of Holland, to be held under the protection of France and England, and secured against the invasion of foreign enemies, as well as the revolt of his own subjects. William, from motives of prudence, if not patriotism, rejected all such proposals. Charles II., however, persisted in his alliance with France, but reinforcements which had been sent to the coast of Holland, were prevented from landing in so extraordinary a manner that it was looked upon as an interposition of Providence in favour of the Dutch, and Louis finding that his enemies

gained courage behind their inundations, and that no further progress was likely to be made by his arms during the campaign, retired to Versailles, in order to enjoy the glory of his success, which was pompously displayed in poems, orations, and triumphal arches. Meanwhile the other states of Europe began to discover a jealousy of the power of France. The emperor, though naturally slow, had put himself in motion; the elector of Brandenburg showed a disposition to support the States; the king of Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and, by the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began to appear (1673).

§ 408. The Dutch relied firmly for relief upon the English Parliament, which the king's necessities obliged him at last to convene (Feb. 5, 1673). But that assembly was too much occupied with domestic grievances, to have leisure to attend to foreign politics. Charles, among his other arbitrary measures, had issued a general declaration of indulgence in religious matters, by which the Roman Catholics were placed on the same footing with the Protestant sectaries. A remonstrance was framed against such an exercise of prerogative: the king defended his measure, and the hopes and fears of all men were suspended in regard to the issue of so extraordinary an affair. Although encouraged by his ministers to proceed, Charles was startled when he approached the dangerous precipice; and the same love of ease which had led him to desire arbitrary power, induced him to retract the declaration of indulgence, when he saw how much hazard and difficulty there would be in maintaining it. He accordingly called for the writing, and broke the seals with his own hand (March 8, 1673). The Parliament passed an act called the Test (March 29); by which all persons holding any public office, besides taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and receiving the sacrament, according to the rites of the Church of England, were obliged to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation. Even to this bill the king gave his assent; and the Parliament, in recompense for these concessions, granted him a considerable supply for his *extraordinary occasions*, as they expressed themselves, disdaining to mention a war which they abhorred. With the money granted by Parliament, he was enabled to equip a fleet, the command of which was given to Prince Rupert, the duke of York being set aside

by the Test. A French squadron joined them, and the combined fleet sailed towards the coast of Holland, where three indecisive battles were fought with the Dutch, under De Ruyter and Van Tromp (May 28, June 4, Aug. 11, 1673). The last was remarkable on account of its obstinacy. The victory, as usual, was claimed by both sides. While the Dutch thus continued to defend themselves with vigour by sea, fortune was still more favourable to them by land. Though the French monarch took Maestricht, one of their strongest bulwarks, after a siege of thirteen days, no other advantage was obtained during the campaign. Naerden was retaken by the prince of Orange; and the imperialists, under Montecuccoli, after having in vain attempted against Turenne the passage of the Rhine, eluded the vigilance of that able general, and sat down suddenly before Bonn. The prince of Orange, by conduct no less masterly, leaving behind him the other French generals, joined his army to that of the emperor. Bonn surrendered, after a short siege. The greater part of the electorate of Cologne was subdued by the Dutch and Germans; and the communication between France and the United Provinces being by that means cut off, Louis was obliged to recall his forces, and abandon his conquests with the utmost precipitation. A congress held at Cologne under the mediation of Sweden, was attended with no success, and after the retreat of the French its members separated. The king of Spain joined the emperor and the other allies of Holland, and prepared to defend the Dutch against England and France (1673).

§ 409. On the meeting of the English Parliament, the Commons evinced such symptoms of discontent at the late measures of government, that the king, perceiving he could expect no supply for carrying on the war, asked their advice in regard to peace. Both houses thanked him for his condescension, and unanimously concurred in recommending a negotiation. Peace was accordingly concluded with Holland. The conditions, though little advantageous, were by no means degrading to England. The honour of the flag was relinquished by the Dutch; all possessions were mutually restored; new regulations of trade were made, and the republic agreed to pay the king nearly three hundred thousand pounds towards reimbursing the expenses of the war. Charles bound himself to the States, by a secret article, not to allow the English troops in the French service to be recruited, but would not agree to recall them.

They amounted to ten thousand men, and had greatly contributed to the rapid success of Louis (Feb. 28, 1674). Charles then apologized to Louis for the step he had taken, and offered to act the part of mediator between the belligerents. The offer was accepted by Louis, and Sir William Temple appointed ambassador to the States. This distinguished diplomatist found that he could not at once induce the various powers engaged in the strife to lay aside their arms. Spain had an eye to Flanders, the emperor to Alsace, and the Dutch were not inclined to negotiate. Under these circumstances Louis XIV. astonished all Europe by the vigour of his exertions. He had three large armies in the field during the summer: one on the side of Germany, one in Flanders, and one on the frontiers of Roussillon; and he himself, at the head of a fourth, entered Franche Comté, and subdued the whole province in six weeks. Vauban directed the attacks at Besançon, which was reduced in nine days, and became the capital of the province. Nothing of importance happened in Roussillon; but in Flanders, the prince of Condé prevented the prince of Orange from entering France by that quarter; and attacked the rear of the confederates in a narrow defile near Seneffe, a village between Marimont and Nivelles; threw them into confusion, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The prince of Orange, however, rallied his disordered forces, and the engagement was several times renewed. Darkness at last put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided (Aug. 1, 1674). Twelve thousand men lay dead on the field, and the loss on both sides was nearly equal. In order to give an air of superiority to the allies, and to bring the French to a new engagement, the prince of Orange besieged Oudenarde; but Souches, the imperial general, not being willing to hazard a battle, he was obliged to relinquish his enterprise, on the approach of Condé. Before the close of the campaign, however, after an obstinate siege, he took Grave, the last town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces. At the same time Turenne routed the imperialists on the German frontier, and fully maintained his lofty reputation.

§ 410. Charles was pleased at these triumphs of the French, and further prorogued the Parliament till the next April. Louis, notwithstanding his success, was alarmed at the number of his enemies; and not content with purchasing the neutrality of England, he endeavoured, though

in vain, to négotiate a peace with Holland. The events of the next campaign showed that his fears were well founded. Though he made vast preparations, and entered Flanders with a numerous army, commanded by himself and the prince of Condé, he was able to gain no advantage of any consequence over the prince of Orange, who opposed him in all his motions. Neither party was willing, without some peculiarly favourable circumstance, to hazard a general engagement, which might be attended with the utter loss of Flanders, if victory declared for the French, and with the invasion of France if the king should be defeated. Disgusted at his want of success, Louis returned to Versailles about the end of July, and nothing memorable happened in the Low Countries during the campaign. Turenne was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Salzbach (July 27, 1675); whereupon the French army was seized with a panic and at once retreated. Leaving the army in Flanders, under the command of Luxemburg, the prince of Condé came with a reinforcement to supply the place of Turenne; and though not, perhaps, in all respects, equal to that consummate general, he not only prevented the Germans from establishing themselves in Alsace, but obliged them to repossess the Rhine, and take up winter quarters in their own country. Previous to his arrival, the Germans had besieged and captured Treves. In this crisis Charles II. might have secured peace to Europe and put an effectual restraint upon the ambition of the French, but he contented himself with accepting an annual pension from Louis and entering into secret engagements not to oppose his designs (1676).

§ 411. Thus secure of the neutrality of England, Louis made vigorous preparations for carrying on the war in Flanders. He laid siege to Condé in the month of April, and took it by storm. Bouchain fell into his hands by the middle of May; the prince of Orange, who was ill supported by his allies, not daring to attempt its relief, on account of the advantageous position of the French army. After facing each other for some time, the two armies withdrew to a greater distance, as if by mutual consent, neither choosing to hazard an engagement. The king of France, with his usual avidity for praise, and want of perseverance, returned to Versailles, leaving the command of his army to Marshal Schomberg; and the prince of Orange, on the departure of Louis, laid siege to Maestricht. The trenches were opened towards the end of July, and many desperate

assaults made, and several outworks taken; but all without effect. The place maintained a gallant defence; sickness broke out in the confederate army; and on the approach of Schomberg, who had already taken Aire, the prince of Orange was obliged to abandon his enterprise. The taking of Philipsburg by the imperialists was the sole success that attended the arms of the allies during the campaign. Nor was France less successful by sea. Messina, in Sicily, had revolted from Spain; and a French fleet, under the duke of Vivonne, was sent to support the citizens in their rebellion. A Dutch and Spanish squadron sailed to oppose Vivonne; but, after an obstinate combat, Messina was relieved by the French. Another engagement ensued near Augusta, rendered famous by the death of the gallant De Ruyter, and in which the French had also the advantage. A third battle, more decisive than any of the former, was fought off Palermo. The combined fleet, to the number of twenty-seven ships of the line, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ships, was drawn up in a line without the mole, and under cover of the fortifications. The battle was sustained with great vigour on both sides; until the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent some fire-ships in among the enemy. All was now confusion and terror. Twelve capital ships were sunk, burnt, or taken; five thousand men lost their lives; and the French, riding undisputed masters of the Mediterranean, endangered the total revolt of Naples and Sicily (1676).

§ 412. The congress opened at Nimeguen (1675) had produced no definite results, and although some of the belligerents were anxious for peace, others were interested in the prosecution of the war. The eyes of all parties were turned towards England. Charles II. was universally allowed to be the arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace prescribed by him would have been refused by any of the contending powers. Parliament met (Feb. 15, 1677), and the Commons contented themselves with urging Charles to oppose Louis, promising their support. In the mean time, Louis had once more taken the field. He besieged Valenciennes; and by the judicious advice of Vauban, who recommended an assault to be made in the morning, when it would be least expected, in preference to the night, the usual time for such attempts, the place was carried by surprise. Cambray surrendered after a short siege; and St. Omer was closely invested, when the prince of Orange,

with an army hastily assembled, marched to its relief. The siege was covered by the dukes of Orleans and Luxemburg; and as the prince was determined to endeavour to raise it, be the consequences what they might, an obstinate battle was fought at Mont Cassel (April 11, 1677); where, by a superior movement of Luxemburg, William was defeated, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, and obliged to retire to Ypres. His behaviour was gallant, and his retreat masterly; but St. Omer submitted to the arms of France. Alarmed at this success, the English Parliament presented an address to the king praying that he would interfere, and offering to vote supplies in case of a war with France. Pretending resentment at this address, as an encroachment upon his prerogative, Charles II. of England made an angry speech to the Commons, and ordered the Parliament to be adjourned.

§ 413. In Spain, Don John of Austria took up arms against the queen-regent, and induced Charles II. of Spain to confine her in a convent. Thus domestic troubles were added to the many perils with which this kingdom was threatened. The French arms were for the most part successful, and at last honest negotiations were commenced between France and the States-general of the United Provinces, and a treaty was actually concluded, by which all differences were adjusted, and nothing was wanting to the restoration of peace, but the concurrence of their respective allies. The misfortunes of the confederates, and the supine indifference of England, seemed to render peace necessary. But had they been sufficiently acquainted with the state of France, they would have had fewer apprehensions from the continuance of the war. Though victorious in the field, she was exhausted at home. The successes which had rendered her the terror of her neighbours, had already deprived her, for a time, of the power of hurting them. But the ignorance of mankind continued their fears; the apprehensions of Europe remained; and Louis XIV. derived more glory from his imaginary than from his real force. Finding that the Romanist tendencies of his brother, the duke of York, disgusted the nation, Charles II. of England made an effort to gain confidence, by offering to secure the Protestant succession, by a marriage between his brother's eldest daughter and the prince of Orange. William came over to England at the close of the campaign, and acted a part highly deserving of applause, whether it be examined by the rules of prudence

or delicacy. He would not enter upon business before he had been introduced to the Lady Mary; and, after the introduction had taken place, refused to concert any measures for the general peace, until his marriage should be concluded. Charles, who affected to smile at these punctilios, persisted in his resolution of making the peace precede the marriage; but finding the prince inflexible, he at last consented to the nuptials, which were celebrated at St. James's, to the inexpressible joy of the nation (Nov. 4, 1677). This matrimonial alliance gave great alarm to the king of France. A junction of England with the confederates, he concluded, would be the immediate consequence of so important a step, taken not only without his consent, but without his knowledge or participation. Consultations were held relative to a general peace; and the earl of Feversham was despatched to France with conditions sufficiently favourable to the allies, and yet not dishonourable to Louis.

§ 414. Some delay ensued in the negotiations, and the French monarch having taken the field early, made himself master of Ghent and Ypres (1678). These conquests, which completed the triumph of France, filled the Dutch with terror, and the English with indignation. But Louis managed matters so artfully in both nations, that neither proved a bar in the way of his ambition. So great, however, was the ardour of the people of England for war, that both the king and Parliament were obliged to give way. An army of twenty thousand men was, to the astonishment of Europe, raised in a few weeks; and part of it was sent over, under the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. Meanwhile, Charles, in consideration of the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, secretly engaged to disband his army, and to permit Louis to make his own terms with the confederates; and the Commons also, swayed by French influence, but ignorant of the king's engagements, and ever desirous to thwart his measures, voted that the army should be disbanded. Negotiations for a general peace advanced toward a conclusion at Nimeguen; and as the emperor and Spain, though least able to continue the war, seemed resolved to stand out, Van Beverning, the Dutch ambassador, more prudently than honourably signed a separate treaty with France (Aug. 10, 1678). That treaty, which occasioned much clamour among the confederates, was ratified by the States; and all the other powers were at last obliged

to accept the terms prescribed by the French monarch. The principal terms were, that Louis, beside Franche Comté, which he had twice conquered, should retain possession of Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchain, Cassel, Charlemont, and other places; that he should restore Maestricht to the States; that Spain should be again put in possession of Charleroy, Oudenarde, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg; that the emperor should give up Freiburg to France, and retain Philipsburg; that the elector of Brandenburg should restore to Sweden his conquests in Pomerania, and that the treaty of Westphalia should remain in full force over Germany and the North. The prince of Orange was so much enraged at this peace, that he took a very unwarrantable step to break it. He attacked the quarters of the duke of Luxemburg at St. Denis, near Mons, after the treaty was signed, and when the duke reposed on the faith of it, in hopes of cutting off the whole French army. But he gained no decided advantage; and this bold violation of the laws of humanity, if not of those of nations, was attended with no other consequence than the loss of many lives on both sides. The king of England also, disgusted with Louis, and ashamed of having been so long the tool of a monarch to whose ambition he might have given law, endeavoured to persuade the States to disavow their ambassador, and refuse to ratify the peace. But the Dutch had made too good terms for themselves to think of immediately renewing the war; and Charles, though denied the stipulated bribe for his ignominious neutrality, soon returned to his former connections with France.

LETTER 14.—England, from the Popish Plot of 1678 to the Death of Charles II.; with a Retrospective View of the Affairs of Scotland. A.D. 1666—1685. Vol. ii., pages 183—200.

§ 415. Soon after the suppression of the insurrection in the west of Scotland, in 1666, and the severe punishment of the fanatical insurgents, the king was advised to try milder methods for bringing the people over to episcopacy. With this view, he intrusted the government to the earl of Tweeddale and Sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. In order to compose the religious differences, which still ran high, these ministers adopted a scheme of "comprehension;" by which it was proposed to diminish the authority of the bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more

than the right of precedency among the presbyters (1668). This plan of settlement was, however, rejected, and the king's ministers adopted that of *indulgence*. In the prosecution of this new scheme, they proceeded with great temper and judgment. Some of the most enlightened of the Presbyterian teachers were settled in vacant churches, without being obliged to conform to the established religion; and salaries of twenty pounds a year were offered to the rest, till they should be otherwise provided for, on condition that they behaved themselves with decency and moderation. This offer was universally rejected, as the king's bribe for silence; and those teachers who were settled in the vacant churches soon found their popularity decline, when they delivered only the simple doctrines of Christianity. By ceasing to rail against the church and state, called *preaching to the times*, they got the name of *dumb dogs*, who were supposed to be afraid to bark. The churches were again deserted, for the more vehement and inflammatory discourses of the field; preachers and conventicles multiplied daily in the west; where the people, as formerly, came armed to their places of worship. Lauderdale was appointed commissioner to the Scotch Parliament; and the authority of the king completely established. A severe act against conventicles followed (April 11, 1670). Ruinous fines were imposed on the Presbyterians, who met to worship in houses; and field-preachers and their hearers were to be punished with death. The people, however, persevered in defiance of these enactments, and Lauderdale attempted to quarter the Highland militia on the lands of some Lowland gentlemen, who resisted his arbitrary measures. The council forbade, under severe penalties, all noblemen and gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom. In spite of this, some of them laid their complaints before Charles, who pretended to sympathize with them, although he did not take steps to remedy their grievances. Lauderdale ordered the Highlanders home, and summoned a convention of estates at Edinburgh, which assembly voted an address approving of his government. At this juncture, the rumour of a popish plot threw the nation into a panic.

§ 416. The chief actor in this horrid imposture, which occasioned the loss of much innocent blood, was a needy adventurer, named Titus Oates. Being bred to the church, he obtained a small living, which he was obliged to abandon on

account of a prosecution for perjury. In his necessity, he came to London, where he got acquainted with Dr. Tongue, a city divine, who for some time fed and clothed him. By his advice, Oates, whom he found to be a bold impudent fellow, agreed to reconcile himself to the Romish communion, in order to discover the designs of the Roman Catholics connected with the English court; to go beyond sea, and to enter into the society of the Jesuits. All these directions Oates implicitly followed. He became a Papist; visited different parts of France and Spain; resided some time in a seminary of Jesuits at St. Omers; but was at last dismissed on account of bad behaviour, by that politic body, who never seem to have trusted him with any of their secrets. Oates, however, setting his wicked imagination to work, in order to supply the want of materials, returned to England burning with resentment against the Jesuits, and with a full resolution of forming the story of a popish plot. This he accomplished in conjunction with his patron Dr. Tongue; and one Kirby, a chemist, and Tongue's friend, was employed to communicate the intelligence to the king. Charles made light of the matter, but desired to see Dr. Tongue; who delivered into his hands a narrative, consisting of forty-three articles of a conspiracy to murder his majesty, to subvert the government, and to re-establish the Roman Catholic faith in England. The king felt inclined to discredit the affair, but referred the matter to the lord-treasurer, Danby, who treated the information more seriously than it deserved, and summoned a council to investigate the supposed plot. The substance of Oates's evidence was, that he had been privy, both at home and abroad, to many consultations among the Jesuits for the assassination of Charles II., who, they said, had deceived them; that Grove and Pickering, the one an ordained Jesuit, the other a lay brother, were at first appointed to shoot the king, but that it had afterwards been resolved to take him off by poison, by bribing Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and a Papist: that many Jesuits had gone into Scotland, in disguise, to distract the government of that kingdom, by preaching sedition in the field conventicles; that he himself had assisted at a consultation of Jesuits in London, where it was resolved to despatch the king by the dagger, by shooting, or by poison; and that, when he was busy in collecting evidence for a full discovery, he was suspected, and obliged to separate

himself from them, in order to save his own life. Sir George Wakeman and several Jesuits were arrested, and the kingdom thrown into a terrible state of alarm (1678).

§ 417. The ferment would probably have soon subsided, had not the seizure of Coleman's papers led to some strange misconceptions. This man had been secretary to the duchess of York, and carried on an extensive correspondence with Roman Catholics abroad. As Coleman was a weak man, and a wild enthusiast in the Romish faith, he had insinuated many extraordinary things to his correspondents, in a mysterious language, concerning the conversion of three British kingdoms, and the total ruin of the Protestant religion, which he termed pestilent heresy. He founded his hopes on the zeal of the duke of York, and spoke in obscure terms of aid from abroad, for the accomplishment of what he denominated a "glorious work." These indefinite expressions, together with the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who had taken the deposition of Oates relative to his first narrative, seemed to favour the idea of a plot. He was found dead in a ditch near Primrose Hill, between London and Hampstead, with his sword thrust through his body, his money in his pocket, and his rings on his fingers (Oct. 17, 1678). From these last circumstances it was inferred that his death had not been the act of robbers: it was therefore universally ascribed to the resentment of the Roman Catholics; though it appears that he had always lived on a good footing with that sect, and was even intimate with Coleman at the time that he took Oates's evidence. The dead body of Godfrey was exposed to view for two whole days; the people crowded around it in multitudes. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp and parade; the corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city; seventy-two clergymen walked before, and above a thousand persons of distinction brought up the rear of the procession. To deny the reality of the plot, was now to be reputed an accomplice; to hesitate was criminal. Invasions from abroad, insurrections at home, conflagrations, and even poisonings, were apprehended. Men looked with wild anxiety at one another, as if every interview were to be the last.

§ 418. During this national ferment, Parliament was assembled, and Danby opened the story of the plot to the House of Peers. Charles was extremely displeased at this,

and even Danby lived to repent the step. The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from the upper to the lower house. The authority of Parliament gave sanction to that fury with which the people were already animated. The Commons voted an address for a solemn fast, and a form of prayer was framed for that occasion. Oates was brought before them, and made a bolder publication of his narrative at the bar of the house, adding many new and extraordinary circumstances. The most remarkable of these were, that the pope having resumed the sovereignty of England, on account of the heresy of prince and people, had thought proper to delegate the supreme power to the society of Jesuits; and that Oliva, general of that order, in consequence of the papal grant, had supplied all the principal offices, both civil and military, with Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, many of whom he named. On this ridiculous evidence, the earl of Powis, with the lords Stafford, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasis, were committed to the Tower, and soon after impeached for high treason; and both houses voted, without one dissenting voice, "that there has been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by Papists, for murdering the king, subverting the government, and destroying the Protestant religion!" (Oct. 31, 1678). Informers sprang up on all sides, and many Roman Catholics were brought to trial and executed. A new test was introduced by Parliament, and Oates was rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year; guards were appointed for his protection; men of the first rank courted his company; and he was called the saviour of the nation. The employment of an informer became honourable; and, besides those wretches who appeared in support of Oates's evidence, a man high in office assumed that character.

§ 419. Montague, the English ambassador at Paris, who had been deeply concerned in the money negotiations between Charles and Louis, was bribed by the latter to disgrace the king and ruin his minister. Danby gained some intimation of the intrigue, and he ordered Montague's papers to be seized; but this experienced diplomatist had taken effectual measures for their safety. Two of Danby's letters were produced before the House of Commons. One of these contained instructions to demand three hundred thousand pounds a year, for three years, from the French monarch, provided the conditions of peace should

be accepted at Nimeguen, in consequence of Charles's good offices; and, as Danby had foreseen the danger of this negotiation, the king, in order to remove his fears, had subjoined with his own hand, that the letter was written by his express orders. An order for the impeachment of the lord-treasurer was carried by a large majority. Danby defended himself, and while the Lords decided against, the Commons were in favour of his commitment. A violent contest was likely to ensue; and the king, who thought himself bound to support his minister, and saw no hopes of ending the dispute by gentle means, first prorogued, and afterwards dissolved the Parliament. This was a desperate remedy in the critical state of the nation, and did not answer the end proposed. The new Parliament consisted chiefly of the most violent of the former members, reinforced by others of the same principles. The court had exerted its influence in vain; the elections were made with all the prejudices of the times. The king's connections with France had alienated the affections of his subjects; but the avowed popery of the duke of York was a still more dangerous subject of jealousy and discontent. Charles conjured his brother to conform to the established church, and even sent the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester to persuade him, if possible, to become again a Protestant; and on finding all their arguments lost on his obstinacy, he desired him to withdraw beyond sea. This proposal the duke also declined, as he apprehended that his retiring would be construed into an acknowledgment of guilt; but when the king insisted on his departure, as a step necessary for the welfare of both, he obeyed, after engaging Charles to make a public declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth. He went first to Holland, and then to Brussels, where he fixed his residence (Feb. 28, 1679). The duke of Monmouth was a natural son of Charles II. by Lucy Walters. He was born about ten years before the Restoration. Charles made a solemn declaration before the council that he was never married to any woman but the queen, and even renewed his protestation more particularly against Lucy Walters.

§ 420. The new Parliament, no way mollified by the dismissal of the duke of York, discovered all the violence that had been feared by the court. The Commons revived the prosecution of the earl of Danby; they reminded the Lords of his impeachment; and they demanded justice, in the name

of the people of England. Charles, determined to save his minister, had already had the precaution to grant him a pardon. That he now avowed in the House of Peers; declaring that he could not think Danby in any respect criminal, as he had acted by his orders. The lower house, paying no regard to this confession, immediately voted that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the Commons of England. The Lords seemed at first to adhere to the pardon, but yielded at last to the violence of the Commons; and Danby, after absconding for a time, surrendered to the Black Rod, and was committed to the Tower. Charles, in order to soothe the Commons, made a show of changing his measures. Several popular leaders of both houses were admitted into the privy council, particularly Sir Henry Capel, Lord Russell, the earl of Shaftesbury, and others, who had distinguished themselves by their opposition to the court. The earl of Essex, a popular nobleman, was advanced to the head of the treasury, in the room of the earl of Danby; and the earl of Sunderland, a man every way qualified for such an office, was made secretary of state. The Parliament was not, however, appeased; they demanded the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession, and continued the prosecution against Danby. Charles had laid before them very important limitations, which they refused to accept; and in the mean time a furious dispute arose between the two houses, occasioned by a resolution of the Commons, "That the lords spiritual ought not to have any vote in any proceedings against the lords in the Tower" (May 17, 1679). Though the bishops were anciently prohibited by the canon law, and afterwards by established custom, from assisting at capital trials, they generally sat and voted in motions preparatory to such trials. The validity of Danby's pardon was first to be debated; and, although but a preliminary, was the hinge on which the whole must turn. The Commons, therefore, insisted upon excluding the bishops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court; the Lords were unwilling to make any alteration in the forms of their judicature; both houses adhered to their respective pretensions, and Charles took advantage of their quarrels, first to prorogue, and then to dissolve the Parliament; setting aside, by that measure, the trial of his minister, and, for a time, the Bill of Exclusion against his brother.

§ 421. Previous to this, that great defence of the subject, the Habeas Corpus Act, had been passed. The personal liberty of individuals nothing but the certainty of a crime committed ought ever to abridge or restrain. The English nation had, accordingly, very early and repeatedly, as we have seen, secured by public acts this valuable part of their rights as men; yet something was still wanting to render personal freedom complete, and prevent evasion or delay from ministers and judges. The act of *habeas corpus* answered all these purposes, and does equal honour to the patriotism and the penetration of those who framed it and carried it into a law. This act prohibits the sending of any English subject to a prison beyond sea; and it provides, that no judge shall refuse to any prisoner a writ, by which the gaoler is directed to produce in court the body of such prisoner, and to certify the cause of his detainer and commitment. The Scotch Covenanters continued to struggle for their cause. Their conventicles, to which they went armed, became more numerous, and they frequently repelled the troops sent to disperse them. A band of desperate fanatics waylaid Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and after firing into his coach, despatched him with many wounds (May 1, 1679). This led to more severe measures, and these produced an insurrection. The Covenanters assembled in large bodies, took possession of Glasgow, and established a kind of preaching camp in the neighbourhood, whence they issued proclamations, declaring that they fought against the king's supremacy in religious matters, against popery, prelacy, and a popish successor. Charles, alarmed at this insurrection, despatched the duke of Monmouth, with a body of English cavalry, to join the royal army in Scotland, and subdue the fanatics. Monmouth came up with the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, between Glasgow and Hamilton, where a rout rather than a battle ensued, and the insurgents were totally dispersed (June 22, 1679). About seven hundred of these persecuted and misguided men fell in the pursuit, and twelve hundred were made prisoners. The execution of two clergymen excepted, no blood was shed. Monmouth used his victory with great moderation. Such prisoners as would promise to live peaceably in future were dismissed. That lenity, however, unfortunately awakened the jealousy of the court. Monmouth was recalled and disgraced, and the duke of York, who had found a pretence to return to

England, was intrusted with the government of Scotland. Under his administration, the Covenanters were exposed to a cruel persecution. James is said to have been frequently present at the torturing of the unhappy criminals, and to have viewed their sufferings with as much unfeeling attention as if he had been contemplating some curious experiment.

§ 422. While these things were passing in Scotland, a new Parliament was assembled in England, where the spirit of party still raged with unabated fury. Instead of Petitioners and Abhorrrers (or those who applied for redress of grievances, and such as opposed their petitions), into which the nation had been for some time divided, the court and country parties were distinguished by the epithets of Whig and Tory (1679). The court party reproached their antagonists with affinity to the fanatics in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs; and the country party pretended to find a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of Tory was affixed. Such was the origin of those party names, which will, in all probability, continue to the latest posterity. The Commons proceeded in the most violent manner, impeached Viscount Stafford, who was condemned and executed (Dec. 29, 1680). They then brought in an Exclusion Bill, debarring the duke of York from the succession. The measure was rejected by the Lords, and Charles resolved to dissolve Parliament (Jan. 10, 1681). Both parties had now carried matters so far, that a civil war seemed inevitable, unless the king, contrary to his fixed resolution of not interrupting the line of succession, should agree to pass the Bill of Exclusion. Charles saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. A variety of circumstances, however, conspired to preserve the nation from that extremity, and to throw the whole powers of government finally into the hands of the king. Although Charles refused to interfere with his brother's rights, he had offered reasonable concessions, but the Whig leaders had resolved upon having all their own way. The violence of the Commons increased the number of the king's friends among the people. And he did not fail to take advantage of such a fortunate circumstance, in order to strengthen his authority, and to disconcert the designs of his enemies. He represented to the zealous abettors of episcopacy, the multitude of Presbyterians and other sectaries who had entered into the Whig

party, both in and out of parliament; the encouragement and favour they met with, and the loudness of their clamours against popery and arbitrary power; which, he insinuated, were intended only to divert the attention of the more moderate and intelligent part of the kingdom from their republican and fanatical views. By these means, he made the nobility and clergy apprehend, that the scheme for the abolition of the church and monarchy was revived; and that the same miseries and oppressions awaited them, to which they had been so long exposed during the former, and yet recent usurpations of the Commons. He therefore ordered the new Parliament to assemble at Oxford, that the Whig party might be deprived of that encouragement and support which they would otherwise derive from the vicinity of the great and factious city of London. Sixteen peers, all violent exclusionists, presented a petition against this change. The elections went everywhere against the court, and both parties entered Oxford with military array (1681).

§ 423. Charles, who had hitherto addressed his parliaments in the most soothing language, on this occasion assumed a more authoritative tone. He reproached the former House of Commons with obstinacy, in rejecting his proffered limitations: he expressed a hope of finding a better temper in the present; and he assured both houses, that, as he should use no arbitrary government himself, he was resolved not to suffer tyranny in others. The Commons revived the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the Bill of Exclusion. The king, who was offended at the absurd bigotry of his brother, and willing to agree to any measure that might gain the Commons without breaking the line of succession, permitted one of his ministers to propose, that the duke of York should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that, on the king's decease, the next heir, namely the princess of Orange, should be constituted regent, with regal power. The king's proposal was rejected with disdain; and Charles, thinking he had now a sufficient apology for adopting that measure, which he had foreseen would become necessary, went privately to the House of Peers, and dissolved the Parliament (March 28, 1681). A sudden clap of thunder could not have more astonished the popular party, than did this bold step. Charles, however, became more severe, concluded a secret money treaty with France, in order to enable him to

government without parliamentary support, and published a declaration in vindication of his violent acts (April 8, 1681). Retaliatory measures were adopted, which had the effect of embittering the contest, and a persecution of the Presbyterians and other Protestant sectaries commenced.

§ 424. The grand jury rejected an indictment against the earl of Shaftesbury (Nov. 24, 1681); and this so enraged the court, that a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of a corporation charter, which is presumed to be defective, or to have been forfeited by some offence to be proved in the course of the suit. Although the cause of the city was powerfully defended, and the offences pleaded against it were of the most frivolous kind, judgment was given in favour of the crown. The aldermen and common council, in humble supplication, waited upon the king; and Charles, who had now obtained his end, agreed to restore their charter, but on such terms as would put the proud capital entirely in his power. He reserved to himself the approbation of the principal magistrates; with this special proviso, that should his majesty twice disapprove of the lord mayor or sheriffs elected, he might, by his own commission, appoint others in their room. Other corporations surrendered their charters into the hands of the king; and this produced a revolt. It was committed to a council of six; the members of which were, the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son; Lord Russell, son of the earl of Bedford; the earl of Essex, Lord Howard, the famous Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the illustrious patriot of that name. These men had concerted an insurrection in the city of London, where their influence was great; in Scotland, by an agreement with the earl of Argyle, who engaged to bring the Covenanters into the field; and in the west of England, by the assistance of the friends of liberty in that quarter. They had even taken measures for surprising the king's guards, though without any design of hurting his person; the exclusion of the duke of York, and the redress of grievances, which they had found could not be obtained in a parliamentary way, being all they proposed by rising in arms. The patriotic conspirators were betrayed by one of their associates, named Rumsey. Lord Howard, a man of no principles, and in needy circumstances, also became evidence for the crown, in hopes of pardon and reward. Others of less note followed the infamous example. On their combined evidence

several of the conspirators were seized, condemned, and executed. Among these, the most distinguished were Russell and Sidney. Both died with the intrepidity of men who had resolved to hazard their lives in the field, in order to break the fetters of slavery, and rescue themselves and their fellow-subjects from an ignominious despotism. Monmouth, who had absconded, surrendered on a promise of pardon; Essex put an end to his life in the Tower; and sufficient proof not being found against Hampden to make his crime capital, he was loaded with an exorbitant fine; which, as it was beyond his ability to pay, was equivalent to the sentence of perpetual imprisonment (1683). The defeating of this conspiracy, known by the name of the *Rye-house Plot*, contributed still farther to strengthen the hands of government, already too strong. The king was universally congratulated on his escape; new addresses were presented to him; and the doctrine of implicit submission to the civil magistrate, or an unlimited passive obedience, was more openly taught. The heads of the university of Oxford, under pretence of condemning certain doctrines which they denominated republican, went even so far as to pass a solemn decree in favour of absolute monarchy. The persecution was renewed against the Protestant sectaries, and all the most zealous friends of freedom. The perversion of justice was carried to a still greater excess by the court; and the duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and restored to the office of high-admiral, without taking the test.

§ 425. Apprehensive, however, of new conspiracies, or secretly struck with the iniquity of his administration, Charles is said seriously to have projected a change of measures. He was frequently overheard to remonstrate warmly with his brother; and on finding him obstinate in his violent counsels, he resolved once more to banish him the court, to call a parliament, and throw himself wholly on the affections of his people. While revolving this idea, he was seized with a fit, resembling an apoplexy; which, after an interval of reason, carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and not without suspicions of poison (Feb. 6, 1685). These suspicions fell not on the duke of York, but on some of the duchess of Portsmouth's Roman Catholic servants; who are supposed to have been worked upon by her confessor, to whom she had communicated the king's intentions, or by those her confessor had trusted with

the secret. As a prince, Charles was void of ambition, and destitute of a proper sense of his dignity, in relation to foreign politics. In regard to domestic politics, he was able and artful, but mean and disingenuous. As a husband, he was unfaithful, and neglectful of the queen's person, as well as of the respect due to her character. As a gentleman and companion, he was elegant, easy, gay, and facetious; but having little sensibility, and a very bad opinion of human nature, he appears to have been incapable of friendship or gratitude. As a lover, however, he was generous, and seemingly even affectionate. Charles is said to have been a Roman Catholic at heart, and his conduct in receiving the sacrament on his death-bed from a Roman Catholic would almost justify the suspicion. The truth, however, seems to be, that Charles, while in high health, was of no particular religion; but that, having been early initiated in the Roman Catholic faith, he always fled to the altar of superstition, when his spirits were low, or when his life was thought to be in danger.

LETTER 15.—General View of the Affairs on the Continent, from the Peace of Nimeguen to the League of Augsburg. A.D. 1678—1687. Vol. ii., pages 200—205.

§ 426. The peace of Nimeguen, as might have been foreseen by the allies, instead of setting bounds to the ambition of Louis XIV., only left him at leisure to perfect that scheme of universal monarchy, or absolute sovereignty, in Europe at least, into which he was flattered by his poets and orators; and which, at length, roused a new and more powerful confederacy against him. While the Empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their supernumerary troops, Louis still kept up all his: in the midst of profound peace, he maintained a formidable army, and acted as if he had been the sole sovereign in Europe, and all other princes were but his vassals. He established judicatures for reuniting such territories as had anciently depended upon the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; upon Alsace, or any of his late conquests. No European prince, since the time of Charlemagne, had acted so much like a master and a judge, as Louis XIV. The elector Palatine, and the elector of Treves, were divested of the signories of Falkenburg, Germersheim, Valdentz, and other places, by his imperious tribunals; and he laid claim to the ancient and free city of Strasburg, as the capital of Alsace. Of this he

gained possession by a surprise; and Vauban, who had fortified so many places, here exhausted his art, and rendered it the strongest barrier of France. He also encroached upon the territory of Spain, and at length, alarmed by these ambitious pretensions, the Empire, Spain, and Holland began to take measures for restraining the encroachments of France. Spain was, however, too feeble to enter upon a new war, and the imperial armies were required in another quarter to meet a more pressing danger.

§ 427. The Hungarians, whose privileges Leopold had never sufficiently respected, having again rebelled, and solicited the aid of the Turks, Mahomet IV. readily responded to the call, and Leopold, in order to resist this attack, sought the assistance of the princes of the empire, and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with John Sobieski, king of Poland. The Turks marched upon Vienna; whereupon the emperor retired, first to Lintz and afterward to Passau, and the inhabitants fled in all directions. The garrison at Vienna amounted to about fifteen thousand men; and the citizens able to bear arms, to nearly fifty thousand. The Turks invested the town on the 17th of July, 1683; and they had not only destroyed the suburbs, but made a breach in the body of the place by the 1st of September. The duke of Lorraine had been so fortunate as to prevent the Hungarians from joining the Turks, but was unable to lend the garrison any relief; and an assault was every moment expected, when a deliverer appeared. John Sobieski, having joined his troops to those of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Circles, made a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Scallemberg, and inspired them with new hopes. Kara Mustapha, who, from a contempt of the Christians, had neglected to push the assault, and who, amidst the progress of ruin, had wantoned in luxury, was now made sensible of his mistake, when too late to repair it. The Christians, to the number of sixty-four thousand, descended the mountain, under the command of the king of Poland, the duke of Lorraine, and an incredible number of German princes. The grand vizier advanced to meet them at the head of the main body of the Turkish army, while he ordered an assault to be made upon the city with twenty thousand men, who were left in the trenches. The assault failed; and the Turks being seized with a panic, were routed almost without resistance. Only five hundred of the victors fell, and not above one thousand of the vanquished. And

so great was the terror, and so precipitate the flight of the infidels, that they abandoned not only their tents, artillery, and baggage, but left behind them the famous standard of Mahomet, which was sent as a present to the pope (Sept. 12, 1683). The Turks received another defeat in the plain of Barcan (Oct. 27, 1683); and all Hungary was recovered by the imperial arms.

§ 428. The king of France, who had supported the malcontents in Hungary, raised the blockade of Luxemburg, when the Turks approached Vienna. He acted from interested motives, and immediately after their departure, renewed the operations, and took Luxemburg, Courtray, and Dixmunde (1684). Enraged at these acts of violence, the Spaniards declared war. As neither Holland nor the Empire would render assistance, and Spain was too weak to carry on the struggle single-handed, a truce of twenty years was concluded between Spain, the Empire, and France, at Ratisbon. The principal articles of this temporary treaty were, that Louis should restore Courtray and Dixmunde, but retain possession of Luxemburg, Strasburg, the fortress of Kehl, and part of the reunions made by his arbitrary courts established at Metz and Breisac. The glory and greatness of the French monarch were still farther extended by means of his naval power. Louis had upwards of one hundred ships of the line, and sixty thousand seamen. The magnificent port of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was constructed at an immense expense; and that of Brest, upon the ocean, was formed on as extensive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with ships; and Rochefort was converted into a convenient harbour. He sent out squadrons, at different times, to clear the seas of the Barbary pirates: he twice ordered Algiers to be bombarded; and he had the pleasure not only of humbling that haughty predatory city, and of obliging the Algerines to release all their Christian slaves, but of subjecting Tunis and Tripoli to the same conditions. Genoa, for a slight offence, was bombarded, four thousand men were landed, and the suburb of St. Peter of Arena was burned (1684). The doge and four of the principal senators were compelled to go to Versailles to implore the French king's clemency (1685).

§ 429. The grandeur of Louis XIV. was now at its highest point of elevation. It was, in a great measure, the work of his wise minister Colbert, who died Sept. 6, 1683. He had favoured the Huguenots, and they devoted them-

selves chiefly to manufactures, in which they made great progress. They everywhere recommended themselves by their industry and ingenuity, which were often rewarded with great opulence. This opulence begot envy, envy produced jealousy, and soon after the death of Colbert they were exposed to a cruel and impolitic persecution, which reduced them to the necessity of abandoning their native country. This was the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which had secured to them the free exercise of their religion (Oct. 22, 1685). Numbers of them carried their industry and ingenious resources into other lands, whilst those that remained in France were persecuted, and many were put to death. While waging this shameful war against the French Protestants, Louis XIV. became involved in a quarrel with Pope Innocent XI., and did everything in his power to mortify that prelate. But his ambition was about to receive a salutary check. The Emperor Leopold having triumphed over the Turks, had more leisure to take measures for opposing the designs of Louis. A league had been already concluded by the empire at Augsburg, in order to restrain the encroachments of France, and to vindicate the objects of the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, and Nimeguen (1686); and an ambitious attempt of Louis XIV. to get the Cardinal Furstemberg, one of his own creatures, made elector of Cologne in opposition to the emperor, at once showed the necessity of such an association, and lighted anew the flames of war in Germany and the Low Countries. Spain and Holland had become principals in the league; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy were afterwards gained; so that the accession of England alone seemed wanting to render the confederacy complete, and that was at last acquired.

CHAPTER IV.

LETTER 16.—Great Britain and Ireland during the Reign of James II.
A.D. 1685—1689. Vol. ii., pages 205—225.

§ 430. THE new king, who was above fifty years of age when he ascended the throne, began his reign with a very popular act. He assembled the privy council, and declared that although he had been represented as a man of arbitrary principles, and though determined not to relinquish the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, he was resolved to maintain the established government, both in church and state; being sensible that the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wish. This declaration gave great satisfaction to the council, and was received with the warmest applause by the nation. Addresses poured in from all quarters, full not only of expressions of duty, but of the most servile adulation. But this popularity was of short continuance. The nation became convinced that the king either was not sincere in his promise to preserve the constitution inviolate, or entertained ideas of that constitution very different from those of his people, and such as could yield no security to their civil or religious liberties. He went openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal worship; he was even so imprudent as to urge others to follow his example; he sent an agent to Rome, in order to make submissions to the pope; and he levied taxes without the authority of Parliament. James, however, soon found the necessity of assembling a parliament; and, in consequence of the influence which the crown had acquired in the boroughs, by the violation of the corporation charters, a House of Commons was procured, as compliant as the most arbitrary prince could have wished (May 19). James made a very arrogant speech, demanding the same revenue as that enjoyed by his brother, which the Commons at once granted, and voted additional supplies. The Scotch Parliament proved even

more subservient, and professed the most unbounded submission. This profuse liberality of the Parliaments of the two kingdoms gave the king reason to believe that his throne was as firmly established as that of any European monarch. But while everything remained in tranquillity at home, a storm was gathering abroad to disturb his repose, and which, although dissipated without much trouble, may be considered as a prelude to that great revolution which finally deprived him of his crown, and condemned himself and his posterity to a dependent and fugitive life among foreigners (1685).

§ 431. The prince of Orange, ever since the proposed exclusion of his father-in-law, had raised his hopes to the English throne. He had entered deeply into intrigues with the ministers of Charles II.; he had encouraged the parliamentary leaders in their violent opposition; and, unaccountable as it may seem, it appears that he secretly abetted the ambitious views of the duke of Monmouth, though they both aimed at the same object. It is at least certain that he received the duke with great kindness, and treated him with the highest marks of respect, after he had been pardoned by a fond and indulgent father for his unnatural share in the Rye House Plot, but ordered to leave the kingdom on a new symptom of disaffection; that on the accession of James II., and when the prince of Orange was professing the strongest attachment to his father-in-law, Monmouth, Argyle, and other English and Scotch fugitives in Holland, were suffered, under his secret protection, to provide themselves privately with necessaries, and to form the plan of an invasion, in hopes of rousing to arms the dissatisfied part of the two kingdoms. Argyle was the first to land in Scotland, where he found himself at the head of two thousand men. But he was reduced to extremities, deserted by his levies, carried prisoner to Edinburgh, and executed (June 30, 1685). Meanwhile Monmouth had landed in the west of England, and was joined by five thousand followers. At Taunton he issued a declaration asserting the legitimacy of his birth, and he assumed the title of king; whilst at Bridgewater he was proclaimed by the magistrates. The king's forces, commanded by the earl of Feversham, dispersed the rebels at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater (July 6). Monmouth fled, but was captured in the disguise of a peasant, and although he made the most abject submission in order to obtain pardon, was executed (July 15, 1685).

§ 432. Had James used his victory with moderation, this fortunate suppression of a rebellion, in the beginning of his reign, would have tended to strengthen his authority. The most shameful abuse was, however, made of this triumph. Men were hanged without any form of trial or proper time of preparation. One Colonel Kirke rendered himself conspicuous by the cruelty and barbarity of his military executions; but even this monster was outdone by the inhuman Jeffreys. A special commission being issued to this man, he set out, accompanied by four other judges, with savage joy, as to a full harvest of death. He opened his commission first at Winchester, whence he proceeded to Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, everywhere spreading terror and consternation. The juries, struck with his menaces, gave their verdicts with hurry and precipitation, so that many innocent persons are supposed to have suffered. About five hundred prisoners were tried and condemned in all: of these, two hundred and fifty were executed, the rest were transported, condemned to cruel whippings, or permitted, as is said, to purchase their pardon of the tyrannical and prostituted chief justice. James rewarded Jeffreys with a peerage and the chancellorship. On the meeting of Parliament, the king announced that he had doubled the regular forces of the kingdom, and dispensed with the Test Act in favour of some Roman Catholic officers. The Commons voted an address to the king against the dispensing power, and the latter immediately prorogued Parliament. The king pursued a similar course in Scotland, but the Parliament refused to repeal any of the penal laws, and was accordingly dissolved (1685).

§ 433. James continued this unconstitutional course, removed four judges, and had a decision in favour of his power to dispense with the penal laws, delivered by eleven out of the twelve judges (June 21, 1686). Roman Catholic peers were publicly received at the council-board, and one of them was soon raised to the head of the ministry. In Ireland the most vigorous measures were adopted with reference to the Protestants. Great numbers, filled with apprehensions, left their habitations and came over to England, where the horror against popery was already roused to the highest pitch by the frightful tales of the French refugees, who, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had fled from the persecutions of Louis XIV. The king would not listen to the more mode-

rate Roman Catholics, who were sensible that these extravagant measures must ruin the cause which they were meant to serve. The king was entirely governed by his queen, an Italian and popish princess, and Father Petre, his confessor. He re-established the court of High Commission, and issued a declaration of general indulgence, or liberty of conscience, "by his sovereign authority and absolute power," to his subjects of all religions. The earl of Castlemaine was sent as ambassador to Rome, and a nuncio received at Windsor. Four Roman Catholic bishops were publicly consecrated at the king's chapel, and sent out, under the title of vicars-apostolical, to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. The Jesuits were permitted to erect a chapel and form a college in the Savoy; the Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's-Inn Fields; the Carmelites formed a seminary in the city; fourteen monks were even settled at St. James's; in different parts of the country places of public worship were erected by the papists; and the religious of the Romish communion appeared at court in the habits of their respective orders. The king next commanded the university of Cambridge to admit a Benedictine monk, named Francis, to the degree of master of arts, without the usual oaths. The university refused to do this, and the vice-chancellor was suspended (May 27, 1687). The king then endeavoured to induce Magdalen College to admit as president one Farmer, a convert to popery, but the fellows refused, and chose Dr. Hough. A man named Parker was then appointed, and the king's commissioners went with an armed force to Oxford, expelled the fellows, and installed Parker in the presidentship.

§ 434. James endeavoured to win over the dissenters, issued anew his Declaration of Indulgence (April 27, 1688), and ordered it to be read in the pulpit by all the established clergy (May 4). They almost universally determined rather to hazard the vengeance of the crown by disobedience, than to fulfil a command they could not approve, and expose themselves, at the same time, to the certain hatred and contempt of the people. Conformable to this resolution, and with a view to encourage every one to persevere in it, six bishops, namely, Lloyd, of St. Asaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawney, of Bristol, met privately with Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, in his palace at Lambeth, and concerted the form of a petition to the king,

beseeking him not to insist upon their reading the Declaration of Indulgence, as being founded on a prerogative repeatedly declared illegal by Parliament (May 18). Enraged at this unexpected opposition to his favourite measure, James not only refused their request, but ordered them to be committed to the Tower, on their refusing to give bail for their appearance before the court of King's Bench, to answer for what was denominated a high misdemeanour, and afterwards prosecuted as a libel (June 8). Though they were carried by water to the Tower, multitudes of anxious spectators crowded the banks of the river, and at once implored the blessing of those venerable prelates, and offered their petitions to Heaven for the safety of the persecuted guardians of their religion. A like scene was exhibited when the bishops were conducted to trial. Twenty-nine temporal peers attended the prisoners to Westminster Hall, and such crowds of gentry joined in the procession, that little room was left for the populace to enter. The trial, which lasted near ten hours, was managed with ability by the counsel on both sides, and listened to with the most eager attention. Though the judges held their seats only during pleasure, two of them had the courage to declare against a dispensing power in the crown, as inconsistent with all law; and if the dispensing power was not legal, it followed, of course, that the bishops could not be criminal in refusing obedience to an illegal command. The jury at length withdrew, and when they brought in their verdict "Not Guilty," the populace, who filled Westminster-hall and all Palace-yard, shouted thrice with such vehemence that the sound reached the city (June 29). The loudest acclamations were immediately echoed from street to street; they rapidly spread over the whole kingdom, and found their way even into the camp, where the triumph of the church was announced to the king by the shouts of his mercenary army.

§ 435. Had James made use of that naturally sound, though narrow, understanding with which he was endowed, he would now have perceived that the time was come for him to retract, unless he meant to sacrifice his crown to his religious prejudices. But so blinded was he by bigotry, and so obstinate in his arbitrary measures, that he ruined his own cause. He displaced the two judges who had given their opinion in favour of the bishops, issued orders to the ecclesiastical commissioners to prosecute all the clergy who

had not read his Declaration of Indulgence, and sent a mandate to the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, commanding them to elect as president (Parker having died just before), one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne. These violent infringements of the constitution alarmed all parties, and the birth of the prince of Wales (June 10, 1688), afterwards known as the Pretender, dispelled even the hope that the system would cease with the death of the king. Under these circumstances, many of the nobility and gentry, and some of the principal clergy, united in a requisition to William, prince of Orange. The Whigs and Tories coalesced for that purpose, and thus the Revolution, even in its beginning, was a national work; and patriotism, under the guidance of political wisdom, suggested the glorious plan. Various reasons induced William to accept the flattering invitation; and at this crisis he felt little hesitation in putting himself forward as the champion of the Protestant cause, imperilled by the proceedings of Louis XIV. of France and James II. of England. When the latter obtained some idea of the real nature of the peril with which he was threatened, he ordered his fleet to be assembled, and his army to be recruited with new levies. He sent for troops from Scotland and Ireland; and to his no small satisfaction, found that his land forces amounted to forty thousand men. Nor did the king hesitate to make concessions. He issued writs for the speedy assembling of Parliament; published a declaration, in which he promised to preserve inviolate the Church of England; and he protested, that it was his intention, Roman Catholics should remain incapable of sitting in the House of Commons. He gave orders for all the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the Test and the penal laws against non-conformists, to be replaced; he restored the charter of London, and the charters of all the corporations in the kingdom; he annulled the court of Ecclesiastical Commission; he reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen College; and he invited again to his councils all the bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted, assuring them that he was ready to do whatever they deemed necessary for the security of the Protestant religion and the civil rights of his subjects.

§ 436. These important concessions, however, came too late, and many people doubted the king's sincerity. Meanwhile William of Orange set sail from Holland (Oct. 19);

but was driven back by a violent storm. Having repaired damages, the fleet again put to sea (Nov. 1), and the prince and his army landed in safety at Torbay (Nov. 5). Lord Dartmouth, who commanded the king's fleet, was prevented from attacking the armament, by a gale of wind, in which many of his vessels were much damaged, and he was compelled to take refuge at Spithead. On landing, the prince of Orange distributed his printed declaration, written originally in French by the pensionary Fagel, and translated into English by Dr. Burnet. In this, the principal grievances of the three British kingdoms were enumerated; namely, the exercise of a dispensing and suspending power; the revival of the court of Ecclesiastical Commission; the filling of all offices with Roman Catholics; the open encouragement given to popery; the displacing of judges, if they gave sentence contrary to the orders or the inclinations of the court; the annulling the charters of the corporations; the treating of petitions to the throne, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority in Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papists; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reserve. He concluded by protesting, that the sole object of his expedition was to procure a redress of these grievances; to get a legal and free parliament summoned, that might provide for the liberty and security of the nation, and examine the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, in regard to which he expressed the most violent suspicions.

§ 437. William repaired to Exeter, where his reception was not of that cordial nature which he had anticipated: it is even said that he at one time entertained serious intentions of abandoning the enterprise. Support was, however, soon tendered; the nobility and gentry flocked to him in great numbers, and James, distracted by his own fears, and alarmed by the real or pretended apprehensions of others, sent the queen and the prince of Wales privately into France, and embraced the extraordinary resolution of following them in person. He accordingly left his palace at midnight, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, and he commanded the earl of Feversham to disband the army, recalled the writs for the meeting of the Parliament, and threw the great seal into the Thames (Dec. 10). A riot ensued in the metropolis, and the populace destroyed not only all the popish chapels, but the houses of the ambassadors of Roman

Catholic princes, whilst even private residences were pillaged. In this crisis a Supreme Council was formed, and Prince William invited to settle the affairs of the nation. William had but just arrived at Windsor (Dec. 14), when he received intelligence that the king had been seized at Feversham. James was brought back to London on the 16th, and a transient reaction occurred in his favour. He was glad to make his escape the second time, and having embarked for France, arrived safely at Ambleteuse, in Picardy. From that place he hastened to St. Germain's, where the queen and the prince of Wales had taken refuge.

§ 438. The same day that James left Whitehall, William arrived at St. James's. The only thing that now remained for all parties was the settlement of the kingdom. With this view the Peers met in their own house, and the prince laid before them his declaration, as the foundation of their deliberations. In the course of the debate it was urged that the king, by withdrawing, had divested himself of his authority, and that government itself had suffered a demise in law. A free parliament was, therefore, declared to be the only means of obtaining a legal settlement; and the result was, that an address was ordered to be presented to the prince of Orange, desiring him to assume the administration of government, and to summon a convention. The offer was too alluring to be rejected, but William judged it still necessary to strengthen the resolution of the Lords with the authority of the Commons. For that purpose all the members of the three last parliaments, who were in London, were invited to meet, together with the lord mayor, the court of aldermen, and fifty members of the common-council. This mixed assembly, which was regarded as the most equal representation of the people that could be obtained in the emergency, unanimously voted an address, the same in substance with that of the Lords; and the prince, supported by so great a part of the nation, despatched his circular letters to the various boroughs, counties, and corporations in England, for a general election of representatives. The Scotch joined very heartily in the revolution, and espoused the cause of William most warmly. In the mean time the English convention had met, and, after a long debate, the Commons came to the following memorable resolution:—"That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having violated the funda-

mental laws, and withdrawn himself from the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant" (Jan. 28, 1689). This resolution was carried up to the House of Peers, where it met with much opposition, and many warm debates ensued. The majority of the Lords, however, declared for an original contract, and the house almost instantly resolved that James had broken that contract (Jan. 30). The opposition did not end here. The Lords proceeded to take into consideration the word *abdicated*, contained in the vote of the Commons; and, after some debate, agreed that *deserted* was more proper. The next and concluding question was, "Whether King James, having broken the original contract, and deserted the government, the throne is thereby vacant?" The question was debated with more warmth than any of the former, and, on a division, it was carried by eleven voices against a vacancy. The vote of the Commons was sent back with these amendments; and as they continued obstinate, a free conference was appointed between the two houses, in order to settle the controversy.

§ 439. William having refused to act as regent, or to allow his wife to reign singly, matters were at length settled, and both houses voted, "That the prince and princess of Orange should be declared king and queen of England," and a bill was brought in for that purpose. In this it was provided that the prince and princess should enjoy the crown of England during their natural lives and the life of the survivor, the sole administration to be in the prince; that, after the death of both, the throne should be filled by the heirs of the body of the princess; and that, in default of such issue, Anne, princess of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, should succeed, before those of the prince of Orange by any other wife but the Princess Mary (Feb. 13, 1689). The instrument of settlement, besides regulating the line of succession, also provided against the return of those grievances which had driven the nation to the present extremity, and effectually secured from the future encroachments of the sovereign the most essential rights of the subject. Thus was happily terminated the great struggle between privilege and prerogative—between the crown and the people; which commenced with the accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England, and continued till their exclusion, almost a century later. The Revolution forms a grand era in the English constitution. By bringing on the decision of many

important questions in favour of liberty, and yet more by the memorable precedent of deposing one king and establishing another, with a new line of succession, it gave such an impetus to popular principles, as to put the nature of our government beyond all controversy.

LETTER 17.—Great Britain and Ireland, from the Revolution till the Assassination Plot. A.D. 1688—1696. Vol. ii., pages 225—236.

§ 440. Though the Whigs and Tories had coalesced against the tyranny of James II., no sooner were the latter freed from the terror of arbitrary power, than they began once more to advocate their monarchical principles. Their dislike to breaking the line of succession had induced them to propose a regency, and a party lurked amongst them, called the Jacobites, who, from their attachment to the person or the family of the dethroned monarch, and an adherence to the doctrines of passive obedience and of divine right, wished to bring back the king, and invariably held, that none but a Stuart could justly be invested with the regal authority. Of this opinion were all the bigoted high-churchmen and Roman Catholics in the three kingdoms. Among the Whigs, or moderate churchmen and dissenters, in like manner, lurked many enthusiastic republicans, who hoped, in the national ferment, to effect a dissolution of the monarchy. The contest between these parties, fomented by the ambitious views of individuals, which long distracted the English government, began immediately after the Revolution, and threatened the sudden subversion of the new establishment. William was not popular with the people, upon whom his silent reserved temper and solitary disposition produced a disagreeable impression. Ireland was under the direction of Tyrconnel, a zealous papist, and James prepared to make a descent in this portion of his former kingdom. Supported by Louis XIV., he embarked at Brest early in the spring, and soon after landed at Kinsale, where he was immediately joined by Tyrconnel (March 12, 1689). His policy in Ireland was as unwise as that which he had previously adopted in England, and he actually began by disgusting the Protestants, and passing an act declaring Ireland to be independent of the English Parliament.

§ 441. William had in the mean time recommended to the English Parliament an act of general indemnity, and procured an address for a declaration of war against France. Both proposals were readily embraced. The English na-

tion had long been desirous of turning its arms against Louis XIV., and the supposed attachment of James to the French interest, his bigotry not excepted, had been the principal cause of his ruin. Had he acceded to the league of Augsburg, he would never have lost his crown. Threatened by that league, and willing to strike the first blow, Louis had sent an army into Alsace, and made himself master of Philipsburg in 1688. This violence, which was immediately succeeded by others, alarmed the emperor, Spain, Holland, and all the confederate powers on the continent. They saw the necessity of having immediate recourse to arms: and the interposition of France in the affairs of Ireland furnished William with a good pretence for throwing the whole weight of England into the hostile scale. The confederacy was now complete. Scotland, in which country the Jacobite party mustered very strong, was first reduced to obedience. Lord Dundee, who had assembled a body of Highlanders, defeated the king's troops at the battle of Killycrankie (May 26, 1689), but was himself mortally wounded in the pursuit. The Highlanders, discouraged by the loss of a leader whom they loved and admired, dispersed, and returned to their mountains, and thus the rebellion terminated.

§ 442. James did not make any substantial progress in Ireland. The city of Londonderry, which had long resisted his arms, was relieved (July 30, 1689), and he was compelled to abandon the siege. In the following year William put himself at the head of his army, and defeated James at the hotly-contested battle of the Boyne (July 1, 1690). No sooner was James informed of the dispersion of his army, than he gave up Ireland as lost; and, leaving the inhabitants of Dublin to make their own conditions with the victor, embarked for France. On landing at Brest, he received intelligence of the defeat of the English and Dutch fleet off Beachy Head, by the French admiral Tourville (June 30), and although the French ships were riding triumphantly in the Channel, Louis XIV. refused to render any further assistance to a prince who had deserted the cause and so soon despaired of success. James had fled from Ireland in despair, but the island was not immediately subdued. William seems to have entertained very similar apprehensions, for, after his failure at the siege of Limerick, he quitted Ireland in haste, and Lord Churchill, created earl of Marlborough, succeeded to the command. Having reduced Cork and Kinsale, this great general closed the

campaign gloriously, and in the following year all Ireland submitted to the arms of William.

§ 443. The Parliament being chiefly composed of Whigs, refused to settle on William the revenue of the crown for life. Notwithstanding their good opinion of his principles, they were unwilling to render him independent; they therefore granted the revenue only for one year. The Tories took advantage of this to recommend themselves to the king, who, influenced by their interested representations, dissolved the Parliament (Feb. 6, 1690). A new one assembled (March 20), which consisted almost wholly of Tories. They not only settled the revenue of the crown on William for life, but granted liberal supplies for carrying on the war in Ireland, and upon the continent. In those votes the Whigs concurred, that they might not seem to destroy the work of their own hands. But the heads of the party were highly dissatisfied, at seeing that favour, and those offices, to which they thought themselves entitled by their past services, bestowed chiefly upon the Tories. They entered into cabals with the Jacobites, and even maintained a secret correspondence with the dethroned monarch. In Scotland the Presbyterians evinced an inclination to embark in the same cause, and William, by a frightful example of severity, resolved to awe them into allegiance. In consequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity had been issued to such insurgents as should take the oaths to the king and queen before the year 1692. The heads of all the clans, who had been in arms for James, strictly complied with the terms of the proclamation, except Macdonald of Glencoe:—and his neglect was occasioned rather by accident than design. His submission was afterwards received by the sheriff, though not without scruple. This difficulty, however, being got over, he considered himself as under the protection of the laws, and lived in the most perfect security. William, at the instigation of Sir John Dalrymple, his secretary for Scotland, signed a warrant for the military execution of Macdonald and his whole clan. It was put in force by his countryman Campbell, of Glenlyon, with the most savage barbarity. Macdonald himself was shot dead by one Lindsay, an officer whom he had entertained as his guest: his tenants were murdered by the soldiers, to whom they had given free quarters: women were killed in defending their tender offspring; and boys in imploring mercy, were butchered by the officers to whose knees

they clung! (Feb. 13, 1692). Nearly forty persons were massacred, and many of those who escaped to the mountains perished of hunger or cold. All the houses in the valley of Glencoe were reduced to ashes; the cattle were driven away, and with the other moveables divided as spoil among the officers and soldiers. Never was military execution more complete.

§ 444. This cruel massacre rendered William still more unpopular, and an insurrection in favour of James II. was projected both in England and Scotland, while Louis XIV. made vigorous preparations to carry on the war by land and sea, and even thought of invading England. His admiral, Tourville, was, however, defeated off La Hogue (May 19, 1692). A fog prevented the total destruction of the French fleet; yet on the following morning many of their ships were burnt, and the power of the French navy almost annihilated. The dissensions between the Whigs and Tories increased, and both of them grew dissatisfied with William. A bill for triennial parliaments was introduced, and the king found himself under the necessity of passing it, or of losing the vote of supply with which it was made to go hand in hand (Dec. 22, 1694). Mary died soon after (Dec. 28). William appeared to be very much afflicted at the death of the queen: and, however little regard he might have had for her engaging person, his grief was possibly sincere. Her open and agreeable deportment, and her natural alliance to the throne, had chiefly contributed to reconcile the minds of men to his government. The Whigs could forgive her every breach of filial duty, on account of her adherence to the Protestant religion and the principles of liberty; and even the Tories were ready to ascribe her seeming want of sympathy with her father's misfortunes to an obsequious submission to the will of her husband.

§ 445. With her, all natural title to the English crown expired on the part of William; and although his authority, supported by the Act of Settlement, was too firmly established to be immediately shaken, the hopes of the Jacobites began daily to rise, and conspiracies were formed against his life. The most dangerous of those conspiracies, conducted by Sir George Barclay and other violent Jacobites, was intimately connected with a plan for an insurrection in England, and an invasion from France. The duke of Berwick was sent over to forward the insurrection. But the English nobility and gentry in the interest of James, though

warmly disposed to serve him, very prudently refused to take arms until a body of troops should be landed to support them. In the mean time the forces intended for the invasion were assembled at Dunkirk and Calais. James proceeded to the latter place, in anxious expectation of the issue of the assassination plot; from which, though undertaken without his authority, he hoped to derive advantage in his present distressing circumstances. The plot was discovered; several of the conspirators were seized and executed, and all England was thrown into a ferment (Feb. 14, 1696). The current of public opinion was suddenly changed. Even many of those who hated the person, and disliked the government of William, were shocked at the idea of a barbarous attempt upon his life; and his throne, which just before seemed to shake to its base, was now more firmly established than ever. Admiral Russell, on the first certain intelligence of the projected invasion, was ordered to repair to the Downs. Having hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, he collected, with incredible diligence and despatch, a fleet of fifty sail, with which he appeared before Calais: and although he found it impracticable to destroy the French shipping, or to injure the town greatly, he spread terror along the coast, and convinced the enemy of the necessity of attending to their own safety, instead of ambitiously attempting to invade their neighbours. Covered with shame and confusion, and overwhelmed with disappointment and despair, James II. returned to St. Germain's; where, laying aside all thoughts of an earthly crown, he turned his views solely toward heaven.

LETTER 18.—Military Transactions on the Continent, from the beginning of the War that followed the League of Augsburg, to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, and of Carlowitz in 1699. A.D. 1689—1699. Vol. ii., pages 236—245.

§ 446. The accession of England in 1689 to the League of Augsburg, induced Louis XIV. to make the most vigorous efforts to maintain the war with advantage. He assembled two armies in Flanders; he opposed a third to the Spaniards in Catalonia; and in order to form a barrier on the side of Germany, he laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword, after having made himself master of its principal towns. The terrible execution began at Manheim, the seat of the electors; where not only the palaces of those princes were razed to the ground, but their very tombs opened in search of hidden treasures, and their venerable dust scattered in

the air. Twice during the reign of Louis XIV. was this fine country desolated by the arms of France; but the flames lighted by Turenne, however dreadful, were only like so many torches, compared with the present frightful conflagration, which filled all Europe with horror. Louis was everywhere defeated. Mentz and Bonn were taken from the French, and their army was worsted at Walcourt. They were driven from Catalonia, and the prince of Baden defeated their allies the Turks, in three engagements,—on the banks of the Morava (Aug. 30), at Nissa (Sept. 24, 1689), and at Widdin. During the next campaign France had a greater number of enemies, but better generals, and was consequently more successful. Marshal Catinat displayed extraordinary genius, and defeated the duke of Savoy, who had joined the allies, in several encounters. He was worsted at Staffarada (Aug. 18, 1690); Saluzzo, Susa, and nearly all Savoy, fell into the power of the French. In Catalonia the same results occurred, and the Dutch and Spaniards were defeated at Fleurus, near Charleroy (July 1), by the duke of Luxemburg. Their allies, the Turks, also achieved decided success. Nissa, Widdin, and Belgrade were captured, and a great portion of Hungary regained. In this very year the allied fleets were defeated off Beachy Head, by the French under Tourville, as recounted above (June 30, 1690).

§ 447. In the next campaign but little was accomplished. Louis took Mons (April 7, 1691); in Catalonia no decisive victories were obtained; Catinat was repulsed in Italy, and in Hungary the Turks lost all which they had acquired in the preceding campaign. The next spring William and Louis set out on the same day to join their respective armies, and great hopes were formed on both sides. Louis besieged and captured Namur (June 5, 1692), in spite of William's efforts to relieve it; and the latter, in order to retrieve his reputation, endeavoured to surprise the French army under Luxemburg, at Steenkerke (July 24). The English, being totally unsupported by the Dutch, were obliged to give ground. Partial as the engagement proved, above ten thousand men fell on both sides, in the space of two hours; and the veteran Luxemburg declared, that he was never in so hot an action. William's military character suffered greatly by this battle, and the hatred of the English against the Dutch became violent in the highest degree. The duke of Savoy ravaged Dauphiné; and the Turks were again repulsed in Hungary.

§ 448. Louis XIV. prepared to open the next campaign with great pomp, but retired suddenly to Versailles, leaving his armies under the command of his generals. The duke of Luxemburg attacked the allied army under William, at Landen, and after repeated attempts and several terrible encounters, gained a barren victory (July 29, 1693). Eight thousand of his best troops were slain in battle, and his army was so much weakened by the number of the wounded, that he could take no advantage of the consternation of the enemy. During six weeks he continued in a state of inaction, and Charleroy was the only conquest he made, before the close of the campaign. In Germany the French stormed Heidelberg, and acted with great barbarity. The war in Hungary produced no signal event. In Catalonia, Marshal Noailles took Roses in sight of the Spanish army, and would have acquired more important conquests, had he not been obliged to send a detachment into Italy. Marshal Catinat defeated the duke of Savoy at Marsaglia, near Pignerol (Oct. 4, 1693). Besides their cannon, light baggage, and a great number of colours and standards, the allies lost eight thousand men in the action. Among many persons of distinction who fell or were taken, the young duke of Schomberg was mortally wounded and made prisoner. Recovering from the defeat of the previous year off Cape la Hogue, the French navy committed great ravages upon the commerce of England. Admiral Rooke was defeated, and part of a convoy he was guarding captured by Tourville off Cape St. Vincent (May 18, 1693).

§ 449. In the midst of his victories Louis XIV. had the misfortune to see his subjects languishing in misery and want. France was afflicted with a dreadful famine, partly occasioned by unfavourable seasons, partly by the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground; and notwithstanding the provident attention of her ministry in procuring supplies of corn from abroad, in regulating the price and furnishing the markets, many of the peasants perished of hunger, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. The next campaign was attended with no very decisive results; and some slight successes achieved by William in Flanders, were more than counterbalanced by the victories of Marshal Noailles in Catalonia (1694). The glory and greatness of Louis XIV. were now verging towards a decline. His resources were exhausted :

his minister, Louvois, was dead; and Luxemburg, the last of those great generals who had made France the terror of Europe, died before the opening of next campaign. Louis determined, therefore, to act merely on the defensive in Flanders, where the allies had assembled a large force. After some hesitation, he placed Marshal Villeroy at the head of the principal army, and intrusted the second to Boufflers. Namur on the right, and Dunkirk on the left, comprehended between them the extent of country to be defended by the French. Tournay on the Scheldt, and Ypres, near the Lys, formed part of the line. Boufflers was ordered to assemble his army near Mons, to cover Namur; and Villeroy posted himself between the Scheldt and the Lys, to protect Tournay, Ypres, and Dunkirk. William took the field early in May, and regained Namur (Sept. 2, 1695). Louis XIV., in order to wipe off this disgrace, commanded Villeroy to bombard Brussels; and the prince of Vaudemont had the mortification to see great part of that city laid in ruins, without being able either to prevent or avenge the wanton destruction (Aug. 13). The military reputation of William, which had suffered greatly during the three foregoing campaigns, was much raised by the retaking of Namur. But the allies had little success in other quarters. No event of any importance happened in Italy, on the Upper Rhine, or in Catalonia. In Hungary, where peace had been expected by the confederates, the accession of Mustapha II. to the Ottoman throne gave a new turn to affairs. Possessed of more vigour than his predecessor, Achmet II., Mustapha resolved to command his troops in person. He accordingly took the field; passed the Danube; stormed Lippha; seized Itul; and falling suddenly on a body of imperialists, under Veterani, he killed that officer, dispersed his forces, and closed with success a campaign which promised nothing but misfortune to the Turks.

§ 450. The next and the last campaign of this widely-extending conflict, produced no very important results. France was exhausted by her great exertions; and, the king of Spain and the emperor excepted, all parties seemed heartily tired of the war. Louis XIV., by his intrigues, had detached the duke of Savoy from the confederacy; he tampered with the other powers; and a congress for a general peace, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden, was at last opened, at the castle of Ryswick, between Delft and the Hague (Jan. 29, 1697). The taking of Barcelona in-

duced the king of Spain to listen to the proposals of France; and the emperor, after reproaching his allies with deserting him, found it necessary to accede to the treaty. The concessions made by Louis XIV. were very considerable; but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession were left in full force. Though the renunciation of all claim to that succession, conformably to the Pyrenean treaty, had been one great object of the war, no mention was made of it in the articles of peace. It was stipulated, that the French monarch should acknowledge William III. to be the lawful sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and make no farther attempt to disturb him in the possession of his kingdoms; that the duchy of Luxemburg, Chiny, Charleroy, Mons, Aeth, Courtray, and all places united to France by the chambers of Metz and Breisac, as well as those taken in Catalonia, during the war, should be restored to Spain; that Freiburg, Breisac, and Philipsburg should be given up to the emperor; and that the duchies of Lorraine and Bar should be rendered back to their native prince. The emperor had scarcely acceded to this treaty, when he received intelligence of a victory gained by his forces, under Prince Eugene, over the Turks, at Zenta (Sept. 11, 1697). This triumph broke the spirit of the Turks; and the haughty Mustapha, after attempting in vain, during another campaign, to recover the laurels he had lost at Zenta, agreed to listen to proposals of peace. The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers accordingly met at Carlowitz, and signed a treaty (Jan. 26, 1699), in which it was stipulated, that all Hungary on this side the Drave, with Transylvania and Slavonia, should be ceded to the house of Austria; that the Russians should remain in possession of Azoff, on the Palus Mæotis, which had been taken by their young sovereign Peter I., afterwards styled the Great; that Podolia should be restored to the Poles; and that the Venetians, who had distinguished themselves during the latter years of the war, should have the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus, and several places in Dalmatia.

LETTER 19.—The Progress of Society in Europe, from the Middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century. A.D. 1550—1700. Vol. ii., pages 245—262.

§ 451. About the middle of the sixteenth century society had attained a very high degree of perfection in Italy. Soon after the Italian states began to decline, and the other

European nations to advance towards refinement. Among these the French took the lead; for although the Spanish nobility during the reign of Charles V., and those of his immediate successors, were perhaps the most polished and enlightened set of men on this side of the Alps, the great body of the nation was sunk in ignorance, superstition, and barbarism. And the secluded condition of the women, in both Spain and Italy, was an additional barrier against true politeness. That grand obstruction to elegance and pleasure was effectually removed, in the intermediate kingdom, by the gallant Francis I. and Anne of Brittany, wife of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., who had introduced the custom of ladies appearing publicly at the French court. Francis encouraged it; and by familiarizing the intercourse of the sexes, threw over the manners of the nation those bewitching graces that have so long attracted the admiration of Europe. But this innovation, like most others in civil life, was at first attended with several inconveniences. Not only frequent intrigues, but a gross sensuality was the consequence. Katherine of Medicis encouraged this sensuality, and employed it as the engine for perfecting her system of Machiavelian policy. On the accession of Henry IV. and the cessation of the religious wars, gallantry began to assume a milder form. The reign of sensuality continued, but it was a sensuality mingled with sentiment, and connected with heroism. Gallantry was formed into a system during the reign of Louis XIII., and love was analyzed with all the nicety of metaphysics.

§ 452. During the regency of Anne of Austria and the civil wars, in the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV., affairs were chiefly conducted by the ladies. They often appeared openly at the head of factions, adorned with the ensigns of their party; visited the troops, and presided at councils of war, while their lovers spoke as seriously of an assignation as of the issue of a campaign. This, however, vanished at the approach of the best days of Louis XIV., when the glory of France was at its height, and the French language, literature, arts, and manners, were perfected. Ease was associated with elegance, taste with fashion, and grace with freedom. The progress of arts and literature in France kept pace with the progress of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I., who is deservedly styled the "Father of the French Muses," a better taste in composition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montaigne,

whose native humour and good sense will ever entitle them to be ranked among the greatest writers of their nation, improved the French prose; and French verse was gradually polished by Marot, Ronsard, and Malherbe, while prose received new graces from Voiture and Balzac. At length Corneille produced the "Cid," and Pascal the "Provincial Letters." The former is still justly admired as a great effort of poetical genius, both with regard to style and matter; and the latter is universally regarded as a model of prose composition, as well as of delicate raillery and sound reasoning. Corneille was immediately followed by Molière, Racine, Quinault, Boileau, and La Fontaine. The language of the tender passions, little understood even by Corneille, was successfully copied by Madame De La Fayette in her ingenious novels, and afterwards no less happily introduced on the stage by Racine, especially in his two pathetic tragedies, "Phædra" and "Andromache." Composition, like manners, returned in appearance to the simplicity of nature, adorned, but not disguised by art. This elegant simplicity is more particularly to be found in the tragedies of Racine, the fables of La Fontaine, and the comedies of Molière. The same good taste extended itself to all the fine arts. Several magnificent edifices were raised; sculpture was perfected by Girardon, of whose skill the mausoleum of Cardinal Richelieu is a lasting monument; Poussin equalled Raphael in some branches of painting, while Rubens and Vandyke displayed the glories of the Flemish school; and Lulli set to excellent music the simple and passionate operas of Quinault. France, and the neighbouring provinces, toward the latter part of the seventeenth century, were what Italy had been a century before, the favourite abodes of classical elegance.

§ 453. The progress of taste and politeness was less rapid in the north of Europe during this period. Germany and the adjoining countries, from the league of Schmalkalden to the peace of Westphalia, were a perpetual scene either of religious wars or disputes. But these tended to enlighten the human mind, and those wars to invigorate the human character, as well as to perfect the military science; an advantage in itself by no means contemptible, as that science is not only necessary to protect ingenuity against force, but intimately connected with several others conducive to the happiness of mankind. All the powers of the soul were roused, and all the emotions of the heart

called forth. Courage ceased to be an enthusiastic energy or rapacious impulse ; it became a steady effort in vindication of the dearest interests of society. And Germany produced consummate generals, sound politicians, deep divines, and even acute philosophers, before she made any advances in the *Belles Lettres*. The revival of learning in Europe had prepared the minds of men for receiving the doctrines of the Reformation, as soon as they were promulgated ; and instead of being startled when the daring hand of Luther drew aside, or rather rent, the veil that covered established errors, the genius of the age, which had encouraged the attempt, applauded its success. Luther himself, though a stranger to elegance or taste in composition, zealously promoted the study of ancient literature, as necessary to a right understanding of the Scriptures, which he held up as the standard of religious truth. A knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages became common among the Reformers ; and they insensibly acquired a clearness of reasoning and a freedom of thinking, which not only enabled them to triumph over their antagonists, but to investigate with accuracy several moral and political subjects. These, instead of polite literature, employed the thoughts of those who were not altogether immersed in theological controversy ; and the names of Grotius and Puffendorff are still mentioned with respect. They delineated, with no small degree of exactness, the great outlines of the human character, and the laws of civil society ; it was reserved for latter writers, for Smith and Ferguson, Montesquieu and Helvetius, to complete the picture. Their principles they derived partly from general reasoning, and partly from the political situation of Europe in that age. In Germany and the United Provinces, Protestants and Roman Catholics were everywhere blended ; and the fatal experience of the destructive effects of persecution, seems first to have suggested the idea of toleration, the most important principle established by the political and controversial writers of the seventeenth century.

§ 454. Copernicus discovered the true theory of the heavens, which was afterwards perfected by our immortal Newton ; that the sun, by far the greatest body, is the centre of our planetary system, dispensing light and heat, and communicating circular motion to the other planets which revolve around. Kepler ascertained the true figure of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of those

planets. Nor was that bold spirit of investigation, which the Reformation had roused, confined to the countries that had renounced the pope's supremacy, and the slavish doctrines of the Romish Church. It reached even Italy; where Galileo, by the invention, or at least the improvement, of the telescope, confirmed the system of Copernicus. He discovered the mountains in the moon, a planet attendant on the earth; the satellites of Jupiter; the phases of Venus; the spots in the sun, and its rotation, or turning on its own axis. Galileo was cited before the Inquisition, committed to prison, and commanded solemnly to abjure his heresies and absurdities; in regard to which, the following decree, an eternal disgrace to the brightest age of literature in modern Italy, was passed in 1633: "To say that the sun is in the centre, and without local motion, is a proposition absurd and false in sound philosophy, and even heretical, being expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture; and to say that the earth is not placed in the centre of the universe, nor immoveable, but that it has so much as a diurnal motion, is also a proposition false and absurd in sound philosophy, as well as erroneous in the faith!" The influence of the Reformation on government and manners was no less conspicuous than on philosophy. While the sovereigns of France and Spain rose into absolute power at the expense of their unhappy subjects, the people in every Protestant state acquired new privileges. Vice was depressed by the regular exertions of law, when the sanctuaries of the Church were abolished, and the clergy themselves made amenable to punishment. This happy influence extended itself even to the Church of Rome. Nor has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Romish Church: it has extended to the sovereign pontiffs themselves. The popes, instead of rivalling the courts of temporal princes in gaiety, or surpassing them in licentiousness, studied to assume manners more suitable to their ecclesiastical character; and by their humanity, their love of literature, their moderation, and even their piety, made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predecessors.

§ 455. The Roman Catholics also instituted a new monastic order, namely that of the Jesuits, who were required to attend to the transactions of the great world, to study the dispositions of persons in power, and to cultivate their friendship. They considered the education of youth as

their peculiar province, and they set out as missionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The Jesuits increased wonderfully; and before the beginning of the seventeenth century, only sixty years after the institution of the order, had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every Roman Catholic country in Europe. They had become the confessors of most of its monarchs; they were the spiritual guides of almost every person eminent for rank or power, and they possessed the highest degree of confidence and interest with the papal court, as the most zealous and able assertors of its dominion. As they formed the minds of men in youth, they retained an ascendancy over them in their more advanced years. They possessed, at different periods, the direction of the most considerable courts in Europe; they mingled in all public affairs, and took part in every intrigue and revolution. Together with the power, the wealth of the order increased. They acquired possession of a large and fertile province of South America, well known by the name of Paraguay, and reigned as sovereigns over three or four hundred thousand subjects. Unhappily for mankind, the vast influence which the Jesuits acquired was often exerted for the most pernicious purposes. As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it stood forth in defence of the Romish Church against the attacks of the champions of the Reformation, its members considered it their peculiar function to combat the opinions and to check the progress of the Protestants. They made use of every art, and employed every weapon against the Reformed religion; they set themselves in opposition to every gentle and tolerating measure in its favour; and they incessantly stirred up against its followers all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution.

§ 456. While Paul III. was instituting the order of Jesuits, and Italy exulting in her superiority in arts and letters, England, separated from the Holy See, and, like Germany, agitated by theological disputes, was groaning under the civil and religious tyranny of Henry VIII. This prince was a lover of letters, which he cultivated himself; but his controversies with the court of Rome, and the sanguinary measures which he pursued in his domestic policy, threw a cloud over the manners and the studies of the nation, which the barbarities of his daughter Mary rendered yet darker, and which was not dispelled till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. Then the Muse ventured once more

to expand her wings, and Chaucer found a successor worthy of himself in the celebrated Spenser. The principal work of this poet is the "Fairy Queen." It is of the heroic kind, and was intended as a compliment to Queen Elizabeth and her courtiers. Shakespeare, the other luminary of the virgin-reign, and the father of our drama, was more happy in his line of composition. By studying only the heart of man, his tragic scenes are most effective; and by copying manners, undisguised by fashion, his comic humour is for ever new. The reign of James I. was distinguished by the labours of many eminent authors, both in prose and verse; but their productions show a bad taste. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," Camden's "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," Raleigh's "History of the World," and the translation of the Bible now in use, are striking proofs of the improvement of our language, and of the progress of English prose. Fairfax's translation of Tasso, and some of the tragic scenes of Fletcher excepted, the style of none of the poets of this reign can be mentioned with entire approbation. Jonson, though born with a vein of genuine humour, is a rude mechanical writer; and the poems of Drayton, who was endowed with a fertile genius, with great facility of expression, and a happy descriptive talent, abound in the splendid faults of composition. Daniel, the poetical rival of Drayton, affects to write with more purity; yet he is by no means free from the bad taste of his age. During the tranquil part of the reign of Charles I. a favourable change ensued. Charles himself was an excellent judge of literature, a chaste writer, and a patron of the liberal arts. Vandyke was caressed at court, and Inigo Jones was encouraged to plan those public edifices which do so much honour to his memory; while Lawes, and other eminent composers, in the service of the king, set to manly music some of the finest English verses.

§ 457. Amid the troublous times of the great rebellion appeared many men of noble intellect. Then the force and the compass of our language were fully tried in the public papers of the king and Parliament, and in the bold eloquence of the speeches of the two parties. In political and theological controversy was roused the vigorous genius of John Milton, which afterwards broke forth with so much lustre in the poem of "Paradise Lost," unquestionably the greatest effort of human imagination. No poet, ancient or modern,

is so sublime in his conceptions as Milton; and few have ever equalled him in boldness of description or strength of expression. Waller, whose taste had been formed under the first Charles, and who wrote during the brightest days of the second, is one of the chief refiners of our versification, as well as language. Waller was followed in his poetical walk by Dryden, who carried English rhyme in all its varieties to a very high degree of perfection; while Lee, whose dramatic talent was great, introduced into blank verse that solemn pomp of sound, which was long much affected by our modern tragic poets. The pathetic Otway brought tragedy down to the level of domestic life, and exemplified that simplicity of versification and expression which is so well suited to the language of the tender passions. But Otway, in other respects, is by no means so chaste a writer; nor was the reign of Charles II. the era either of good taste or elegant manners in England. A better taste in literature, however, began to discover itself in the latter productions of Dryden, the greater part of whose Fables, "Absalom and Achitophel," "Alexander's Feast," and several other pieces, written toward the close of the seventeenth century, are justly considered, notwithstanding some negligences, as the most masterly poetical compositions in our language. The same good taste extended itself to a sister art. Purcell, the celebrated author of the "Orpheus Britannicus," set the principal lyric, and the airs in two of the dramatic pieces of Dryden, to music worthy of the poetry. Dryden, during his latter years, also greatly excelled in prose; to which he gave an ease and energy not to be found united in Clarendon or Temple, the two most celebrated prose writers of that age. Clarendon's words are well chosen and happily arranged; but his spirit, and even his sense, is frequently lost in the bewildering length of his periods. The style of Temple, though easy and flowing, wants force. The sermons, or Christian orations of Archbishop Tillotson, have great merit, both in regard to style and matter. Dryden considered Tillotson as his master in prose composition.

§ 458. The sciences made greater progress in England, during the course of the seventeenth century, than polite literature. Early in the reign of James I. Sir Francis Bacon, who is justly considered, on account of the extent and variety of his talents, as one of the most extraordinary men that any nation ever produced, broke through the

scholastic obscurity of the age, like the sun from beneath a cloud, and showed mankind the necessity of thinking for themselves, in order to become truly learned. If he did not greatly enlarge the bounds of any particular science, he was usefully employed in breaking the fetters of false philosophy, and conducting the lovers of truth to the proper method of cultivating the circle of the sciences. That liberal spirit of inquiry which Bacon had awakened, soon communicated itself to his countrymen. Harvey, by reasoning alone, discovered the circulation of the blood. Soon after the Restoration, the Royal Society was founded ; and its members, in a few years, made many important discoveries in mathematics and natural philosophy, in which Wilkins, Wallace, and Boyle had a great share. Nor were the other branches of science neglected. Hobbes unfolded the principles of policy and morals with a bold but impious freedom. He represented man as cruel, unsocial, and unjust. Shaftesbury, naturally of a benevolent temper, shocked with the debasing principles of Hobbes, and captivated with the generous visions of Plato, brought to light an enchanting system of morals, which every friend to humanity would wish to be true. The philosophy of Newton, all founded on experiment and demonstration, can never be sufficiently admired. The discovery of Locke, though now familiar, that all our ideas are acquired by sensation and reflection, and consequently, that we brought none into the world with us, has had a more serious influence upon the opinions of mankind. It has not only rendered our reasonings concerning the operations of the human understanding more distinct ; it has also induced us to reason concerning the nature of the mind itself, and its various powers and properties. In a word, it has served to introduce an universal system of scepticism, which has shaken every principle of religion and morals.

CHAPTER V.

LETTER 20.—General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Ryswick to the Grand Alliance. A.D. 1697—1701. Vol. ii., pages 262—272.

§ 459. THE first object which engaged the general attention of Europe, after the peace of Ryswick, was the settlement of the Spanish succession. The declining health of Charles II. of Spain gave new spirit to the intrigues of the competitors for his crown. These competitors were Louis XIV., the Emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria. Louis and the emperor were both grandsons of Philip III. The Dauphin, and the emperor's eldest son Joseph, king of the Romans, had therefore a double claim, their mothers being daughters of Philip IV. The right of birth was in the house of Bourbon, but the imperial family asserted, in support of the claim, besides the solemn and ratified renunciations of Louis XIII. and XIV. of all title to the Spanish succession, the blood of Maximilian, the common parent of both branches of the house of Austria—the right of male representation. The elector of Bavaria claimed, as the husband of an archduchess, the only surviving child of the Emperor Leopold, by the Infanta Margaret, second daughter of Philip IV., who had declared her descendants the heirs of his crown, in preference to those of his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa; so that the son of the elector, in default of issue by Charles II., was entitled to the whole Spanish succession, unless the testament of Philip, and the renunciation of Maria Theresa, on her marriage with the French monarch, were set aside. Soon after the peace of Ryswick the English Parliament had reduced the army to seven thousand native troops, thus requiring William to dismiss his Dutch guards; and although Louis was better prepared for war, he pretended to be in favour of peace, and on this occasion trusted rather to diplomacy than the sword to achieve his ends.

§ 460. A treaty of partition was signed, by England, Holland, and France (Aug. 19, 1698). It stipulated that, on the demise of the king of Spain, his dominions should be divided among the competitors for his crown in the following manner. Spain, her American empire, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands, were assigned to the prince of Bavaria; to the Dauphin, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the marquisate of Final, in Italy; and in Spain, the province of Guipuscoa, with other territories. To the Archduke Charles, the emperor's second son, was allotted the dukedom of Milan. The treaty was to be kept secret by the contracting powers, but it soon became known at Madrid, where it caused a great sensation. The king summoned an extraordinary council, and by will appointed the prince of Bavaria his sole heir. Charles II. of Spain, contrary to all expectation, recovered from his illness; the prince, to whom he had bequeathed his empire, died suddenly, and strong suspicions were entertained of foul play (Feb. 6, 1699). Louis and William again negotiated, and a second treaty of partition was privately signed, by England, Holland, and France, notwithstanding the violent remonstrances of the court of Madrid against such a measure (March 25, 1700). It differed very little from the former treaty, excepting that it assigned Spain and her American dominions to the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. In order to prevent the union of Spain and the imperial crown in the person of one prince, provision was made, that in case of the death of the king of the Romans, the archduke, if raised to that dignity, should not succeed to the Spanish throne. In like manner, it was particularly stipulated, that no dauphin or king of France should ever wear the crown of Spain; and a secret article provided against the contingency of the emperor's refusing to accede to the treaty.

§ 461. At this period Peter the Great of Russia began to attract the attention of Europe. Having moulded the disjointed empire left by his predecessors into form, and defeated the Turks, he, in 1697, set out on a tour through the different states of Europe, anxious to profit by their advancement and civilization. He laboured in the docks at Amsterdam like a common shipwright, and from Holland passed over to England, where he perfected himself in the art of ship-building. King William, in order to gain his favour, entertained him with a naval review, made him a present of

an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his service a number of ingenious artificers. Thus instructed, and attended by several men of science, Peter returned to Russia, after an absence of nearly two years. Peter wanted a port in the Baltic, and was moreover anxious to obtain possession of the province of Ingria; and with this view he entered into a league against Sweden. Charles XII., then quite a youth, had but just before succeeded to the throne (1697), and he speedily astonished the world by his great talents for war, his fortitude, and perseverance. As Denmark had commenced the struggle by attacking Holstein, Charles renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland, and sent an army into Pomerania to be ready to support the duke of Holstein. An English fleet sailed to assist the Swedes. Although Russia and her allies gained some early successes, Copenhagen was threatened, and Denmark detached from the confederacy by the treaty of Travendahl (Aug. 19, 1700).

§ 462. A most violent discontent had in the mean time broken out in Scotland. The Scotch, in consequence of an act of Parliament, had planted, in 1698, a colony on the isthmus of Darien, and founded a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh. The nation built on this project the most extravagant ideas of success; and, in order to support it, had subscribed four hundred thousand pounds sterling. But the promise of the future greatness of New Edinburgh, the intended capital of New Caledonia, proved its ruin. Its vicinity to Porto Bello and Carthagena, at that time the great marts of the Spaniards in America, and other considerations, caused the court of Madrid to remonstrate very forcibly against the settlement, and James II. at once withdrew his protection. The consequence was, that the Scotch settlers in Darien were compelled to surrender to the Spaniards, and this so exasperated the Scotch people, that they were ready to rise in open rebellion. In England the second partition treaty was very unpopular, and the refusal of the emperor to accede to the treaty only served to increase the general dissatisfaction.

§ 463. Charles II. of Spain, perplexed by the claims of different rivals, sought the advice of Innocent XII., who declared that the laws of Spain, and the welfare of all Christendom, required him to give the preference to the family of Bourbon. In accordance with this counsel, Charles

made a will, leaving his dominions to the duke of Anjou, the dauphin's second son. Charles II. died in 1700 (Nov. 1). Louis XIV., flattered by the will in favour of his grandson, acknowledged its validity, and the duke of Anjou was crowned at Madrid, under the title of Philip V. In justification of this violation of the treaty of partition, Louis urged, amongst other things, that it had not been signed by the emperor, nor received with favour by the princes to whom it had been communicated. After much discussion, Holland and England were induced to acknowledge the new monarch, and the Emperor Leopold alone, of all the great powers of Europe, prepared to dispute his title. The war of the succession accordingly commenced in Italy, where the French were defeated by Prince Eugene at Carpi (July 9, 1701), and at Chiari (Sept. 1). England and Holland prepared to embark in the struggle. Although Leopold was extravagant in his demands, these powers would only undertake to procure for him the Spanish dominions in Italy, and to recover Flanders, as a barrier for Holland. Matters being thus adjusted, the famous treaty, generally known by the name of the Grand Alliance, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the king of England, and the States-General of the United Provinces. The avowed objects of this treaty were, "to obtain satisfaction for his imperial majesty in regard to the Spanish succession; security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce; to prevent the union of the two great monarchies of France and Spain; and the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America." It was also stipulated, that the king of England and the States-General might retain for themselves whatever lands and cities they should conquer in both Indies. And the contracting powers agreed to employ two months in attempting to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security they demanded.

§ 464. The question of the succession in England had also been raised, in consequence of the death of the duke of Gloucester (July 29, 1700), the only surviving son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the last male heir of the Protestant line. Roman Catholics were excluded from succeeding to the English crown, by the former Act of Settlement: it therefore became necessary now to proceed to Protestant females; and as it was not probable that William III. or the princess of Denmark would have any issue, the eventual succession to the crown was settled, by act of Par-

liament, on the Princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Protestants (June 12, 1701). She was grand-daughter of James I. by the Princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector Palatine, who was stripped of his dominions by the Emperor Frederic II. This settlement of the crown was accompanied by certain limitations, or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, which were supposed to have been overlooked at the Revolution. The principal of these were, that all affairs relative to government, cognizable by the privy council, should be submitted to it, and that all resolutions therein taken, should be signed by the members who advised or consented to them; that no pardon should be pleadable to any impeachment laid in parliament; that no person, who should possess any office under the king, or received a pension from the crown, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons; that the commissions of the judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries be ascertained and established; that, in the event of the descent or transfer of the crown to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of Parliament, to enter into any war for the defence of territories not depending on the kingdom of England; and that whosoever should come to the possession of the throne, should join in communion with the Church of England.

§ 465. Charles XII. of Sweden no sooner raised the siege of Copenhagen, in consequence of his treaty with the king of Denmark (1700), than he turned his arms against the Russians, who had undertaken the siege of Narva with eighty thousand men. Charles, with about twelve thousand men, advanced to the relief of the place; and having carried, without difficulty, all the outposts, he resolved to attack the Russian camp. The Russians, for a time, stood the shock with firmness; but, after an engagement of three hours, their intrenchments were forced on all sides, with great slaughter, and Charles entered Narva in triumph (Nov. 30, 1700). Several thousand of the enemy were killed in the action; many were drowned in the Narva, nearly thirty thousand were made prisoners; and all their magazines, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Swedes. Charles dismissed his prisoners, after disarming them, except the officers, whom he treated with great generosity. The king of Sweden passed the winter at Narva,

and took the field as soon as the season would permit. He entered Livonia, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Riga, which the king of Poland had in vain besieged the preceding campaign. The Poles and Saxons were posted along the Düna; and Charles XII., who lay on the opposite side of the river, was under the necessity of forcing a passage. This he effected, although with much difficulty. A general engagement ensued, and the Swedes gained a complete but bloody victory. The enemy lost nearly three thousand men, with all their artillery and baggage. Immediately after this victory, Charles advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland. That city, and all the towns in the duchy, surrendered to him at discretion. From Courland he passed into Lithuania, and he is said to have felt a particular satisfaction, when he entered in triumph the town of Birzen, where Frederic Augustus, king of Poland, and the Czar Peter, had planned his destruction but a few months before. It was here that, under the stimulating influence of resentment, he formed the great project of dethroning Frederic Augustus, by means of his own subjects. The Poles murmured at seeing their towns enslaved by Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers covered with Russian armies. More jealous of their liberty than ambitious of conquest, they considered the war with Sweden as an artful measure of the court, in order to furnish a pretext for the introduction of foreign troops (1701).

LETTER 21.—Europe, from the Beginning of the General War of the Succession to the Offers of Peace made by France in 1706, and the Union of England and Scotland. A.D. 1701—1707. Vol. ii., pages 272—293.

§ 466. Just after the signature of the Grand Alliance, James II., ex-king of England, died at St. Germain's (Sept. 16, 1701); and Louis XIV., in violation of the treaty of Ryswick, acknowledged the son of that unfortunate prince king of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III. This perfidious act fully aroused the resentment of the English nation, and induced them to embark with eagerness in the war against France. The marquis of Torcy attempted in vain to apologize to the king of England for the conduct of his master: the affront to William was too flagrant to be patiently borne. He instantly recalled his ambassador from the court of France, and ordered the French envoy to quit his dominions. The Parliament not only supported William zealously, and voted large supplies

for the war, but presented an address to the throne, requesting the king to insert in the treaty an article, which was readily assented to by the contracting powers, that no peace should be concluded with France, until reparation was made by the French monarch for the indignity offered to his majesty and the English nation, in crowning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England. William, however, was thrown into a fever, by a fall from his horse, and died whilst the preparations were going forward (March 8, 1702). He was a prince of great vigour of mind, firmness of temper, and intrepidity of spirit; but ungraceful in his person and address, disgustingly cold in his manner, and dry, silent, and solitary in his humour. To a happy concurrence of circumstances, and a steady perseverance in his plans, rather than to any extraordinary talents, either in a civil or military capacity, he owed that high reputation, and extensive influence, which he so long enjoyed among the princes of Christendom. He was, however, an able politician, and a good soldier, though not a great commander. England, at least, was obliged to him for abetting her cause, in her grand struggle for liberty and a Protestant succession. But she has dearly paid for those blessings, by being involved in wasting foreign wars; by the introduction of the infamous practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to support those wars; and by their unavoidable consequence, a grievous national debt, which, daily accumulating, and augmenting the weight of government, threatens us with the worst of evils.

§ 467. Queen Anne, the eldest surviving daughter of James II., succeeded quietly to the English throne, conformably to the Act of Settlement; and her resolution to uphold the principles of the Grand Alliance frustrated the hopes conceived by Louis XIV. and his allies. Lord Godolphin assumed the direction of affairs, and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, as commander-in-chief of the English forces, and ambassador extraordinary to the States. This great man succeeded in his negotiation; he animated them to a full exertion of their strength; and gained so far on their confidence, that they raised him to the chief command of their troops. All the allies engaged, with alacrity, to furnish their several quotas; and war was declared against France, on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna (May 4, 1702). The first campaign was not of a decisive character. In Italy, the imperialists, being outnum-

bered by the armies of France and Spain, gained no advantage, and were compelled to abandon the siege of Mantua. The allies were defeated at Friedlingen, on the Upper Rhine, but in Flanders Marlborough carried everything before him; and Venlo (Sep. 25), Buremonde (Oct. 6), and Liege (Oct. 23), fell into his hands. The allied fleet under Sir George Rooke having failed in an attempt upon Cadiz (Aug. 15), sailed for Vigo, and after a brisk action captured several galleons, under the protection of batteries, and defended by twenty-three French ships of war (Oct. 12). Six ships of war were taken, seven sunk, and nine burned. Of thirteen galleons, nine fell into the hands of the conquerors, and four were destroyed; and although the greater part of the treasure had been landed, and carried to Lagos, the booty was immense, and the consternation of the house of Bourbon excessive (1702).

§ 468. These successes induced the duke of Savoy to separate himself from France and Spain, while the king of Portugal joined the confederates. Louis XIV., however, made great preparations for opening the next campaign, and was by no means wanting in success. Meantime the elector of Bavaria, the firm ally of France, carried on hostilities with vigour in the heart of Germany. He gained several advantages and defeated the imperialists, with great loss, at Hochstadt (Sept. 20, 1703). The victorious army put the elector of Bavaria in possession of Augsburg; and the road to Vienna being thus laid open, the emperor trembled in his capital. In Italy the French were also victorious, but Marlborough continued master on the side of Flanders. He took Bonn (May 14), Huy (Aug. 27), and Limburg (Sept. 27). These acquisitions, however, by no means counterbalanced the advantages of the enemy in other quarters; more especially as the operations of the allies at sea, during the summer, had been languid and undecisive; and their negligence so great, that the Spanish treasure from the Havannah, the joint produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, had arrived safely, under convoy of a French fleet, and furnished the house of Bourbon with fresh resources for continuing the war. But the confederates were not discouraged by their losses; nor by an insurrection in Hungary, which spread devastation to the gates of Vienna. The English Parliament voted liberal supplies, the Archduke Charles assumed the title of king of Spain, and preparations were made for continuing the struggle with great spirit. In the mean time the ferment in Scotland, caused by the untoward termination of the

Darien enterprise, had not subsided, and the Whigs, jealous of the ascendancy of the Tories, began to trouble the government. Godolphin and Marlborough induced the queen to admit some Whigs into the administration, and Harley was accordingly made secretary of state, and Mr. St. John, afterwards known as Lord Bolingbroke, was advanced to the lucrative post of secretary at war (1704).

§ 469. The war reopened favourably for the allied cause. By his successes in the two former campaigns, Marlborough had secured the safety of the United Provinces, and he resolved to march into the heart of Germany to the aid of the emperor, who was sorely pressed by numerous foes. In pursuance of this design, the English general crossed the Rhine at Coblenz, met Prince Eugene at Mondelsheim, and effected a junction with a portion of the imperial army. He forced the elector of Bavaria's intrenchments near Donawert (July 2, 1704), obtained possession of that town, and gained a free passage over the Danube. The enemy was at this juncture reinforced, and the opposing armies, each amounting to about eighty thousand men, came into collision at the village of Blenheim. The victory was gained by Marlborough and Eugene, and the French and Bavarians lost, including the killed and prisoners, nearly forty thousand men (Aug. 13). Their camp-equipage, baggage, and artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors. These trophies, however, were not acquired without considerable loss. The allies had five thousand men killed, and nearly eight thousand wounded. As no modern victory, between disciplined armies, was ever more decisive than this, none could be followed by more sudden or important consequences. The emperor was relieved from his fears, the Hungarian malcontents were overawed, and the conquests and dominions of the elector of Bavaria fell at once into the hands of Leopold, who revenged severely on the subjects of that prince, the excesses which had been committed on his own. Broken, ruined, and dispersed, the forces of Louis XIV. left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates from the Danube to the Rhine; and the wretched remains of that army, which, at the beginning of the season, had spread terror to the gates of Vienna, was obliged to take shelter within the frontiers of France. The victors crossed the Rhine, entered Alsace, and the important fortresses of Landau and Trierbach surrendered to them before the close of the campaign. In other parts, the

campaign proved more favourable to the cause of the house of Bourbon. Sir George Rooke failed in an attempt on Barcelona (May 18), but captured Gibraltar (July 22), and the combined squadrons of England and Holland defeated the French fleet off Malaga.

§ 470. These successes rendered the war popular in England, and liberal supplies were voted for its prosecution. The Whigs supported the ministry, and Godolphin, either from policy or principle, threw himself entirely into their hands. Parliament was dissolved (April 5, 1705), and the Whigs attained a great accession of strength in the elections. In France, many of the persecuted Huguenots, both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had taken refuge in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the south of France, where they led a savage life along with the rude natives, under the name of Camisards, and enjoyed their religion in a state of barbarity. They had their prophets and prophetesses, who excited them to the most atrocious cruelties, both against the Roman Catholics and the refractory part of their own sect. At length, encouraged by these visionaries, by their increasing numbers, and by the promises of the confederates, the Camisards, on the commencement of the war in 1701, began to mingle politics with their religion. They demanded "liberty of conscience, and an exemption from taxes," and took up arms to support their pretensions. Several generals were sent against them, and in 1704 Villars endeavoured to enter into a treaty with them; but they, suspecting the sincerity of the court, broke off the negotiation when it was almost finished; and Villars being recalled, in order to enter on a more important scene of action, the duke of Berwick, on his return from Spain, was despatched against them. As severity was now become as necessary as it was formerly impolitic, the duke exercised it without reserve, and reduced the Camisards to obedience. The emperor Leopold died in 1705 (May 5), and was succeeded by his son Joseph. Though little was accomplished this year in Flanders, Germany, or Italy, the earl of Peterborough achieved the most brilliant successes in Spain. He captured Lerida, Tortosa, and Barcelona (Oct. 4), and pursued a rapid course of conquest in Catalonia and Valencia. He was not only one of the most valiant men of the age, but a perfect knight in every sense of the term, and he inspired respect by his generosity as he did terror by the boldness of his military plans.

§ 471. Great efforts were made on all sides during the next campaign. Marlborough joined the English and Dutch army on the 20th of May, and gained a complete victory over the French at Ramillies (May 23, 1706), on which occasion he took one hundred pieces of cannon and a great quantity of baggage. The total conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate consequence of this victory. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Oudenarde, and other places surrendered at discretion. Ostend, so famous for its long siege in the last century, put the first stop to the progress of the confederates. It was forced, however, to capitulate, after a siege of ten days. The consequences of the battle of Ramillies were not confined to Flanders; they extended even to Italy, where Louis XIV. hoped the taking of Turin would afford some consolation for his losses in other quarters. But the French besieging forces were attacked by Prince Eugene; and after an obstinate struggle of two hours, he entered their camp, drove them from all their posts, and took their cannon, baggage, ammunition, and military chest (Sept. 7). The duke of Orleans was slightly wounded, and Marshal Marsin mortally. The French army was routed and dispersed; and, although the number of the killed did not exceed three thousand, such was the terror of the fugitives, that they retreated immediately towards Pignerol, and made the best of their way into Dauphiné: so that the house of Bourbon lost, at one blow, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples. The confederates, notwithstanding some unfavourable circumstances, were no less successful in Spain. The English and Portuguese overran the kingdom and entered Madrid (June 24). The archduke was proclaimed king of Spain, under the name of Charles III., and had he advanced immediately to the seat of power, the Spanish crown would have been transferred for ever from the house of Bourbon. Philip V. having collected a superior army, forced them to quit that city. The duke of Berwick hung close upon their rear, and gained some advantages over them; yet they, having effected a junction with the earl of Peterborough and the archduke, passed safely into the kingdom of Valencia, and disposed their quarters in such a manner as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, and preserve, at the same time, a free entrance into Castile. Carthage, which had been captured a few months before, was, however,

retaken before the end of the campaign, and the affairs of the allies in Spain fell into confusion.

§ 472. Affairs in the North and East had in the mean time undergone a considerable change. In prosecution of his designs against Poland, Charles XII. invaded that kingdom, and gained a complete victory over the king's army at Clissaw (July 20, 1702). He took possession of camp, baggage, and cannon; and even the military chest of the king of Poland fell into his hands. The king of Sweden halted not a moment on the field of battle. He directed his march to Cracow, which surrendered without firing a gun. He was prevented by an accident from following up this success so rapidly as he desired, but came up with the enemy again at Pultusk (May 1, 1703). Thorn fell soon after, and the Diet of Warsaw having declared the throne vacant, bestowed it upon Stanislas Leczinski. Peter of Russia, who had developed the resources of his kingdom and re-modelled his army, again took the field, captured Narva (Aug. 20, 1704), and obtained possession of the whole of Ingria. He was, at the same time, engaged building the new city of St. Petersburg, on a marshy island on the Neva.

§ 473. The fugitive king of Poland took refuge with Peter, and at Grodno these two monarchs entered into an alliance. The Russian levies embarked in the cause, but were everywhere defeated by the Swedes; and some of the achievements performed by Charles XII. and his generals were most extraordinary. At last Frederic Augustus sued for peace, which he obtained on renouncing all pretensions to the crown of Poland, and acknowledging Stanislas as its lawful sovereign (Sept. 14, 1706). The brilliant successes achieved by Charles XII. induced Louis XIV. and others to court his alliance; but, intent upon humbling Peter of Russia, the king of Sweden rejected all such offers. Disappointed in his hopes of engaging the king of Sweden in his cause, and broken in spirit by misfortunes, Louis XIV. sued for peace. He offered all the Spanish dominions in Italy to the Archduke Charles; to the States a barrier in the Netherlands; and to the duke of Savoy a compensation for the injuries done by the war. In return for such concessions, he demanded that the electorate of Bavaria should be restored to its native prince, and that Philip V. should be allowed to possess Spain and her American dominions. These offers were rejected (Oct. 21, 1706), and it was resolved that no peace should be made with the house of

Bourbon, while a prince of that house continued to sit upon the Spanish throne.

§ 474. That union of England and Scotland under one legislature, which had been often attempted in vain, was at last accomplished, after long and warm debates between the commissioners of the two kingdoms; and, in consequence, all disputes concerning the Scottish crown were fortunately prevented (March 6, 1707). The principal articles in that famous treaty are the following:—"That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland shall be united into one, by the name of Great Britain. That the succession to the United Kingdom shall remain to the Princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; and that all papists, and persons marrying papists, shall be excluded from, and be for ever incapable of inheriting, the crown of Great Britain, or any part of the dominions thereunto belonging. That the whole people of Great Britain shall be represented by one Parliament, in which sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, chosen for Scotland, shall sit and vote. That the subjects of the United Kingdom shall enjoy an entire freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, and reciprocal communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging to the subjects of either kingdom. That the laws in regard to public right, policy, and civil government, shall be the same throughout the United Kingdom; but that no alteration shall be made in the laws respecting private rights, unless for the evident utility of the subjects residing in Scotland. That the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland shall not be affected by the union. That the Court of Session, or College of Justice, with all the other courts of judicature in Scotland, shall remain as constituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the same authority and privileges as before the union; subject, nevertheless, to such regulations as may be made by the Parliament of Great Britain." Other articles were added, providing for the application of a sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds granted by the English Parliament to Scotland, and various other matters. The treaty has proved highly beneficial to both of the contracting parties, and they have obtained a greater degree of splendour and prosperity as a united kingdom than they could possibly have done as separate and independent states.

LETTER 22.—The General View of Europe continued, from the Refusal of the Offers of Peace made by France, to the Commencement of the Conferences at Gertruydenberg. A.D. 1706—1710. Vol. ii., pages 294—305.

§ 475. In Italy the allies commenced the campaign of 1707 with great success. Modena and Milan surrendered, the kingdom of Naples was reduced, and the few places in the dominions of the duke of Savoy occupied by French or Spanish garrisons, were captured. In Spain the duke of Berwick defeated the English and Dutch at Almanza (April 14). No victory could be more decisive, and the kingdom of Valencia was speedily recovered. In Germany they also gained some successes, and the threatening attitude assumed by Charles XII. caused the confederates much uneasiness. In fact his demands upon the Emperor Joseph induced the English government to send Marlborough into Saxony. This distinguished general and diplomatist gained a complete ascendancy over the mind of the warrior king; he ceased to press his demands, and soon after went to oppose the Russians. Nothing memorable was achieved during this campaign, either in Flanders or at sea. The confederates invaded Provence, and attacked Toulon, but were compelled to retire (Sept. 1, 1707).

§ 476. The first united Parliament of Great Britain assembled in the autumn (Oct. 23, 1707), and the failure of the attempt before Toulon, the inactive campaign in Flanders, and the misfortunes in Spain, furnished the enemies of Marlborough and Godolphin with grounds of complaint. Mrs. Masham, a new female favourite, had partly supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the affections of the queen. Marlborough and Godolphin complained of these intrigues, and threatened to retire; whereupon Anne dismissed Harley. St. John and some others resigned (Feb. 11, 1708). The division in the cabinet, and discontent in Scotland, occasioned by the union, induced Louis XIV. to make an attempt in favour of James III. The Scotch Jacobites offered to raise and equip thirty thousand men, and the Pretender, under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, sailed from Dunkirk on board a French fleet, carrying troops, arms, and munitions (March 6). Sir George Byng had occupied the Frith of Forth, and they were compelled to return to Dunkirk with the loss of one ship, to the utter confusion of the hopes of the Pretender and of his adherents,

both in France and Great Britain. The moment all apprehension of danger was over, Marlborough set out for Flanders, and although the French, by treachery, obtained possession of Ghent and Bruges (July 5), he defeated them at Oudenarde (July 11), with great loss. Lisle was besieged and the town captured (Oct. 23); the citadel also surrendered (Dec. 9), and before the end of the campaign Ghent and Bruges were recovered (Dec. 30). Little was effected in Italy or Germany during this campaign; and in Spain the French and Spaniards had the advantage. Tortosa was taken in July, and Denia and Alicant fell. Sardinia and Minorca were captured by the fleet, and proved a great acquisition (Aug. 29, 1708).

§ 477. Queen Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark, died during these transactions (Oct. 28, 1708); but his death made no alteration in the state of English politics. The success of the campaign confirmed the ascendancy of Marlborough and Godolphin, and they divided with the Whigs the power and emoluments of office. Large supplies were voted for the ensuing campaign, ten thousand men were added to the war establishment, and the Dutch exerted themselves strenuously. Louis XIV. again made offers of peace (Feb. 28, 1709); and agreed to yield the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, without any equivalent; to cede to the emperor his conquests on the Upper Rhine; to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lisle, Condé, and Maubeuge, as a barrier to Holland; to acknowledge the elector of Brandenburg as king of Prussia; the duke of Hanover, as ninth elector of the empire; to own the right of Queen Anne to the British throne; to remove the Pretender from the dominions of France; to acknowledge the succession to the crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line; to restore everything required to the duke of Savoy; and to agree to the cessions made to the king of Portugal, by his treaty with the confederates. These terms were rejected by Marlborough, Eugene, and Heinsius, the plenipotentiaries of the confederates, and as Louis XIV. would not accept all the conditions of the ultimatum which they presented, negotiations were broken off (June 9). Marlborough and Eugene besieged and captured Tournay (July 30); won the hotly-contested battle of Malplaquet (Sept. 11), and occupied Mons (Oct. 21). The French and Spaniards gained some slight successes in Spain; while in other quarters nothing worthy of particular notice was

effected ; and as Louis XIV. again sued for peace, a conference was opened at Gertruydenberg (March 11, 1710).

§ 478. In September, 1707, Charles XII. of Sweden quitted Saxony, and marched into Poland against Peter of Russia. The latter retired and offered to treat, but Charles declared that he would dictate terms at Moscow. He pushed forward boldly into the enemy's country, fought many battles, in which he was victorious ; but his army suffered dreadfully from the inclemency of the weather and want of supplies. In fact, Charles experienced all those evils and inconveniences which fell with such terrible effect upon Napoleon's invading legions in 1812. In spite of every obstacle, he pressed on, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Pultowa, a small Russian town in the Ukraine. He invested the place with his half-famished army, now reduced to twenty-seven thousand men, about two-thirds of which were Swedes ; and hoped not only to take the town, but to defeat and even dethrone the czar. The garrison bravely repelled the assault, Peter advanced to its relief, and gained the battle of Pultowa (July 8, 1709). Nine thousand of the vanquished were left dead on the field, and about six thousand taken, together with the king's military chest, containing the spoils of Poland and Saxony. Charles, accompanied by three hundred of his guards, with difficulty escaped to Bender. The king of Sweden lost, in one day, the fruits of nine years of successful war ; and that veteran army which had spread terror over Europe, was totally annihilated. The elector of Saxony, hearing of the defeat of his conqueror, protested against the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, and re-entered Poland. His patron, the czar, followed him. Stanislas was forced to relinquish his authority, and Frederic Augustus found himself once more in possession of the Polish throne. Peter revived the ancient pretension of the czars to Livonia, Ingria, and part of Finland ; Denmark laid claim to Schonen ; the king of Prussia to Pomerania ; and had not the emperor and the maritime powers interposed, the Swedish monarchy would have been rent to pieces.

LETTER 23.—The General View of Europe, carried forward from the Opening of the Conferences at Gertruydenberg to the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt. A.D. 1710—1714. Vol. ii., pages 306—326.

§ 479. Louis XIV., in addition to the concessions which he proposed the year before, offered at Gertruydenberg, not

only to give up the Spanish monarchy without any equivalent, and to acknowledge Charles III. lawful king of Spain, but to pay a subsidy of a million of livres a month, till his grandson Philip V. should be expelled. He relinquished even Alsace to the emperor; and, as a security for the performance of the articles of the treaty, he engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders, yet in his possession, into the hands of the allies. The plenipotentiaries, not satisfied with these concessions, required him to assist in expelling his grandson from the Spanish throne, and as Louis refused, negotiations were once more broken off (July 20, 1710). In the mean time, Douay had been taken (June 26), and Bethune fell in the autumn (August 30). In Spain the competitors for the crown, with their allies, waged the contest vigorously. Charles III., by the aid of a British force, gained the battles of Almenara (July 27), of Saragossa (August 20), entered Madrid (Sept. 28); but afterwards retired into Catalonia. Stanhope, the English general, with five thousand British troops, was cut off at Brihuega (Dec. 10); and Stahremberg and the Austrians were defeated at Villa Viciosa (Dec. 20). These successes in some measure revived the drooping spirits of the adherents of the house of Bourbon.

§ 480. In the mean time a political revolution happened in England. Mrs. Masham, the new favourite, exerted her influence against Godolphin and Marlborough, and even Harley, who had been dismissed, had frequent interviews with the queen. The numerous victories on the continent did not afford a compensation to the people for the increased taxation occasioned by the war; and the Tories endeavoured to turn popular discontent to their advantage. A cry was raised against the dissenters, and in spite of the address voted by both houses to the queen, assuring her that no danger existed (Dec. 14, 1705), Dr. Henry Sacheverell, anxious to fan the flame, preached a violent sermon against them, before the lord mayor and court of aldermen in St. Paul's Cathedral (Nov. 5, 1709). This preacher not only inveighed against the dissenters, but denounced those in authority, and advocated the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. Ministers ordered him to be impeached, whereupon the people at once espoused his cause. At last Sacheverell was found guilty; but was only suspended from preaching for three years (March 25, 1710), without being precluded from preferment, his sermon being ordered to be

burned by the hands of the common hangman (March 27). The famous decree of the University of Oxford, passed in 1683, recognizing the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, was also, by a vote of the Lords, ordered to be burned at the same time. The queen took advantage of the sudden and extraordinary change in the sentiments of the people, to remodel her administration, and the duke of Shrewsbury was appointed chamberlain; Godolphin received an order to break his staff; the treasury was put in commission; and Harley was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; while his friend, St. John, succeeded Mr. Boyle as secretary of state. The duke of Marlborough alone, of the party to which he belonged, remained in office.

§ 481. An unexpected event gave a fresh turn to the politics of Europe. This was the sudden death of the Emperor Joseph, whose reign had been one continued stream of success (April 17, 1711). He was succeeded by his brother Charles VI.; and as it was contrary to the spirit of the Grand Alliance, that the same person should possess Spain and the empire, Harley and his associates were no longer afraid to avow their pacific sentiments. The fears of mankind were in a moment changed; the liberties of Europe seemed now to be in more danger from the power of the house of Austria, than from that of Bourbon. Meanwhile hostilities were carried on in every quarter. By skilful tactics Marlborough drove the French from the lines of Arleux (August 5), and closed the campaign, and his own military career, with the capture of Bouchain (Sept. 13). Nothing of any consequence was achieved in other parts; negotiations for peace with France were carried on secretly, of which the preliminaries were signed in London, on the 27th of September. This insidious transaction, so disgraceful to Great Britain, being accidentally brought to light, all the other allies were alarmed. They deemed themselves deserted by the power which had been the chief support of the war. It afterwards appeared that in these preliminaries the resignation of Philip V. was no longer insisted upon; and this omission particularly offended the emperor. The more moderate Tories joined the Whigs, and the ministry were threatened with a strong opposition. Marlborough induced the Lords to append an obnoxious clause to the address, and he was accordingly dismissed from all his offices (Dec. 30). Twelve new peers were at the same time created in order to secure a majority in the upper house.

§ 482. While the Tories are supposed to have been favourable to a restoration of the house of Stuart, and of the fact that Anne herself contemplated naming the Pretender as her successor there can be no doubt, the Whigs held frequent cabals with the Dutch and imperial ambassadors. They even affirmed that the Protestant succession was in danger, and urged the necessity of sending for the elector of Hanover or his son. They exerted themselves in every way to prevent the conclusion of the treaty, and invited Prince Eugene over to London. This great man was, however, obliged to return to the continent without effecting his object (March 13, 1712). Lord Townshend, who had been employed in the negotiations for peace in 1709, had concluded a treaty with the States of the United Provinces, by which Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and several places on the Lys and the Scheldt, were guaranteed to the Dutch as a barrier, at the end of the war. In return, they undertook to uphold the Protestant succession; to aid with their fleets and armies the presumptive heirs of the British crown, whenever that succession should appear to be in danger. Ministers objecting to some of these engagements, brought the Barrier Treaty before the House of Commons, under pretence that Townshend had exceeded his instructions. The Commons voted that several articles of the treaty were destructive to the interests of Great Britain; and therefore, that he who negotiated and signed the treaty, having no authority to insert those pernicious articles, was an enemy to the queen and the kingdom.

§ 483. While the English ministry were smoothing at home the road to peace, general conferences were opened at Utrecht, for restoring tranquillity to Europe. The English plenipotentiaries declared that the preliminaries were neither binding on the queen nor her allies. Several deaths which occurred about this time in the royal family of France, complicated matters, and only the duke of Anjou, a sickly infant, the sole surviving son of the duke of Burgundy, stood between the king of Spain and the crown of France. The confederates were, therefore, filled with reasonable apprehensions, lest that union of the two monarchs, which it had been the chief object of the war to prevent, should at last be completed by the death of a puny child, and the lukewarmness, if not treachery, of a principal ally; and the queen of England and her ministers were at a loss how to quiet these well-grounded fears. After much discussion,

it was agreed that Philip V. of Spain should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the throne of France; and that the renunciation of Philip V. should be registered in the books of the Parliament of Paris, and solemnly received and ratified by the Cortes, or States of Castile and Arragon.

§ 484. In the mean time the duke of Ormond had taken the command of the British forces in Flanders, and the confederate army under Prince Eugene moved forward (April, 1712). But the English commander had received orders from home not to act on the offensive, and this led to forcible remonstrances from the Dutch. During the altercation and suspense occasioned by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond, Prince Eugene laid siege to Quesnoy; and he privately detached Major-General Grovestein, with fifteen hundred choice troops, dragoons, and hussars, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer levied contributions as far as the gates of Metz; spread consternation even to Versailles; and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a rich booty, together with a number of hostages, retired leisurely toward Traerbach. Meanwhile the siege of Quesnoy was prosecuted with such vigour, that the place was taken almost by assault, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war (July 4). The British forces had distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner, during the whole course of this celebrated war, and in almost every battle gave the turn to victory. Their example had perhaps been of yet greater service than their efforts, though these were transcendentally heroic. When they were withdrawn, even Prince Eugene was no longer victorious. He lost several battles, while Douay (Sept. 8), Quesnoy (Oct. 4), and Bouchain (Oct. 19), fell into the hands of the French, who were highly elated at their success. The negotiations at Utrecht, which had been for some time suspended, were renewed, and the treaties between the different powers were at last signed on the 30th of March, 1713, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Prussia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor resolving to continue the war, and the king of Spain refusing to sign the stipulations until a principality should be provided, in the Low Countries, for the Princess Ursini, the favourite of his queen.

§ 485. This treaty provided very effectually that the crowns of France and Spain should not be united under

one head, and after certain continental arrangements, it was agreed on the part of Great Britain, that the French monarch should acknowledge the title of Queen Anne, and the eventual succession of the family of Hanover to the British throne; that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and the harbour filled up; that certain places in North America and the West Indies should be ceded or restored by France to Great Britain; namely, the island of St. Christopher, Hudson's Bay and Straits, the town of Placentia, in the island of Newfoundland, and the long-disputed province of Nova Scotia; that the island of Minorca and the fortress of Gibraltar should remain in the possession of Great Britain; and that the Assiento, or contract for furnishing the Spanish colonies in South America with negroes, should belong to the subjects of Great Britain for the term of thirty years. Conferences were opened between Prince Eugene and Marshal Villars, at Rastadt (Nov. 28, 1713). The terms of this treaty (March 6, 1714) were less favourable to the emperor than those offered at Utrecht. The king of France retained Landau, which he had formerly proposed to cede, together with several fortresses beyond the Rhine, which he had agreed to demolish. He had the electors of Bavaria and Cologne fully re-established in their dominions and dignities; the elector of Bavaria consenting to relinquish the island of Sardinia to the emperor, in return for the Upper Palatinate, and the king of France to acknowledge, in form, the electoral dignity of the duke of Hanover. The principal articles, in regard to Italy and the Low Countries, were the same with those settled at Utrecht. About the time that the treaty of Rastadt was concluded, the king of Spain acceded to the general pacification. The Catalans were still in arms, and the inhabitants of Barcelona resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Being besieged, they made the most heroic defence, but were at last compelled to surrender (Sept. 12, 1714). All Catalonia submitted; and the Catalans were disarmed, and deprived of their privileges.^a

(^a) "The administration of Godolphin and Marlborough in the reign of Queen Anne," says Earl Stanhope, "shines forth with peculiar lustre in our annals. No preceding one, perhaps, had ever comprised so many great men, or achieved so many great actions. Beside its two eminent chiefs, it could boast of the mild yet lofty wisdom of Somers, the matured intellect of Halifax, and the rising abilities of Walpole. It had struck down the overgrown power of France. It had saved Germany and conquered Flanders."

CHAPTER VI.

LETTER 24.—Great Britain, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Suppression of the Rebellion ; with some account of the Affairs of France, and the Intrigues of the Court of St. Germain's. A.D. 1713—1716—Vol. ii., pages 327—340.

§ 486. THE Jacobite party had grown very powerful in England. Queen Anne was inclined to favour the cause ; but she required the Pretender to conform to the Church of England, before she would agree to alter the succession. In all intrigues for his restoration the court of St. Germain's shared ; and upon the return of peace, the French king and his agents redoubled their efforts. Oxford was pressed to take a decided course, but he still hesitated, unwilling to do anything that might peril his own influence. The peace of Utrecht did not please the English people, and the treaty of commerce with France, by which it was accompanied, was still more unpopular. In the mean time intrigues were carried on in favour of the Pretender, and motions made for securing the Protestant succession. Bolingbroke and Oxford quarrelled ; the latter was dismissed from all his offices (July 27), and Queen Anne died soon after (Aug. 1). During an interval of her illness, she delivered the treasurer's staff to the duke of Shrewsbury. Animated with the ardour of their party, and perhaps by a zeal for the welfare of their country, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle boldly entered the council-chamber, without being summoned. Other Whig members joined them ; and a multitude of the nobility and gentry being assembled, as soon as the queen expired, orders were given, agreeably to the Act of Settlement, to proclaim George, elector of Brunswick, king of Great Britain. A regency was appointed, his title was owned by foreign princes and states, and all things continued quiet in England until his arrival.

§ 487. George I. ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age ; and the same prudence,

which had hitherto distinguished him, in his negotiations with the British court, was conspicuous throughout his reign. He placed not only the administration, but all the principal employments of the kingdom, both civil and military, in the hands of the Whigs. The Treasury and Admiralty were put in commission; and the command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and restored to the duke of Marlborough. A new parliament was called, in which the interest of the Whigs predominated (March 21, 1715); and a secret committee, chosen by ballot, was appointed to examine all the papers, and inquire into all the negotiations relative to the late peace, as well as to the cessation of arms, by which it was preceded. The Committee of Secrecy prosecuted their inquiry with the greatest eagerness; and in consequence of their report, the Commons resolved to impeach Lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Ormond, of high treason, for their share in the clandestine negotiations with France, and for Ormond's acting in concert with Villars, after the fatal suspension of arms. Bolingbroke and Ormond escaped to the continent, while Oxford was committed to the Tower, and after an imprisonment of two years, was dismissed for want of accusers.

§ 488. The Tories were in general inclined to Jacobitism. The heads of the party, both in England and Scotland, held a secret correspondence with the Pretender, and although no regular concert had been formed, a tendency towards an insurrection appeared among them, from one end of the island to the other, and the most artful means were employed to inflame the body of the people, as well as to secure particular adherents. The disbanded officers were gained by money; scandalous libels were published against the electoral family; the Pretender's manifestoes were everywhere circulated; all the Whigs were brought under the description of dissenters, and the cry of the danger of the church was revived. Louis XIV., broken by years and infirmities, refused to support his cause; and his death (Sept. 1, 1715) further embarrassed the affairs of the Pretender. He knew that he had numerous friends in Scotland, more particularly amongst the Highlanders, and he resolved to make an attempt to gain what he considered to be his right. The Highlanders had indeed formed a regular confederacy, and were zealous to take arms for the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. Strongly prepossessed in favour of the hereditary

descent of the crown, they could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of succession. It contradicted all their ideas of kingship, and even of clanship. They therefore thought themselves bound, by a sacred and indispensable obligation, to reinstate in his lineal inheritance the excluded prince, or to perish in the bold attempt. The Pretender's southern friends were no less liberal in their professions of zeal in his cause. They pressed him to land in the west of England, although they had taken no decisive measures for a general insurrection. They still continued to represent arms and foreign troops as necessary to such a step, and were told that the Pretender was not only incapable of furnishing them with either, but that he could not bring with him so many men as would be able to protect him against the peace-officers.

§ 489. Both in the west of England and in Scotland risings occurred; and whilst the former proved a miserable failure, the latter at first met with success. The earl of Mar proclaimed the Pretender, and set up his standard at Braemar. He was joined by many of the Scotch nobility, and with their assistance, was able in a few weeks to collect an army of nearly ten thousand men, well armed and accoutred. He took possession of the town of Perth, where he established his headquarters, and made himself master of almost all that part of Scotland which lies beyond the Frith of Forth. This was great and rapid success. The duke of Argyle received orders to march against the rebels, with all the forces in North Britain. The Pretender's friends in the north of England had also risen, and having failed in an attempt upon Newcastle, effected a junction with a reinforcement of infantry sent by the earl of Mar. Division prevailed in their councils; some went one way and some another, and a strong force which had repaired to Preston surrendered to the king's troops (Nov. 13, 1715). On the same day an indecisive battle was fought between Dumblaine and Sheriff-Muir, in Scotland. Several Scotch noblemen immediately declared for the established government.

§ 490. The Pretender took the unaccountable resolution, in this desperate state of his affairs, of landing in the north of Scotland. He accordingly set sail from Dunkirk in a small vessel, and arrived at Peterhead, attended only by six gentlemen (Dec. 25, 1715). He was met at Fetterosse by the earl of Mar and other friends, and conducted to Perth. There a regular council was formed, and a day fixed for his

coronation at Scone. But he was diverted from all thoughts of that vain ceremony by the approach of the duke of Argyle, who, having been reinforced with six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, advanced toward Perth, notwithstanding the rigour of the season. As that town was utterly destitute of fortifications, excepting a simple wall, and otherwise unprovided for a siege, the king's troops took possession of it without resistance. Mar and the Pretender had retired to Montrose; and, seeing no prospect of better fortune, they embarked for France, accompanied by several other persons of distinction (Feb. 4, 1716). General Gordon proceeded northward with the main body of the rebels, by a march so rapid as to elude pursuit. All who could not hope for pardon, embarked at Aberdeen for the continent. The common people were conducted to the hills of Badenoch, and there quietly dismissed. The whole country submitted to Argyle. The earl of Derwentwater, Lord Kenmure, and a few other rebel prisoners were publicly executed; but blood was not wantonly spilt.

LETTER 25.—Russia, Turkey, and the Northern Kingdoms, from the Defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa, to the Death of Peter the Great. A.D. 1709—1725. Vol. ii., pages 340—357.

§ 491. It is a maxim of the Turkish government, to consider as sacred the persons of such unfortunate princes as take refuge in their dominions, and to supply them liberally with the conveniences of life, according to their rank, while within the limits of the Ottoman empire. In accordance with this generous maxim, the king of Sweden, on taking refuge in Turkey, after the disastrous defeat at Pultowa, was honourably conducted to Bender, and saluted on his arrival with a general discharge of the artillery. Charles XII. did all in his power to induce Achmet III. to join him in a war against Russia. This object he would have at once effected, had it not been for the crafty policy of the czar, who bribed the Ottoman officials liberally. Peter, on his return from Poland, made his triumphal entry into Moscow, with the trophies, prisoners, and artillery captured at Pultowa. This furnished Charles with new arguments for awakening the jealousy of the Porte, and the grand vizier Kupruli, who was averse to the step, was dismissed, and another appointed in his stead. War with Russia was now determined upon, and the Russian ambassador was accord-

ingly seized and committed to the castle of the Seven Towers.

§ 492. The czar could not tamely suffer such an injury : and his power seemed to render submission unnecessary. As soon as he was informed of the haughty insult, he made every preparation for war. Nor were the Turks negligent in taking measures for opposing, and even humbling him. The khan of Crim Tartary was ordered to hold himself in readiness with forty thousand men, and the troops of the Porte were collected from all quarters. After some contention amongst the Turkish commanders, Adrianople was fixed upon as the rendezvous of the Turkish forces. Peter had already taken the field, and planned his route through Moldavia and Walachia. The prince of Moldavia joined Peter, who advanced to the northern bank of the Pruth, near Yassi (June, 1711). The Turkish army appeared, the Moldavians refused to support him, a number of Tartars continually harassed his troops, and Peter's position became perilous in the extreme. Charles, who had taken offence at not being allowed to command the army, quitted Bender, in order to be present at the ruin of his rival. In this extremity, the Empress Katherine, a Livonian captive of low condition, whom Peter had just before raised to the throne, counselled negotiation. Peter consented, and the Turkish commander, unwilling to drive the Russians to despair, allowed them to retire, on condition that Peter should restore Azoff, destroy the harbour of Tangarog, and demolish the forts built on the Palus Mæotis ; withdraw his troops from Poland, give no farther disturbance to the Cossacks, and permit the Swedish monarch to return into his own kingdom.

§ 493. Charles XII. was highly incensed at this treaty, by which Peter had been suffered to escape ; and the representations he made to the sultan, induced the latter to dismiss his grand vizier. Through the mediation of England and Holland, a more lasting peace was afterwards concluded between Turkey and Russia, and Charles XII. was called upon to quit the Turkish dominions. Being unwilling to comply, he was seized, after a most desperate resistance, at the head of his three hundred Swedes, carried to Adrianople, and imprisoned in the castle of Demitrash (1713). From this place he was removed to Demotica, where he lingered for some time in captivity. During his absence his kingdom was gallantly defended by General Steenboch. After several

minor actions, he defeated the Poles, Danes, and Saxons, at Gadebusch (Dec. 1712). This general afterwards burnt Altona; but was compelled to surrender at Tonnigen, with all his army. Peter in the mean time was pushing his conquests in Finland, which he subdued, and he gained a complete victory over the Swedes at sea (1714). These successes induced the czar to celebrate another triumph, and he entered St. Petersburg, as he had formerly done Moscow, in procession, under a magnificent arch, decorated with the trophies of his conquests.

§ 494. Under pretence of sickness, Charles XII. kept his bed at Demotica, and he is said to have done this for ten months. The dangerous state of affairs in Sweden announced to him by his sister, the Princess Ulrica Eleonora, induced him to rouse himself from his lethargy, and to signify to the sultan his desire to return to his own dominions. No obstacles were thrown in his way, and Charles once more appeared at the head of his army. He was besieged at Stralsund by a formidable army of Danes, Prussians, and Saxons, whilst Peter sent a fleet into the Baltic, and threatened to invade Sweden. Charles made the most determined resistance, and, considering the overwhelming forces brought against him, achieved wonders, but was at last compelled to make his escape in a small boat, and Stralsund surrendered (Dec. 22, 1715). Misfortune did not, however, damp his ardour, and his new minister, Baron Goertz, encouraged his most extravagant projects. Charles passed the winter at Carlscroon, invaded Norway on the return of spring, and after having won several battles, and taken towns which he could not retain, he withdrew to Sweden.

§ 495. Goertz had gained a comple ascendancy over this monarch's mind, and he prevailed upon him to enter into intrigues against England, and to treat with Russia. Goertz himself was taken prisoner in Holland, and conferences were opened in the island of Oeland, when the death of Charles XII. changed the aspect of affairs. Having undertaken a second expedition into Norway, he sat down before Fredericshal, in the month of December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense, that the soldiers on duty frequently dropped down dead. One night, as he was viewing them carrying on their approaches by starlight, he was killed by a small ball, from a cannon loaded with grape-shot. Though he expired without a groan, the moment

he received the blow, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that position, so truly characteristic of his mind (Dec. 11, 1718). No prince perhaps possessed so many eminent, with so few amiable qualities, as Charles XII. of Sweden. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romantically brave, but blind to consequences; resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perseverance in enterprise, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic passion for glory, will ever command our admiration. Goertz was accused of having "slanderosly misrepresented the nation to the king;" condemned to lose his head, and executed at the foot of a common gallows. The States of the kingdom then elected Ulrica Eleonora, sister of Charles XII., for their queen (1719). But they obliged her, by a solemn act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, that she might hold it entirely by the suffrage of the people; while she bound herself, by the most sacred oaths, never to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power. And sacrificing, soon after, the love of royalty to conjugal affection, she relinquished the crown to her husband, the prince of Hesse-Cassel, who was chosen by the States, and mounted the throne on the same conditions with his royal consort (1720).

§ 496. The new government was no sooner established than the Swedes turned their views toward peace. It was accordingly brought about by different treaties. One, called the Treaty of Stockholm, was signed (Nov. 20, 1719) with the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, to whom the queen of Sweden agreed to cede the duchies of Bremen and Verden, in consideration of a million of rix-dollars; another with the king of Prussia (1720), who restored Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and kept Stettin, with the isles of Usedom and Wollin; and a third with the king of Denmark, who retained part of the duchy of Sleswick, conquered from the duke of Holstein, and gave up Wismar, on condition that the fortifications should not be rebuilt (1720). The war with Russia still continued; but an English squadron being sent to the assistance of Sweden, the czar thought proper to recall his fleet. Negotiations were opened at Nystadt, where a treaty of peace was at last concluded, by which the czar was left in possession of the

provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, with part of Finland (1721). Peter the Great henceforth took the title of Emperor, which was soon formally acknowledged by all the European powers. Persia being at that time distracted by civil wars, he marched to the assistance of the lawful prince (whose father had been murdered, and his throne seized by an usurper), everywhere spreading terror before him (1722). And in return for this seasonable support, as well as to procure his future protection, he was put in possession of three provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea. He introduced arts and manufactures into his dominions, and strove to consolidate his mighty empire. He made canals, adopted a uniform system of weights and measures, provided for the education of youth, remodelled the courts of law, and corrected abuses in religion. After his return from the Persian expedition, he caused Katherine to be solemnly crowned (May 18, 1724). This remarkable woman always wielded a wonderful influence over her husband, and on his death succeeded to the throne (Feb. 8, 1725).

LETTER 26.—General View of the Affairs of Europe from the Death of Louis XIV. to that of the Emperor Charles VI. A.D. 1715—1740. Vol. ii., pages 358—370.

§ 497. The speedy and fortunate repression of the rebellion increased the influence of the crown. The Whig ministry, no longer under any apprehension from the encroachments of arbitrary power, and willing to crush their political enemies, repealed the Triennial Act, and extended the duration of parliaments to the term of seven years (May 7, 1716). No sooner was the general peace concluded, than Achmet III. commenced hostilities against the Venetians, and made himself master of the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus (1715). The Emperor Charles VI., as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, by which this territory had been assigned to the republic of Venice, was bound to declare war against the Turks for infringing it;—and the pope, alarmed at the progress of the infidels, urged his imperial majesty to stand forth in defence of Christendom. Charles accordingly assembled a powerful army, under the celebrated Prince Eugene, who passed the Danube, and defeated the grand vizier Ali, at Peterwaradin (Aug. 5, 1716). The year following the same general undertook the siege of Belgrade, which he speedily cap-

tured (Aug. 22, 1717). The consequence of these two victories was the peace of Passarowitz, by which the Porte ceded to the emperor Belgrade and Temeswar (June 24, 1718). But the Venetians, on whose account the war had been undertaken, did not recover their possessions in Greece. Philip V. of Spain, having lost his first queen, Maria Louisa of Savoy, had married, in 1714, Elizabeth Farnese, presumptive heiress of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. This marriage, which not a little alarmed the emperor, was chiefly brought about by the intrigues of Alberoni, an Italian priest, and a native of Placentia, who soon rose to the highest favour at the court of Madrid, and was honoured by the pope with a cardinal's hat. This minister formed the most extraordinary projects, and intrigued in all directions in order to put them into execution. With the malcontents in Scotland, England, and France, with the Swedes, and even the Turks, he endeavoured to form alliances; but his schemes were happily discovered and frustrated.

§ 498. The precarious state of the authority of the duke of Orleans, the French regent, and the dangerous intrigues of Alberoni, had induced the regent of France (1716) to enter into a league with England and Holland; and the violent ambition of the court of Spain, which seemed to know no bounds, now disposed those three powers, in conjunction with the emperor, to form the famous Quadruple Alliance (Aug. 2, 1718). After the articles which provided for the maintaining of the peace of Utrecht, the principal stipulations in that treaty were, that the duke of Savoy, in consideration of certain places in Italy, should exchange with the emperor the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia, of which he should take the regal title; and that the emperor should confer on Don Carlos, eldest son of the young queen of Spain, the investiture of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, on the death of the present possessors without issue. This formidable alliance made no alteration in the temper of Alberoni. The article regarding the eventual succession of Don Carlos was rejected with scorn by the Spanish court, which had already taken possession of Sardinia, under pretence of assisting the Venetians against the Turks, and of great part of the island of Sicily. The consequence of this obstinacy, and of these unprovoked hostilities, was a declaration of war against Spain, by France and England (Dec. 16, 1718). Every effort had been made to settle the

matter by negotiation, but without success. Whilst these events were in progress, Sir George Byng engaged the Spanish fleet near the coast of Sicily, and won a complete victory (July 31, 1718). Sicily and Sardinia were recovered (1719). Spain at last acceded to the terms prescribed by the Quadruple Alliance (Jan. 26, 1720), and Alberoni was disgraced.

§ 499. About this time a Scotch adventurer, named John Law, who had been compelled to leave his native country, on account of having killed a man in a duel, induced the duke of Orleans to adopt one of the wildest projects (1716). Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest. The introduction of paper-credit could alone effect this amazing revolution, and the exigencies of the state seemed to require such an expedient. Law accordingly established a bank, which was declared royal (1718), and united with the Mississippi or West-India Company, from whose commerce the greatest riches were expected, and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It undertook the management of the trade to the coast of Africa; it also obtained the privileges of the old East-India Company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo; and it, at length, engrossed the farming of the national taxes. By spreading false reports of the discovery of mines of great wealth, Law caused the shares to rise twenty per cent., and everybody was anxious to speculate in the Mississippi scheme. A panic ensued, public credit sank at once, and Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, was obliged to flee from a country he had beggared, without enriching himself, in order to discharge the debts of the crown (1720). The distress of the kingdom was so great, that government was under the necessity of affording relief. Upwards of five hundred thousand sufferers, chiefly fathers of families, presented their whole fortunes in paper; and government, after liquidating these debts, which are said to have originally amounted to a sum too incredible to be named, charged itself with the enormous debt of sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres, to be paid in specie. Thus ended in France the famous Mississippi scheme; so ruinous to the fortune of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt. Its effects,

however, were not confined to that kingdom. Holland received a slight shock ; but its violence was more peculiarly reserved for England, where it appeared in a variety of forms, and exhausted all its fury.

§ 500. Nothing is so much talked of in this country, or so little understood, as the National Debt, the Public Funds, and the Stocks. The National Debt is the residue of those large sums which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise for the public service, and which the state has not hitherto found it convenient to pay off. The Public Funds consist of certain ideal aggregations, deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by parliament to pay the interest of that money ; and the surplus of these taxes, which have always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what was called the Sinking Fund, as it was originally intended to be applied towards the reduction or sinking of the national debt. The Stocks are the whole of this public and funded debt ; which being divided into an infinity of portions or shares, bearing a known interest, varying in the different funds, may be readily transferred from one person to another, and converted into cash. These stocks rise or fall in value according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation. At present the stocks are subject to but slight variations, except in times of national danger or calamity. The interest having been regularly paid, they have reached a high rate of value, that can be generally maintained. Formerly, however, the case was otherwise. The loans were chiefly made by corporations, or great companies of merchants ; who, beside the stipulated interest, were indulged with certain commercial advantages. To one of those companies was granted, in 1711, the monopoly of a projected trade to the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, an entire freedom to visit which, it was supposed, England would obtain, either from the house of Austria or that of Bourbon, in consequence of the successes of the war.

§ 501. At the peace of Utrecht, no such freedom was obtained. But the Assiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, conveyed to Great Britain by the commercial treaty with Philip V., as well as the singular privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of five hundred tons burden, laden with European commodities, was vested exclusively in the South-Sea Company. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established

at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements : and the company was permitted to freight in the ports of the South Sea, vessels of four hundred tons burden, in order to convey its negroes to all the towns on the coasts of Mexico and Peru ; to equip them as it pleased ; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its sales in gold or silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export. Even this contract was exceeded, a larger vessel was sent annually to Porto Bello, and means were found of supplying her with fresh stores, as her cargo was sold. By these various advantages, the profits of the South-Sea Company were much increased. Encouraged by such favourable circumstances, and by the general spirit of avaricious enterprise, Sir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a scrivener, was tempted to project, in 1719, the infamous South-Sea scheme. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the interest, and reducing all the funds into one, he proposed that the South-Sea Company should become the sole public creditor.

§ 502. A scheme so plausible was readily adopted by the ministry, and received the sanction of an act of Parliament. The South-Sea Company were authorized to buy up all the funded debts of the crown, which then bore an interest of five per cent. ; and it was provided that, after the expiration of six years, the interest should be reduced to four per cent. and the capital be redeemable by Parliament. The directors were empowered to raise the money by different means ; and particularly by opening books of subscription, and granting annuities to such public creditors as should think proper to exchange the security of the crown for that of the South-Sea Company, with the emoluments which might result from their commerce. While this affair was in agitation, the stock of the South-Sea Company rose from one hundred and thirty, or thirty pounds on the hundred above its primary value, to nearly four hundred pounds, or four times the price paid by the first subscribers. Various reports were spread to allure the public, and the subscription-books were no sooner opened than persons of all ranks and conditions crowded to the South-Sea House, eager to become proprietors of the stock. The first purchases were, in a few weeks, sold for double the money paid for them ; and the delusion, or rather the infatuation, was carried so far, that stock at last reached ten times its original price (1720). New projectors started

up every day to avail themselves of the avarice and credulity of the nation ; and the Welsh Copper Company, the York Building Company, and many others, were formed.

§ 503. No interested project was so absurd as not to meet with encouragement during the public delirium ; but the South-Sea scheme continued to be the great object of attraction. At length, however, to use the phrase of the times, the bubble began to burst (Sept. 30, 1720). It was discovered, that such as were thought to be in the secret had disposed of all their stock while the tide was at its height. A univereal alarm ensued. Every one wanted to sell and nobody to buy, except at a very reduced price. The South-Sea stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and to the lowest ebb ; and nothing but the timely interposition and steady wisdom of Parliament could have prevented a general bankruptcy. A committee of the House of Commons was chosen by ballot to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relative to the execution of the South-Sea Act ; and this committee discovered, that before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the passing of the bill. Mr. Aislabe, chancellor of the exchequer, and other members implicated in the scheme, were expelled the House of Commons. The first-mentioned was committed to the Tower, and other delinquents were censured (March 8, 1721). The estates of the directors were also confiscated by act of Parliament. The Commons having thus punished the chief promoters of this iniquitous scheme, by stripping them of their ill-gotten wealth, proceeded to repair, as far as possible, the mischief it had occasioned. They accordingly prepared a bill for that purpose. It was enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public sufferers ; that several additions should be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right ; and that, after such distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among the proprietors. By these wise and equitable regulations, public credit was restored, and the ferment of the nation gradually subsided.

§ 504. The discontents and disorders occasioned by the South-Sea scheme encouraged the English Jacobites to think of making a new attempt to change the line of succession ; but George I. obtained information of the plot,

and Christopher Layer was taken into custody and executed for having enlisted men for the service of the Pretender. Several members of the nobility, Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, and other suspected persons, were committed to the Tower (1722); but they were acquitted for want of evidence, except the bishop of Rochester, who was degraded, deprived of his benefice, and banished the kingdom for life (May 27, 1723). About the same time Lord Bolingbroke was recalled from exile. Philip, duke of Orleans, regent of France, died (Dec. 2, 1723), and Louis XV., who had attained his majority, appointed the duke of Bourbon as his prime minister. He was soon supplanted by Cardinal Fleury, a man of a mild and pacific disposition, who had been preceptor to Louis XV., and who, at the advanced age of seventy-three, took upon him the cares of government. Fortunately for the happiness of mankind, Sir Robert Walpole, who began about the same time to acquire an ascendancy in the councils of Great Britain, and afterwards became prime minister, possessed a disposition no less pacific than that of Fleury. Several treaties were negotiated between the different kingdoms and states of Europe for securing more effectually the objects of the Quadruple Alliance, and the balance of power. One of these treaties, concluded privately at Vienna, between the emperor and the Spanish monarch, excited the jealousy of George I., who was under apprehensions for the safety of his German dominions, as well as of some secret article in favour of the Pretender, many of whose adherents were then entertained at the court of Madrid (July 17, 1725). It also gave umbrage to the French and Dutch, as it granted to the subjects of the house of Austria greater advantages in their trade with Spain, than those enjoyed by any other nation; and it guaranteed a new East-India Company, lately established at Ostend, which France, England, and Holland were equally desirous of suppressing.

§ 505. To counteract the treaty of Vienna, another, called the Treaty of Herrnhausen or Hanover, was concluded at Hanover, between England, France, and Prussia (Sept. 3, 1725). Overawed by this formidable confederacy, the emperor and the king of Spain remained quiet. The king of Great Britain, however, fitted out three stout squadrons, one of which he sent to the West Indies, under Admiral Hosier, who had orders to blockade the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello, and to seize them if they

attempted to come out. In cruising off that unhealthy coast, the greater part of his officers and men were swept away by the diseases of the climate; his ships were ruined by the worms, and he himself is supposed to have died of a broken heart (1727). The Spaniards, in resentment of this insult, laid siege to Gibraltar, but without success; and Sweden and Denmark having joined the alliance of France and Great Britain (April 16, 1727), a reconciliation was soon after effected. It was agreed, that the charter of the Ostend East-India Company should be suspended for seven years; that the stipulations of the Quadruple Alliance, but particularly those relative to the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, should be fulfilled; and that all differences should be adjusted by a congress. This congress, which was held at Soissons (June 1, 1728), but thence transferred to Fontainebleau (Dec. 18), produced the treaty of Seville, by which all grounds of dispute were finally removed (1729). George I. died at Osnaburg during these negotiations (June 11, 1727), and was succeeded by his son George II. George I. was a prudent and virtuous prince, whose attachment to his German dominions, which has been much magnified, was made use of by the Tories to render him odious to the English nation. His conduct to his wife, Sophia Dorothea of Zell, whom he repudiated, and confined in the castle of Ahlen in 1694, was a stain upon his character. She was never acknowledged as queen of England, but died in captivity (Nov. 13, 1726).

§ 506. The administration was continued in the hands of the Whigs, the true friends to the Protestant succession and the principles of the Revolution. The Tories were, however, powerful in opposition; and Sir Robert Walpole, in order to defeat them, had recourse to bribery. Possessed of great abilities, and utterly destitute of principle, he made no scruple of employing the money voted by Parliament, in order to corrupt its members. Having discovered that almost every man had his price, he bought many; and to gain more, he let loose the wealth of the treasury at elections. In consequence of the treaty of Seville, confirmed by another at Vienna (March 16, 1731), Don Carlos took quiet possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, on the succession becoming vacant, the emperor withdrawing his troops. By the treaty of Vienna, the emperor also agreed that the Ostend Company, which had given so much

umbrage to France, England, and Holland, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers, in the treaty of Seville, should guarantee the "Pragmatic Sanction," or domestic law, by which the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria was secured to the heirs female of the emperor Charles VI., in case he should die without male issue. The proposal was acceded to, and the peace of Europe continued undisturbed, till the death of Frederic Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony (Feb. 1, 1733). France supported the claim of Stanislas Leczinski, whom Charles XII. had before invested with the sovereignty, while the emperor, assisted by the Russians, compelled the Poles to elect Frederic Augustus II., son of the deceased monarch. France took up arms, and the war of the Polish succession followed, Holland and England remaining neutral.

§ 507. In Germany and in Italy the French and their allies were successful. Discouraged by numerous defeats, the emperor Charles VI. signified his desire of peace; and as this was the sincere and constant wish of Cardinal Fleury, preliminaries were soon drawn up (1735); it was stipulated that Stanislas should renounce his pretensions to the throne of Poland, in consideration of the cession of the duchy of Lorraine, which, after his death, should be reunited to the crown of France; that the duke of Lorraine should have Tuscany, in exchange for his hereditary dominions, and that Louis XV. should insure to him an annual revenue of three millions five hundred thousand livres, till the death of the Grand-duke John Gaston, the last prince of the house of Medicis; that the emperor should acknowledge Don Carlos king of the Two Sicilies, and accept the duchies of Parma and Placentia as an indemnification for these two kingdoms; that he should cede to the king of Sardinia certain parts of the duchy of Milan. And, in consideration of these cessions, the king of France agreed to restore all his conquests in Germany, and to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. Just as this pacification was concluded, Austria and Russia became involved in a war with the Turks and the Tartars. Through the mediation of France, this contest was brought to a close, after Charles VI. had suffered many reverses, by the treaty of Belgrade (Sept. 18, 1739). The emperor ceded to Turkey, Belgrade and other places, with Servia and Austrian Walachia: and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the

Save should, in future, be the boundaries of the two empires. The empress of Russia was left in possession of Azoff, but on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits between the Russian and Turkish empires were re-established. The preliminaries signed at Vienna in 1735, were confirmed by a definitive treaty (Nov. 18, 1738); and the Emperor Charles VI., the last male heir of the house of Hapsburg, died (Oct. 20, 1740).

LETTER 27.—The progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Year 1660 to the Year 1739, when Spain and Great Britain engaged in a Maritime War, occasioned by certain commercial disputes—an account of the principal events of that war—the Reduction of Porto Bello, the Siege of Carthagena, and the Expedition of Commodore Anson to the South Sea. A.D. 1660—1744. Vol. ii., pages 370—384.

§ 508. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the English and Dutch were in possession of almost the whole trade of the universe. But Dutch commerce received a severe wound from the English Navigation Act, passed by the Commonwealth Parliament, in 1651; and the subsequent wars between England and Holland reduced still lower the trade of the United Provinces. Their commerce with the East Indies, however, continued to flourish, while that of England remained in a languishing condition until after the Revolution. But this disadvantage on the part of England was amply compensated by the population, culture, and extension of her colonies in North America and the West Indies, which began to consume a vast quantity of European goods; and by a great and lucrative trade to Spain, Portugal, and Turkey. In 1664, Colbert established a French East-India Company at Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel, which never attained to any high degree of prosperity. It was united with the West-India Company, but they were afterwards separated, and the latter abolished. France is chiefly indebted for her wealth and commerce to the genius and industry of her numerous inhabitants, and to the produce of an extensive and naturally fertile territory. Her wines, her brandies, her raisins, her olives, have been long in request, and by her ingenious manufactures, established or encouraged by Colbert, her gold and silver stuffs, her tapestries, her carpets, her silks, her velvets, her laces, her linens, and her toys, she laid all Europe, and

indeed the whole world, under contribution for half a century. Colbert directed his attention also to the manufacture of wool; and the French, by fabricating lighter cloths, by employing more taste and fancy in the colours, and by the convenient situation of the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, soon acquired possession of the trade of Turkey, formerly so beneficial to England. The same, and other circumstances, have procured them a great share in the trade of Spain and Portugal.

§ 509. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685) the French manufactures received a check, and the persecuted Huguenots who took refuge in Holland, England, and other countries, carried with them their arts and ingenuity, and even the fruits of their industry in gold and silver, to a very great amount. In the mean time, the English and French colonies in North America enlarged their boundaries, and increased in wealth and population. The French colony of Canada, or new France, was augmented by the settlement of Louisiana and a line of communication was established, before the middle of the present century, from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi. The English colonies, more populous and cultivated, extended along the sea-coast, from the bottom of the Bay of Fundy to the river Alatahama, on the frontiers of Florida. New England furnished masts and yards for the royal navy, as well as timber for other uses; New York and New Jersey, formerly known by the name of Nova Belgia, conquered from the Dutch, in 1664, and Pennsylvania, settled in 1681, produced abundant crops of corn, and a variety of other articles for the European markets, as well as for the supply of the English islands in the West Indies; the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland had become a staple commodity, and a great source of revenue; and the two Carolinas, by the culture of rice and indigo, and the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine, soon became of vast importance. But the most beneficial trade of both nations arose from their colonies in the West-India Islands. The islands in the American Archipelago are the prime marts for French and English manufactures, and furnish the nations to which they belong with their sugars, their rums, their cotton, coffee, cocoa, and other articles, with a more valuable exchange than that of gold.

§ 510. After the conquest of Mexico and Peru, where the precious metals were found in great profusion, the

Spaniards neglected Hispaniola. Allured by its numerous advantages, certain French and English adventurers, since known by the name of Buccaneers or Freebooters, had taken possession of the small island of Tortoga, as early as the year 1632, and found little difficulty, under such favourable circumstances, of establishing themselves on the northern coast of Hispaniola. These barbarous men, the outcasts of civil society, were denominated *Buccaneers*, because they dried with smoke, according to the custom of the savages, part of the flesh of the cattle they had killed, in places denominated *buccans* in the language of the natives. Many of them were little better than pirates, and committed fearful depredations. To these ravagers, however, rendered famous by their courage and their crimes, France and England are indebted, in some measure, for the prosperity of their settlements in the West Indies. Nothing could appear less formidable than the first armaments of the piratical Buccaneers, who took the name of *Brothers of the Coast*. Having formed themselves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into small societies, they made their excursions in an open boat, which generally contained between twenty and thirty men, exposed to all the intemperature of the climate. Although the Buccaneers, when under the pressure of necessity, attacked the ships of every nation, those belonging to the subjects of Spain were more especially marked out as the objects of their piracy. Their booty was originally carried to the island of Tortoga, the common rendezvous of the Buccaneers, and then their only place of safety. But afterwards the French went to some of the ports of Hispaniola, where they had established themselves in defiance of the Spaniards, and the English to those of Jamaica, where they could dispose of their prizes to more advantage.

§ 511. The spoil taken by these marauders was fairly divided; provision was made for the sick, the wounded, and the maimed, and they formed themselves into regular bodies. Growing more insolent from success, they plundered many of the richest and strongest towns in the New World. Maracaybo, Campeachy, Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and Carthagena, felt the effects of their fury; and Guayaquil, Panama, and many other places on the coasts of the South Sea, were not more fortunate in their resistance, or treated with greater lenity. Among the Buccaneers who first acquired distinction in this new mode of plundering, was Montbars, a gentleman of Languedoc. Humanity in him became the

source of the most unfeeling barbarity. The Spaniards suffered so much from his fury, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*. Michael of Basco and Francis Lolonois were also greatly renowned for their exploits, both by sea and land. Their most important, though not their most fortunate enterprise, was that in the Gulf of Venezuela, with eight vessels, and six hundred and sixty associates (1667). But of all the Buccaneers, French or English, no member was so universally successful, or executed so many great and daring enterprises, as Henry Morgan, a native of Wales. While Basco, Lolonois, and their companions, were squandering at Tortoga the spoils they had acquired in the Gulf of Venezuela, Morgan sailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello; and his measures were so well concerted, that soon after his landing he surprised the sentinels, and made himself master of the town before the Spaniards could put themselves in a posture of defence (1668). Morgan and his English associates carried the place by storm, in spite of all opposition; and found in it, besides a vast quantity of rich merchandise, bullion and specie equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling.

§ 512. With this booty Morgan and his crew returned to Jamaica, where he immediately planned a new enterprise against Maracaybo (1669). The arrival of three Spanish men-of-war somewhat interfered with his scheme, but he managed to effect his escape, with a large quantity of the spoils. This success, like that of all ambitious leaders, served only to stimulate him to yet greater undertakings. Having disposed of his booty at Port Royal in Jamaica, he again put to sea, with a larger fleet and a more numerous body of adventurers; and after reducing the island of St. Katherine, proceeded on an expedition against Panama, of which he took possession, and pillaged it for several days (1670). The booty was divided; and Morgan's own share in the pillage of this expedition is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. He carried all his wealth to Jamaica, and never afterwards engaged in any piratical enterprise. The defection of Morgan, and several other principal leaders, together with the total separation of the English and French Buccaneers, in consequence of the war between the two nations, which followed the Revolution in 1688, broke the force of those powerful plunderers. The king of Spain being then in alliance with England, the latter repressed the piracies of her subjects in the West

Indies. The French Buccaneers continued their depredations, and with no small success, till the peace of Ryswick in 1697; when, all difference between France and Spain having been adjusted, a stop was everywhere put to hostilities, and not only the association, but the very name, of this extraordinary set of men became almost extinct. They were insensibly lost among the other European inhabitants of the West Indies.

§ 513. Before this period, however, the French colony in Hispaniola had arrived at a considerable degree of prosperity; and Jamaica, into which the spoils of Mexico and Peru were more abundantly poured, was already in a flourishing condition. The Buccaneers found at Port Royal better reception, and greater security, than anywhere else. The wealth which flowed into Jamaica through that channel gave great activity to every branch of culture; and after the piracies of the Buccaneers were suppressed, it proved a new source of riches, by enabling the inhabitants to open a clandestine trade to the Spanish settlements, whence it had its origin. This illicit and lucrative commerce was rendered more facile and secure by the *Assiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which England obtained at the peace of Utrecht. In order to put a stop to this trade, which, together with that carried on by the British South-Sea Company, had almost ruined the rich commerce of the galleons, formerly the pride of Spain, ships of force, under the name *Guarda-Costas*, were stationed upon the coasts of those provinces to which interlopers most frequently resorted. This interference, though necessary, was not properly carried out, and led to numerous disputes. The preliminaries of a convention were signed in the beginning of 1739.

§ 514. The chief article of the convention provided, that the king of Spain should pay to the subjects of Great Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, by way of indemnification for their losses, in consequence of the seizures made by the *Guarda-Costas*. This seemed to be an admission of the right of search, and raised such a ferment in the kingdom, that Sir Robert Walpole was reduced to the extremity of declaring war or resigning. The king of Spain did not pay the stipulated sum on the appointed day, and thus furnished Walpole with a pretext for making war without abandoning his pacific principles. A powerful fleet, under Admiral Haddock, was sent to

cruise off the coast of Spain; and Admiral Vernon, an officer who stood high in the public favour, was appointed to the command of a squadron in the West Indies. With six ships, carrying two hundred and forty soldiers, Vernon took Porto Bello (Nov. 20, 1739). On account of its unhealthy situation, it was called the Grave of the Spaniards; but during the annual fair, which lasted forty days, it was the theatre of the richest commerce that was ever transacted on the face of the earth. Seated on the northern side of the isthmus which divides the two seas, thither were brought from Panama, on the Pacific Ocean, the gold, silver, and other valuable productions of Chili and Peru, to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and there arrived the galleons from Old Spain, laden with every article of necessity, accommodation, and luxury. The joy of the English nation on the taking of Porto Bello was excessive. The two houses of Parliament congratulated his majesty on the success of his arms; the people were confirmed in their opinion of Vernon; and his good fortune induced the minister to continue him in the command of the British fleet in the West Indies.

§ 515. The reduction of Porto Bello was but a prelude to greater enterprises. Nothing less was resolved upon than the utter destruction of the Spanish settlements in the New World. With this view, an English squadron was despatched to the South Sea, under Commodore Anson, in order to ravage the coasts of Peru and Chili; while a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, store-ships, victuallers, and transports, with upwards of ten thousand land-forces on board, was sent to the West Indies, to reinforce Admiral Vernon, and co-operate with Anson, by means of intelligence to be conveyed across the isthmus of Darien. The land-forces were commanded by Lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, as well as experience in military affairs; and the ardour of both soldiers and sailors to come to action was excessive. The want of harmony proved the ruin of the armament. As Lord Cathcart unfortunately died soon after his arrival in the West Indies, the command of the land-forces devolved upon Brigadier-General Wentworth, an officer without experience, resolution, or authority. He had nothing in common with Vernon but his obstinacy, and as great a contempt for the sea, as the admiral had for the land service. These two ill-associated commanders,

whose powers were discretionary, after being reinforced with some troops from the English colonies in America, determined to attack Carthagena (1741). The expedition, in which Smollett served as an assistant-surgeon, failed, and the fleet returned to Jamaica. Though Vernon was reinforced with several ships of the line, and Wentworth with three thousand soldiers from England; and although they successively threatened St. Jago de Cuba and Panama, they returned home without effecting anything of consequence, notwithstanding the loss of nearly twenty thousand men.

§ 516. The expedition under Anson was attacked by a furious storm in passing Cape Horn (1740): two of his ships were obliged to return in distress; one was lost; another was so damaged as to be abandoned soon after; and the greater part of his people died of the scurvy, before he reached the island of Juan Fernandez, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous. In this delightful abode the remainder of his crew recovered their health and spirits; and the *Centurion*, his own ship, being still in pretty good repair, he put to sea, took several prizes off the coast of Chili, and plundered the town of Paita, on the coast of Peru, where he found silver to the amount of about thirty thousand pounds sterling. From his prisoners, he learned that, notwithstanding his reduced force, he had nothing to fear in those latitudes; as Don Joseph Pizarro, who commanded a Spanish squadron destined to oppose him, had been obliged to return to Rio de la Plata, after having lost two ships and two thousand men, in attempting to double Cape Horn. Anson also learned that the English expedition against Carthagena had miscarried. This discouraging news made him sensible of the impropriety of attempting to execute that part of his instructions which regarded an attack upon Panama, in consequence of a supposed co-operation with the British troops across the isthmus of Darien. He, therefore, bore away for Acapulco, in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon, which he understood was then at sea. Happily for the Spaniards, she had reached that port before his arrival. He endeavoured to intercept her on her return, but without effect. At last, finding himself destitute of every necessary, he sailed for China, where he arrived, after a long and distressing voyage. Having refitted his ship, and taken in a supply of provisions, he again launched into the Pacific Ocean; and took the annual ship from Acapulco,

on the coast of Mexico, to Manilla, laden with treasure to the amount of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, beside other valuable commodities. Anson went a second time to China, where he asserted the honour of the British flag in a very spirited manner, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope (1740—1744), to the great joy of his countrymen, who had heard of his disasters, and concluded that he and all his crew were lost. The Spanish treasure was carried to the Tower with much parade; and an expedition, which, all things considered, ought rather to have been deemed unfortunate, was magnified beyond measure. Anson's perseverance, however, deserved praise, and the success of a single ship seemed to point out what might be performed by a stout squadron on the coasts of the South Sea; but the failure of the formidable enterprise against Carthagena was still so fresh in the memory of the nation, that no further attempt was made during the war to distress the Spanish settlements in America.^a

(*) Although the "New Style" of chronology, introduced by Gregory XIII. in 1582, was not adopted in Great Britain until 1752, we have, for the sake of uniformity, as we stated at p. 222, followed it in this work. The student will bear in mind that previous to 1700, the variation between the New Style and the Old, was only ten days. After 1700 the difference is eleven days. Thus the battle of Blenheim was fought August 2, 1704, Old Style, or August 13, New Style.

CHAPTER VII.

LETTER 28.—General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Death of the Emperor Charles VI. to the Treaty of Dresden and the Confirmation of the Treaty of Breslaw. A.D. 1740—1746. Vol. ii., pages 384—406.

§ 517. THE death of the emperor Charles VI., the last prince of the house of Austria, without male issue, awakened the ambition of many potentates, whose pretensions threw all Europe into a ferment (1740). By virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, as well as the rights of blood, the succession to all the Austrian dominions belonged to the Archduchess Maria Theresa, the late emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the provinces of Silesia, Austrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Burgaw, Brigsaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tyrol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia, formed that inheritance. Maria Theresa took quiet possession, and received the homage of the states of Austria. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia and the Italian provinces swore allegiance to her by their deputies; and she caused her husband, Francis, to be proclaimed co-regent. The first alarm was given by a formidable and unexpected pretender. On the death of Frederic William of Prussia (May 31, 1740), his son Frederic II. had succeeded to the throne. This prince claimed certain portions of Silesia, and prepared to support his claims by force of arms. When in the heart of that rich province, and in possession of its capital (Jan. 3, 1741), he offered to supply Maria Theresa, then commonly known by the name of queen of Hungary, with money and troops, to protect to the utmost of his power the rest of her dominions in Germany, and to use all his interest to place her husband on the imperial throne, provided she would cede Lower Silesia to him. Maria Theresa rejected these offers, and sent an army to expel

the invader. An obstinate battle was fought at Molwitz (April 10), in which the Austrians were defeated, and the province of Silesia soon after submitted to the Prussians. France formed a scheme of placing Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, on the imperial throne, and armies were immediately raised in order to carry out the project. The treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded between Louis XV. and Charles Albert, and another between that monarch and Frederic II., in which it was stipulated that the elector of Bavaria, with the imperial crown, should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrol; that Frederic Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia; and that his Prussian majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz.

§ 518. England, alarmed at these advances, concluded a treaty of neutrality for Hanover, and furnished Maria Theresa with supplies. The French, with their German allies, captured Passau and Lintz, and advanced upon Vienna. Maria Theresa retired to Presburg, in Hungary, where she assembled the states of the kingdom, appeared before them with her eldest son, then an infant in arms, and demanded their support. The appeal was nobly responded to, and the greatest enthusiasm displayed in her cause. The Hungarians flew to arms, and the elector of Bavaria, abandoning the siege of Vienna, stormed and captured Prague (Nov. 26, 1741). In this city he was crowned king of Bohemia (Dec. 9); thence he proceeded to Frankfort, where he was elected emperor, under the name of Charles VII. (Jan. 24, 1742). At this juncture Sir Robert Walpole's long ascendancy in the British House of Commons was brought to a close, and a new ministry took office, with the earl of Wilmington at its head (Feb. 17). The nation warmly espoused the cause of Maria Theresa, and expected great results from this change in the administration, in which they were, however, disappointed. The Austrians succeeded in expelling their assailants from Bohemia and Bavaria, and after the sanguinary but indecisive battle of Czaslau (May 7), the king of Prussia, through the mediation of England, concluded a treaty of peace with Maria Theresa, in which, in return for certain concessions, he engaged to remain neutral (June 11, 1742); and another treaty was soon after signed between Maria Theresa and the king of Poland (June 28). The intelligence of these treaties fell upon the

court of France like a clap of thunder, and it was only by the extraordinary exertions and commanding genius of the French generals, that her army, which on the defection of Prussia had taken refuge in Prague, was extricated from its perilous position, and made good its retreat into Alsace.

§ 519. On the death of the emperor Charles VI., the king of Spain had claimed the Austrian succession. This he afterwards abandoned, but prepared to maintain his right to the Austrian dominions in Italy. The king of Sardinia, who had also claimed the duchy of Milan, entered into an alliance with the queen of Hungary and the king of Great Britain, in consideration of an annual subsidy and the cession of certain places contiguous to his dominions, though without absolutely renouncing his antiquated claim to the duchy of Milan. Philip V. of Spain sent an army into Italy towards the end of 1741, and the king of the Two Sicilies was only deterred from espousing the cause of Spain by the appearance of an English squadron before his capital. The English fleet cut off the Spanish supplies, and affairs were in such a desperate state that France, anxious to escape from a disastrous conflict, made proposals of peace. This condescension was the more remarkable, as the councils of the court of Versailles were no longer influenced by the mild spirit of cardinal Fleury, who died at a very advanced age (Jan. 29, 1743). Maria Theresa rejected these advances, and the English ministry, fired with military ardour, encouraged her in this course. The imperialists and their allies were defeated in Bavaria and Bohemia, whilst in Flanders the English gained the battle of Dettingen (June 16, 1743), at which George II. commanded in person. Had this victory been properly followed up, the French army must have been captured or dispersed; and Earl Stair was so annoyed at the inaction, that he threw up his command. The campaign in Italy was not more decisive, and this result was in a great measure owing to secret negotiations then in progress between France and Sardinia. Maria Theresa, however, offered better terms, and the treaty of Worms was the result (Sept. 1743). The king of Sardinia renounced his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and guaranteed anew the Pragmatic Sanction. Cessions of territory in Italy were made to the king of Sardinia, and in return for an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds, he engaged to keep up an army of forty-five thousand men.

§ 520. This treaty dispelled all hopes of peace. Some of

the German powers, jealous of Austria, entered into secret negotiations with the court of Versailles, and an alliance between France and Spain was signed at Fontainebleau. War was declared against France (March 31, 1744). The most strenuous efforts were made on all sides for the active prosecution of the war, and discontents in England caused the revival of a project for the restoration of the Stuarts. Troops were collected at various portions of the French coast for the invasion of England, and Charles Edward joined the expedition. Seven thousand men embarked in transports, and set sail, but were driven back by a violent storm, and the enterprise was postponed. An indecisive naval engagement in the Mediterranean (Feb. 9), in which the French and Spanish fleets escaped destruction owing to a divided command, caused much dissatisfaction, and led to a Parliamentary inquiry. The campaign in Italy commenced in Piedmont, and the French and Spaniards gained some successes, which did not, however, lead to any important results. In the south of Italy, the Austrians invaded Naples, but were eventually compelled to retire into winter-quarters in the Bolognese territory. In Germany and the Low Countries, the queen of Hungary was not more successful. A treaty had, through the influence of France, been concluded between the emperor, the kings of Prussia and Sweden, and the elector Palatine, having for its object the recognition of Charles VII. By a separate article, the king of Prussia engaged to put the emperor in possession of Bohemia, and to guarantee to him Upper Austria, as soon as conquered, on condition that he should give up to his Prussian majesty the town and circle of Koningsgratz, with all the country situated between the frontiers of Silesia and the river Elbe, and from the town and circle of Koningsgratz to the confines of Saxony. The king of Prussia, however, by previous agreement, and a separate treaty with the court of Versailles, was not obliged to take up arms until he should see France act with vigour. Louis XV. put himself at the head of his army in Flanders, captured Menin, Ypres, and Furnes, and entered Dunkirk in triumph; while the allied army, seventy thousand strong, unable to oppose his progress, continued posted behind the Scheldt (1744).

§ 521. The invasion of Alsace by Prince Charles of Lorraine compelled Louis XV. to hasten to the defence of that portion of his dominions. At Metz he was seized with a

fever, which at one time threatened his life, but he recovered; and as Alsace had been evacuated, he laid siege to and captured Freiburg. The king of Prussia, who had taken up arms and overrun Bohemia, was speedily expelled from that kingdom by Charles of Lorraine, and retired with precipitation into Silesia. In the mean time Charles VII. had once more obtained possession of his capital, but the retreat of the king of Prussia filled him with apprehension, and death at last came to his relief (Jan. 20, 1745). As his son Maximilian Joseph was only seventeen years of age, he could not become a candidate for the imperial throne. Afraid of losing the electorate, this prince, through the mediation of England, concluded a treaty with Maria Theresa, by which the latter agreed to recognize the imperial dignity as having been vested in the person of Charles VII., and to put his son in possession of all his hereditary dominions. On the other hand, the young elector renounced all claim to any part of the Austrian succession, consented to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, engaged to give his vote for the grand duke at the ensuing election of an emperor, and to dismiss the auxiliary troops in his service.

§ 522. Louis XV. resolved to carry on the war. He offered the imperial crown to the king of Poland, but this prince very prudently refused to act without consulting the courts of London and Vienna. This refusal did not produce any change in the French king's plans; and, having obtained the adhesion of the Republic of Genoa, his armies, with their Italian and Spanish allies, overran Sardinia. Marshal Saxe, who commanded in Flanders, was the greatest military commander of the age. Yet he ran great risk of a terrible defeat at the battle of Fontenoy (April 30, 1745); in which the British, after having routed almost every regiment in the French army, were, owing to the defection of their Dutch and Austrian allies, compelled to retire. The English lost seven and the French ten thousand men on this occasion. The electors assembled at Frankfort, and raised Maria Theresa's husband, the grand duke of Tuscany, to the imperial throne, under the title of Francis I. (Sep. 13, 1745). The king of Prussia, having defeated the Austrians at Friedberg, Sohr, and Pirna, invaded Saxony, and made himself master of Dresden. Tired of the war, he in that city concluded treaties with the king of Poland and Maria Theresa, in which he acknowledged the new emperor; and thus tranquillity was restored to Germany (Dec. 25, 1745).

LETTER 29.—Sketch of the Domestic History of Great Britain, including some Foreign Affairs intimately connected with it, from the Resignation of Sir Robert Walpole to the Suppression of the Rebellion in Scotland, A.D. 1742—1746. Vol. ii., pages 406—423.

§ 523. The anticipations that had been formed respecting a change in the policy of the English Government on the resignation of Sir R. Walpole, were not fulfilled, and this disappointment induced the Jacobites once more to turn their eyes towards the Pretender. The failure of the attempted invasion from the coast of France produced a temporary reaction. Loyal addresses were presented to the throne by both Houses of Parliament, and from all the principal towns and corporations in the kingdom. Many causes of national discontent, however, still remained ; all of which were magnified and industriously pointed out by the Jacobites, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and induce the king of France to make a new effort for the re-establishment of the family of Stuart. The inglorious sea-fight off Toulon, and the infamous trial of Matthews and Lestock, excited the indignation of all sincere lovers of justice and of their country. Other circumstances contributed to revive the popular clamour against the measures of the court. Several ministerial changes occurred. The death of the earl of Wilmington (July 26, 1743) led to the elevation of Mr. Pelham, who soon after endeavoured to form a coalition amongst different leading statesmen. This cabinet was known as the Broadbottom administration, and the wide basis upon which it was framed left little room for Parliamentary opposition. Liberal supplies were voted for the war, vigorous measures were resolved upon, and the duke of Cumberland was appointed commander-in-chief. The defeat at Fontenoy was a sad blow to the lofty aspirations of the government and the people ; and it encouraged the Jacobites to make another desperate attempt in favour of the deposed house of Stuart.

§ 524. Charles Edward embarked at Port St. Nazaire, in Brittany, with a few followers, and some supplies (July 14, 1745). The *Elizabeth*, a French sixty-four gun ship, with volunteers, arms, and ammunition, appointed as a convoy, fell in with the *Lion*, an English ship of fifty-eight guns, and, after an obstinate engagement, was compelled to seek refuge at Brest ; but Charles Edward pursued his voyage, and landed in Scotland. He was joined by some Highland

chiefs, with their hardy mountaineers, but the Presbyterian party remained true to their allegiance to the reigning family. The latter, most numerous in the Lowlands, being unused to arms, were filled with the gravest apprehensions. The news of the capture of the island of Cape Breton, at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, by Warren and Pepperel, in some measure removed their despondency (July 17, 1745). At the head of his hardy Highlanders, Charles Edward took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, and Dundee, proclaiming his father, the Chevalier St. George, king. Thence he advanced to Edinburgh while Sir John Cope, commander of the royal forces, retired. The head of the Stuarts was proclaimed with due formality in the Scottish capital (Sep. 16). In the mean time, Cope, who had received reinforcements, retraced his steps towards Edinburgh, and pitched his camp near Preston Pans, where he was attacked by Charles Edward and his Highlanders, and totally defeated (Sep. 21). The military chest, cannon, colours, camp-equipage, and baggage of the royal army, fell into the hands of the rebels.

§ 525. Had Charles Edward followed up this triumph before the English troops could have been recalled from Flanders, the result of the struggle might have been different. Instead of taking advantage of this victory, he returned to Holyrood-house and wasted his time in idle parade. At length the determination to advance into England was taken, and the Pretender issued a declaration. It was, however, too late: George II. had returned from his German dominions, loyal addresses from all quarters poured in, the flower of the British army had been recalled from Flanders, six thousand Dutch auxiliaries had landed, the militia was embodied, and the kingdom placed in a state of defence. The vigilance of Admiral Vernon, in command of the channel fleet, effectually cut off all hope of succour from France. The rebel army had captured Carlisle; thence they advanced through Preston and Lancaster to Manchester, where the Pretender established his head-quarters (Nov. 28). His reception was not so cordial as he had anticipated, but he continued his march, and entered Derby (Dec. 4). Having lingered here a few days, and being threatened by two superior armies, Charles Edward, determined upon a retreat. This was effected in good order and without any serious loss; and the rebel army repaired to Glasgow (Dec. 25).

§ 526. During Charles Edward's absence from Scotland, the two hostile parties into which the kingdom was divided made the greatest efforts to increase their strength. A small reinforcement had arrived from France, several noblemen joined the cause of the Stuarts, and Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, sent round the *Fiery Cross*, denouncing spoil, sword, and fire against all vassals who refused to take arms at his command. The royalists were also warmly supported, and General Hawley was appointed to the command. From Glasgow the Pretender marched upon Stirling, and defeated General Hawley near that town. The royalists were, however, again reinforced; the duke of Cumberland assumed the command, and entirely crushed the insurrection, on Culloden Moor, near Nairn. The rebel army, after an ineffectual struggle of thirty minutes, was totally routed, and chased off the field with great slaughter. The king's troops, but especially the dragoons, irritated by their former disgraces, and the fatigues of a winter campaign, gave no quarter. Nearly two thousand of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, and only three hundred and ten of the royal army (April 16, 1746). After suffering the most incredible hardships in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, during a period of nearly five months, a reward of thirty thousand pounds having been offered for his capture, Charles Edward effected his escape, and landed in Brittany, in France. The rebels were pursued with great cruelty by the victorious army. Many of them were captured, tried, and condemned to death. The most arbitrary measures were adopted against them, and everything done to crush the spirit which had given rise to the formidable rebellion.

LETTER 30.—A General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Treaty of Dresden to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. A.D. 1745—1748. Vol. ii., pages 423—436.

§ 527. The treaty of Dresden, and the confirmation of that of Breslau, by finally detaching the king of Prussia from the house of Bourbon, made a great change in the state of the contending powers, but did not dispose them to peace. The king of France, encouraged by his past successes, and by the absence of the British troops, determined to push his conquests in the Low Countries; and the king of Great Britain, enraged at Louis for supporting a Pretender to his throne, resolved upon vengeance, as soon as

the rebellion in Scotland should be finally suppressed. Elated with the exaltation of her husband to the imperial throne, and having now no enemy to oppose in Germany, the queen of Hungary hoped to be able to give a favourable turn to the war in Italy. She even flattered herself, that the Circles, or the Germanic body, might be induced to take up arms against France; and that, by the co-operation of England and Holland, all Flanders might be recovered, and the victorious house of Bourbon completely humbled. The French army captured Brussels, Antwerp, Mens, and other towns, and Louis became absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault. Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the confederate army, made several attempts to change the fortunes of the war, but was at last attacked and defeated by Marshal Saxe at Roucoux (Oct. 1, 1746); after which hotly-contested and sanguinary encounter both armies retired into winter quarters. In Italy various negotiations were carried on, which did not make any material alteration in the condition of affairs. A misunderstanding between the French and Spaniards paralyzed their efforts, and the Austrians and Sardinians recovered all the Piedmontese fortresses, and entered the duchy of Milan. France and Spain accommodated their differences, but being unable to retrieve the fate of the campaign, were compelled to retire, and the haughty republic of Genoa was delivered up to the mercy of the Austrians and Sardinians. While these events were in progress, Philip V. of Spain, the first prince of the house of Bourbon who sat upon the Spanish throne, expired (July 9, 1746), and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand VI.

§ 528. The Austrian and Piedmontese armies, having driven the French and Spaniards out of Italy, invaded France. They entered Provence, but were encountered with great spirit, and forced to retire. In the mean time the inhabitants of Genoa rose against their Austrian conquerors, and drove them from their city (Dec. 10). The naval transactions of this year do little honour to the British flag. In consequence of the cowardice of Commodore Peyton, who declined an engagement with a French squadron not quite equal in force to his own, the English settlement of Madras fell into their hands (Sept. 14). An expedition—at first intended for the reduction of Quebec, the capital of Canada, but having been detained too late for that enterprise, its destination was changed—failed, in

an attempt against Port L'Orient, the repository of stores belonging to the French East-India Company. The French also miscarried in an enterprise, on a larger scale, for the recovery of the island of Cape Breton and the reduction of the English settlement of Annapolis. The conferences opened at Breda, towards the end of the campaign, were, owing to the insolent demands of the French, soon broken off. Both parties prepared to carry on the war with vigour. The States-General entered into closer alliance with England; Austria and Sardinia collected large armies; Louis XV. assembled one hundred and fifty thousand men, and gave Marshal Saxe unlimited powers, while the Spanish army was considerably augmented.

§ 529. At the commencement of the campaign of 1747, the French made rapid progress in Dutch Brabant, and this so alarmed the people, that they appointed William Henry Friso, "stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral-in-chief of all the United Provinces" (May 2). The beneficial results of this step became apparent, in the vigorous measures that were adopted for the prosecution of the war. During these transactions the duke of Cumberland lay inactive, in presence of a large French force. The arrival of Louis XV. at Brussels led to a renewal of active operations, and the attempt to besiege Maestricht brought on the battle of Laffeldt or Val. In this action the British troops again carried everything before them; but being badly supported by their Dutch, and altogether deserted by their Austrian allies, were at last obliged to retreat (June 20). Bergen-op-Zoom was attacked, and, after the most heroic defence, carried by assault (Sept. 16). The French generals in Italy achieved certain successes early in the campaign, and the Austrians failed in an attempt to punish the Genoese for their late rebellion. The defeat of a French army by the Austrians and Sardinians at Exilles (July 8) compelled the French to abandon the country, and the king of Sardinia was only prevented by the great rains of the autumnal season from invading France. The French fleet was captured by Admirals Anson and Warren, off Cape Finisterre (May 3); and about six weeks after this engagement, and nearly in the same latitude, Commodore Fox fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, from St. Domingo, laden with the rich productions of that fertile island, and took forty-six of them (June 20). Admiral Hawke defeated another French squadron off Belleisle, and captured six ships (Oct. 14).

§ 530. These naval triumphs induced Louis XV. to think of peace, and even to listen to moderate terms, in spite of his great superiority in the Netherlands. His finances were almost exhausted; the trade of his subjects was utterly ruined; and he could no longer depend upon supplies from the mines of Mexico and Peru, in the low state of the French and Spanish navies. The success of his arms in Italy had fallen infinitely short of his expectations; and the republic of Genoa, though a necessary, had become an expensive, ally. His views had been totally defeated in Germany by the elevation of the grand duke to the imperial throne, and the subsequent pacification between the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. He was still victorious in the Netherlands; but the election of a stadtholder, by uniting the force of the States-General against him, left little hopes of future conquests in that quarter; especially as the British Parliament, whose resources were yet unimpaired, and whose liberality seemed to know no bounds, had enabled their sovereign to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the empress of Russia, who engaged to hold in readiness an army of thirty thousand men, and forty galleys, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition. Influenced by these considerations, the king of France made advances toward an accommodation both at London and the Hague; and all parties, the subsidiary powers excepted, being heartily tired of the war, it was agreed to open a new congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the plenipotentiaries could receive their instructions. In the mean time vigorous preparations for carrying on the war were made in every quarter, and Marshal Saxe pressed the siege of Maestricht. On the signature of the preliminaries of peace, the place was surrendered, not as a permanent acquisition, but to satisfy a point of honour, to France, and Marshal Saxe accordingly took possession, while the garrison marched out with the customary honours of war (April 30, 1748). Yet matters were not finally settled until October, and in the mean time hostilities had been carried on in the East and West Indies. Admiral Boscawen ultimately failed in an attack upon Pondicherry (Oct. 6), and Admiral Knowles in another upon St. Jago de Cuba, although he had previously captured and dismantled Fort Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola. This admiral also defeated a Spanish squadron, of equal force with his own, off the Havannah, and took one ship of the line (Oct. 1).

At length the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and hostilities ceased in all quarters (Oct. 7, 1748).

§ 531. This treaty had for its basis a general confirmation of all preceding treaties, from that of Westphalia; and for its immediate object, a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the beginning of the war, with a release of prisoners without ransom. The principal stipulations provided, that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla should be ceded, as a sovereignty, to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; (but it was also stipulated, that, in case that he or any of his descendants should succeed to the crown of Spain, or to that of the Two Sicilies, or should die without male issue, those territories were to return to the empress-queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, or their descendants:) that the subjects of his Britannic majesty should enjoy the *Assiento* contract, with the privilege of the annual ship, during the reversionary term of four years, which had been suspended by the war; (but no mention was made of the right of English ships to navigate the American seas without being subject to search, though the indignation occasioned by the violation of that contested right was the sole cause of the war between Great Britain and Spain:) that all the contracting powers should guarantee to his Prussian majesty the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; and that such of the same powers as had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction of the Emperor Charles VI. for securing to his daughter, the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the undivided succession of the house of Austria, should renew their engagements in the most solemn manner, with the exception of the cessions made by this and former treaties. Such was the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, so generally and unjustly censured by English writers, who ought rather to have condemned the wanton war, and the unskilful manner in which it was conducted. It was, indeed, a conflict singular in the annals of mankind, in which, after much bloodshed and many sacrifices, all parties may be said to have been losers.

LETTER 31.—France, Spain, and Great Britain, from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Renewal of Hostilities; with an Account of the Disputes in the East Indies, and of the Origin of the War in America. A.D. 1748—1755. Vol. ii., pages 436—447.

• § 532. The few years of peace that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle were the most prosperous and happy that

Europe had ever known. Arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; society was highly polished; and the intercourse of mankind, of nations, and of different ranks, was facilitated by means of new roads, vehicles, and amusements. This was more especially the case in France and England, and between the people of the two rival kingdoms; who, forgetting past animosities, seemed only to contend for pre-eminence in gaiety, refinement, and mutual civilities. The French government, jealous of the naval superiority of the English, had long formed the plan of dispossessing them of their conquests both in America and in the East Indies, or at least, of considerably extending their own. Ships were built with extraordinary rapidity, and repeated efforts were made by French statesmen to obtain the co-operation of Spain. These intrigues were defeated by the vigilance of the English minister at Madrid; and Ferdinand resolutely resisted every attempt made to induce him to peril the peace of Europe by furthering the ambitious schemes of the house of Bourbon. The French ministry had, however, gone too far, and a rupture could not be much longer delayed.

§ 533. In accordance with the provisions of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, both France and England had mutually restored their conquests in North America and the East Indies. M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, conceived the idea of obtaining large acquisitions of Indian territory for France. The extensive country between the Indus and the Ganges belonged chiefly to the Great Mogul. The government had, however, fallen into a sad condition of weakness; and all the great officers of the crown had become, in a manner, independent princes. The *soubahdars*, or Mahometan viceroys of the *soubahs*, or provinces; the *nabobs*, or governors of inferior districts; and even the *rajahs*, or tributary Hindoo princes, began to consider themselves as absolute sovereigns, paying to the Mogul emperors any homage they thought proper, and frequently making war upon each other. In order to ensure the success of his scheme, Dupleix formed the project of making *soubahdars* and *nabobs*, and even of becoming a *nabob* himself. Mahomet Ali, son of the *nabob* of Arcot, in whose government a person devoted to the French had been established, repaired to the English, and entered into an alliance with the English East-India Company at Fort St. David.

§ 534. Several actions, with great diversity of fortune, had been fought, when Robert Clive, who had gone out as a writer to the East-India Company, but was afterwards appointed commissary to the army, obtained a command (1751). He attacked and captured Arcot, where he was afterwards besieged by the French and their native allies. Clive defended the place gallantly, compelled his assailants to raise the siege (Aug. 31), pursued and defeated them, with great loss, on the plains of Aranie (Dec. 3, 1751). Both parties having been reinforced, the war broke out again in the following year. Major Lawrence commanded the English company's troops, with the gallant Captain Clive acting under him. The result of the contest was favourable to the English, and the French lost many of their more recent acquisitions. Dupleix was recalled, and a conditional treaty negotiated, by which the French and English companies agreed for ever to renounce all Oriental government and dignity; never to interfere in any disputes that might arise between the princes of the country; and that all places, except such as were particularly stipulated to remain in the possession of each company, should be delivered up to the government of Hindostan. Before this conditional treaty had been ratified in Europe, a new war between the two nations broke out in another quarter of the globe, and embroiled the whole world (1754).

§ 535. The province of Nova Scotia had been ceded to Great Britain at the peace of Utrecht. Few English families settled in this colony, and the French inhabitants, having taken the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign, and having obtained extensive privileges, assumed the name of Neutrals. When the French attempted to regain the country in 1746, these colonists violated their neutrality in a most shameful manner, and the English government, perceiving the necessity of peopling the colony with British subjects, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, offered great advantages to settlers. About three thousand families, many of them German Protestants, embarked for Nova Scotia. The town of Halifax, intended as a naval and military station, was built, and the harbour strongly fortified. A struggle for supremacy immediately commenced; and the French exerted themselves to confine the English in North America within narrow limits, with a view to their ultimate expulsion. Disputes arose, conflicts ensued, and the French, being much better prepared for war, felt confident of

success. A powerful armament was fitted out in France for the support of the colonists, and a squadron, under the command of Boscawen, was despatched from Plymouth to watch the motions of the enemy (April 27, 1755).

§ 536. The hostile fleets arrived at the banks of Newfoundland about the same time, but owing to the thick fogs that prevail in that part during the spring, did not meet. Two French ships, which had separated from the rest, were captured off Cape Race, by two English vessels of about the same size. This action was declared by the French government to have been the cause of the war that ensued. They seemed to forget the offensive measures that had been adopted in America for the utter extirpation of the English colonists. The struggle continued to rage in that part of the world. General Braddock, who had been sent from England to conduct an expedition against the French forts on the Ohio, fell into an ambuscade, near Fort du Quesne (July 9, 1755); his troops were dispersed, and he died fighting gallantly against overwhelming numbers. An attack upon Niagara, which had been resolved upon, was given up as impracticable, and General Johnson, who commanded an expedition against Crown Point, having repulsed an assault upon his camp by the French and Indians (Aug. 9), deemed it inexpedient to go on with the enterprise so late in the season. These events, and the capture of the two French ships off Cape Race, were but the prelude to the approaching storm. The British ministry issued an order that all French ships were to be seized wherever they might be found, and before the end of the year, above three hundred merchant vessels, and about eight thousand seamen, were brought into the ports of England. While the flames of war were thus breaking out between France and England, the southern parts of Europe were visited by a calamity more dreadful than war itself. A violent earthquake, which shook all Spain, Portugal, and the neighbouring countries, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins (Nov. 1, 1755). About ten thousand persons lost their lives; and many of the survivors were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not suffered to perish. The British Parliament, though pressed with new demands, generously voted one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the unhappy sufferers in Portugal. And this noble instance of public liberality was

enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ships, laden with provisions and clothing, were immediately dispatched to Lisbon; where they arrived so opportunely as to preserve thousands from dying of hunger or cold.

LETTER 32.—General View of the State of Europe, with an Account of the War, till the Conquest of Hanover by the French. A.D. 1756—1757. Vol. ii., pages 447—472.

§ 537. Louis XV. resolved to put his threat of invading the electorate of Hanover into execution, and Great Britain prepared for its defence. Spain, Portugal, and the United Provinces determined to remain neutral; Prussia inclined to England, whilst Austria and the Northern Powers sided with France. The invasion of the island of Minorca by the French (April 18) was immediately followed by a declaration of war, on the part of Great Britain (May 18, 1756); and thus the struggle, known as the Seven Years' War, commenced in earnest. Recriminations between the two countries ensued, and the French threatened to invade England. In May the peers had rejected a bill for the better regulation of the militia forces of the kingdom, and accordingly Hessian and Hanoverian troops were brought over for its defence. Admiral Byng, to whom the command of the Mediterranean fleet had been entrusted, wrote home a despatch condemnatory of ministers for their neglect in certain important matters; and his own apparent unwillingness to engage the French fleet led to his ruin. Minorca surrendered to the French (July 7): whereupon a great clamour was raised in England. Byng, having been superseded by Sir E. Hawke, was brought home, and tried for his life. Ministers were but too glad to throw the blame of the failure upon a man who had made himself odious to them, by his bold criticisms of their conduct. The people were highly incensed, and petitions poured in from all quarters, demanding an inquiry with respect to the loss of Minorca.

§ 538. Great expectations were formed relative to the operations in North America. The earl of Loudon had been appointed commander-in-chief, with General Abercrombie as second in command. A very extensive plan of operations was determined upon; but owing to divisions among the different states, and the indecision of

the generals, the proper time for striking a blow was suffered to escape. The French, under the marquis of Montcalm, continued to advance, and Fort Oswego, with its garrison, vessels of war, cannon, ammunition, and provisions, fell into their hands (Aug. 16, 1756). Nor did affairs in the East Indies wear a more favourable aspect. In spite of Admiral Watson's naval success against the pirates on the coast of Malabar, the English arms in Bengal sustained a severe reverse. Rajah al Dowlah, a native prince, who possessed the chief authority in that part of India, jealous of the increasing power of the English, marched at the head of an army of fifty thousand men upon Calcutta. At his approach, the English inhabitants sought refuge in Fort William, which was only defended by a small garrison. On the desertion of some of the troops, Mr. Holwell, a member of the council, assumed the command. This gentleman made a gallant defence, but was unable to withstand the overwhelming forces by which he was assailed (June 17). Holwell, and his unfortunate companions, to the number of one hundred and forty-six, were crammed into a small dungeon, called the Black Hole. This happened in one of the hottest climates of the world, and consequently, when the door was opened the next morning, only twenty-three persons were found alive. Mr. Holwell, and two of the survivors, were sent prisoners to the capital of the province, Calcutta was pillaged, and Fort William secured by a garrison of three thousand men. In fact, the affairs of the East-India Company seemed finally ruined in Bengal.

§ 539. War soon after commenced in Europe. The king of Prussia took possession of Saxony, as a first step towards the invasion of Bohemia. Thereupon, Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, and king of Poland, abandoned his capital, and joined his small army encamped near Pirna. The king of Prussia postponed his attack upon Bohemia, in order to assail this camp. Having reduced the Saxon army to great extremities, Frederic II. of Prussia set out to engage the Austrians who were hastening to its relief. The two armies met near Lowositz; and after a sanguinary engagement, each party claimed the victory (Oct. 1). The Austrians, however, retired, and being compelled to abandon their intention of relieving their Saxon allies, evidently sustained a serious reverse. The Saxons soon after surrendered, and Frederic Augustus

sought refuge in Poland. Frederic II. of Prussia took up his residence in Dresden, and in the archives of that city obtained possession of state papers, proving the formidable conspiracy entered into between Saxony, Austria, and Russia, for his humiliation. The discontent in England, consequent upon the failures in the campaign, induced the king to change his ministers, and on the resignation of the duke of Newcastle, William Pitt and his friends obtained power. The foreign troops were sent home, a new militia bill was framed, and Admiral Byng was tried by court martial at Portsmouth, sentenced to death, and shot (March 14, 1757). A fanatic, named Francis Damien, who stabbed Louis XV. as he was stepping into his coach (Jan. 5), was put to death at Paris in a most barbarous manner. The wound was not mortal, and the king speedily recovered.

§ 540. The French prepared to invade the electorate of Hanover, hoping that their success would induce George II. to submit to their ascendancy in North America. They also reinforced the Austrian army which had been launched against the king of Prussia, by the Aulic council, and the diet of the empire. No sooner had Frederic II. entered Saxony, than he was put to the ban of the empire, and adjudged fallen from all his dignities and possessions. The levies ordered to enforce these decrees bore the title of the Imperial Army of Execution. The Russians, Swedes, Austrians, and French, were gradually drawing around the king of Prussia, who still persisted in his design of invading Bohemia. Several engagements took place between portions of the Prussian and Austrian armies, but the former continued to advance, and gained the famous battle of Prague (May 6, 1757). Thereupon Frederic invested that city, but having been defeated at the warmly-contested battle of Kolin (May 18), he raised the siege, and commenced the evacuation of Bohemia. The armies of his Prussian majesty, and those of his allies, were not more fortunate in other quarters. The Russians had invaded Prussia, and captured Memel; and Marshal Lehwald, having failed to make any impression upon them in an action near Norkitten (Aug. 13), drew off his army in good order, and reoccupied his former camp.

§ 541. While the Russians were ravaging one portion of the king of Prussia's dominions, the French were stripping him of his possessions in another direction, and laying the

electorate of Hanover under contribution. The duke of Cumberland was defeated at Hartenbeck (July 25), and instead of endeavouring to form a junction with the Prussian forces, he continued his retreat. The French ravaged the electorate, and the duke of Cumberland signed the singular convention of Closter Seven (Sept. 8), by which an army of thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannic majesty, was dissolved and distributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being disarmed or considered as prisoners of war. The French were thus at liberty to direct all their efforts against the king of Prussia. The army of the empire was on its march to the rescue of Saxony, twenty thousand Swedes had entered Prussian Pomerania, and the Russians still ravaged other parts of the kingdom. One Austrian army had entered Silesia, while another, penetrating Lusatia, eluded the Prussian forces, and suddenly appearing before Berlin, laid that capital under contribution (Oct. 17, 1757). The ruin of Frederic II. of Prussia seemed, under these circumstances, to be inevitable.

LETTER 33.—State of Europe and History of the War, from the Convention of Closter Seven to the Battle of Minden. A.D. 1757—1759. Vol. ii., pages 472—497.

§ 542. Pitt and Legge, who were dismissed from office (April 9, 1757), in consequence of their unwillingness to send British troops to Hanover, at the request of George II., had been restored to power before the news of the convention of Closter Seven reached England, in compliance with the general wish of the nation, expressed in many warm addresses to the throne (June 28). They had not, however, had time to plan any regular system of measures, when the shame and confusion was at its height, and their first enterprise, an expedition under Sir Edward Hawke, carrying ten regiments of land forces, intended to operate upon the coasts of France, returned to port without having achieved anything. Great was the indignation of the people, and while a court of inquiry censured Sir John Mordaunt, the commander-in-chief of the land forces, a court martial acquitted him of the charge of disobeying instructions. Affairs in America did not afford a more flattering prospect. An expedition that had been intended to act against Louisburg was countermanded, on account of the arrival of the Brest fleet, with supplies and reinforcements. The French

cut off our communications with our Indian allies, and destroyed all our fine settlements on the Mohawk river, and the ground called the German flats. The marquis of Montcalm laid siege to Fort William Henry, built on the southern side of Lake George, in order to cover the frontier of the British settlements, and to command the lake. General Webb, who was posted with an army in the immediate neighbourhood, did not attempt to save it, and the garrison were compelled to surrender (Aug. 9, 1757). In violation of all the rules of war, the Indians in the French army fell upon the defenceless soldiers, scalping them, and exercising upon them every species of cruelty known among the natives of North America.

§ 543. When intelligence of those losses and disgraces arrived in England, the people, already sufficiently mortified, gave way to despondency. Certain moral and political writers, who foretold the ruin of the nation, and ascribed its misfortunes to a total corruption of manners and principles, and the utter extinction of the martial spirit, gained universal credit. But the more zealous friends of the new administration, in conjunction with the younger officers of the army and navy, warmly vindicated the national character, and seemed to long for an opportunity to give the lie to these prognostics of evil. In the mean time public opinion, ever fluctuating, and wholly governed by events, took a less gloomy direction. The first ray of hope came from the East. After chastising the pirates, Admiral Watson returned to the coast of Coromandel, where he was informed of the loss of Calcutta. Resolved upon obtaining revenge, he took Clive, advanced to the rank of Colonel, with some of the English East-India Company's troops, on board, and sailed for Bengal. Calcutta was speedily recovered (Jan. 1, 1757), Rajah al Dowlah compelled to sue for peace and to accept such terms as the English commanders chose to dictate. Informed of the outbreak of war in Europe, Watson and Clive attacked and captured Chandernagore, on the Ganges, the principal French settlement in Bengal (March 28). Rajah al Dowlah failed to execute the treaty he had entered into with the English commanders, and intrigued with the French. Clive, determined upon chastising his perfidy, defeated him, with much inferior forces, at the battle of Plassey (June 23). Rajah al Dowlah sought safety in flight, but was captured and put to death by order of Meer Jaffier, who succeeded to his throne. Clive compelled him to submit to

very rigorous terms, and having placed the English rule in Bengal on a secure basis, he permitted this native prince to hold a delegated authority.

§ 544. Before intelligence of these victories reached England, events in Europe had taken a favourable turn. The army of the empire, having effected a junction with a portion of the French forces, assumed the title of the Combined Army, and commenced operations by besieging Leipsic. Frederic of Prussia hastened to its relief, and at the head of forces inferior in number, defeated the French and imperialists at Rosbach (Nov. 5, 1757). He then advanced against the Austrians and Hungarians, who had entered Silesia in great force, besieged Schweidnitz, and defeated the prince of Bevern (Nov. 22). The Prussian monarch came up with the victorious enemy at the village of Leuthen, near Lissa, where he gained another complete victory (Dec. 5). Breslau surrendered (Dec. 21), and the Austrians and Hungarians retired into Bohemia. The Prussians, reduced to extremities from the want of supplies, were obliged to return home, leaving a small garrison in Memel; and Marshal Lehwald, being thus left at liberty, entered Pomerania and compelled the Swedes to withdraw. The French, intent only upon plunder, had broken almost every article of the convention of Closter Seven, and this so exasperated the Hanoverians, that they took up arms against their invaders, and in a few months drove them in confusion out of the country.

§ 545. These successes induced the English ministers in some measure to modify their views, and George II. entered into a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which the contracting powers engaged to conclude no treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, with the hostile powers, but in concert and by mutual agreement and participation. Subsidies were granted, and liberal supplies voted. Louis XV., who during his long reign had submitted almost entirely to female favourites, called experienced statesmen to his councils, and prepared to retrieve the reverses of the previous campaign. Prince Ferdinand, at the head of the victorious Hanoverians, again defeated the French at Creveld (June 23, 1758), and took Dusseldorf. The English were on their march to reinforce his army, but nothing more was effected, and Prince Ferdinand put his troops into winter quarters towards the end of October.

§ 546. The king of Prussia experienced many changes of

fortune during the campaign. His first movement was against Schweidnitz, which he captured in twelve days. Frederic then divided his principal army into three parts, passed into Moravia, and besieged Olmütz. The capture of a convoy by the Austrians, and the approach of the Russians towards Silesia, compelled Frederic to abandon this enterprise. Turning into Bohemia, he captured Königsgratz, and, after a short repose, advanced to the relief of Custrin, then closely besieged by the Russians, who, instead of invading Silesia, had entered Brandenburg. With a loss of only eighteen hundred men, the king of Prussia defeated the Russians at the battle of Zorndorf (Aug. 25, 1758), leaving ten thousand of the enemy dead upon the field. Frederic then hastened into Saxony to the relief of his brother Henry, who was menaced by the Austrians and Hungarians as well as by the army of the empire. When this junction had been effected, Frederic took post at Hochkirchen, where he was attacked by the Austrian General, Daun (Oct. 14). The latter gained the day, but the victory was by no means decisive, and Frederic, to the surprise of his antagonists, marched into Silesia, and expelled the Austrians. His absence from Saxony induced the Austrian generals in that quarter to recommence operations. Leipzig, Torgau, and Dresden were immediately besieged. The Prussian governor destroyed a portion of the suburbs of Dresden in order to render the city more secure, and a few days after Frederic II. entered, returning from his victorious career in Silesia. Thereupon the Austrian and imperial armies retired into Bohemia. The Russians, as well as the Swedes, retreated from Prussian Pomerania. The king of Prussia, triumphant over all his enemies, appeared greater than ever.

§ 547. While those illustrious achievements were in course of accomplishment in Germany, the grand theatre of war, the British arms had recovered their lustre, both by land and sea. Admiral Osborne captured two French men-of-war, and drove a third ashore, near Carthage (Feb. 28, 1758). Sir E. Hawke dispersed and drove on shore in Basque roads, a French fleet carrying reinforcements and supplies to North America. Two other convoys were dispersed, and several transports taken; and on the 29th of May, a French ship of the line, having on board six hundred and thirty men, and mounting sixty-four guns, was taken by the Dorsetshire, an English seventy-gun ship, after a smart engagement. A new expedition against the coast of France

was planned, and setting sail from the Isle of Wight, it steered directly for St. Malo (June 6, 1758), and having destroyed the shipping and stores, returned to Spithead. Another was sent against Cherbourg, which was taken, and the works were destroyed (Aug. 8). Having re-embarked his troops, General Bligh made a second landing, in the bay of St. Lunar, two leagues to the westward of St. Malo; but the approach of a strong force of the enemy induced him to beat a hasty retreat. The French came up with the retiring army on the beach, and about a thousand of the best troops perished in the confusion consequent upon the re-embarkation.

§ 548. In North America, whence so many accounts of delay, disgrace, and disaster, had been received, affairs also took a favourable turn. General Abercrombie had assumed the command, and he divided his forces into three separate bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand men, under Major-general Amherst, were destined for the siege of Louisburg; nearly sixteen thousand, under Abercrombie in person, were reserved for the reduction of Ticonderago and Crown Point; and eight thousand, commanded by Brigadier-general Forbes, were ordered to attack Fort du Quesne. The first enterprise was entirely successful, although the enemy made a gallant resistance. General Wolfe distinguished himself greatly, and Louisburg, with all the island, submitted (July 27). With Cape Breton fell also the island of St. John, and the stations which the French had established for carrying on the cod-fishery in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Early in July, General Abercrombie set off to execute his portion of the plan to drive the French from Ticonderago and Crown Point. In a skirmish with the French on the 5th, in which the latter were defeated, Lord Howe, a nobleman of much promise, fell. The English found the enemy in great force at Ticonderago, failed in an attack (July 8), and retired. Abercrombie, however, detached Col. Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac, which surrendered (Aug. 25). The French abandoned Fort du Quesne at the approach of Brigadier Forbes and his force (Nov. 24), and the place received the name of Fort Pitt. The French settlements in Africa were also attacked. Fort Louis, on the river Senegal, was captured (April 23); and the island of Goree was reduced (Dec. 22). In India the British arms had not been so successful, and in spite of two naval victories, Cadalore and Fort St. David were taken by the French.

§ 549. Such was the state of the war in all parts of the world at the close of the year 1758. The success was divided. The resources of England being still great, she generously continued her annual subsidy to the king of Prussia. Those of Austria were nearly exhausted, and France was on the eve of a national bankruptcy; yet the efforts of both were undiminished. The empress of Russia adhered to her military system, which she considered as necessary to the training of her armies; and Sweden made no advances towards peace. The greatest exertions were displayed in every quarter of the globe. The Prussians destroyed all the Russian magazines in Poland (Feb. 1759), and recovered a great part of Pomerania. Early in January the French had captured Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick failed in an attempt to expel them at Bergen (April 17). The French continued to advance, and Prince Ferdinand, anxious to prevent them from taking up their winter quarters in the electorate of Hanover, determined to hazard an engagement. The main body of the French army, after capturing Minden, had encamped in a strong position in the neighbourhood of that city. Here they were attacked and defeated (Aug. 1); and the day after, the garrison of Minden surrendered. Lord George Sackville, who had succeeded Marlborough in command of the British troops, has been unjustly censured for not supporting the commander-in-chief in this battle. The fact is, that Prince Ferdinand was jealous of him, and did all he could to bring him into discredit. Although Lord George Sackville was censured by Ferdinand, and dismissed from the army by a court-martial, his character has been completely vindicated by later investigations.

LETTER 34.—View of the State of Europe, and History of the War, continued from the Defeat of the French at Minden to the Death of George II. A.D. 1759—1760. Vol. ii., pages 497—522.

§ 550. The victory of Minden threw the court of Versailles into the utmost confusion. Munster was recovered, and the French compelled to evacuate a great part of Germany. Ferdinand, however, detached a part of his army to support the king of Prussia, whose generals had been worsted by the Russians at Zulichau (July 23). Thereupon, Frederic II. put himself at the head of his forces, but was repulsed with great slaughter by the Russians and

Austrians at Cunersdorf (Aug. 12, 1759). So terrible was the defeat, that the allies trembled for the safety of Prussia. Frederic II. quickly recruited his army, and recovered all Saxony, with the exception of Dresden. Having ordered General Finck to attempt to cut off the Austrian retreat, that general was surrounded, and reduced to the necessity of surrendering with his army (Nov. 26). These reverses, and another check his arms sustained in the capture and destruction of a rear-guard of three thousand men, induced Frederick to put his army into winter quarters at Freiburg, without attempting any new enterprise. An English expedition against Martinique, not meeting with success, proceeded to Guadaloupe, which it eventually captured (April 20, 1759).

§ 551. In North America it was resolved to attack the French at all their strongholds at once. General Wolfe, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg, was ordered to proceed up the river St. Lawrence with a body of eight thousand men, and a stout fleet from England, and besiege the city of Quebec; General Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, with an army of twelve thousand men, was to reduce Ticonderago and Crown Point, cross Lake Champlain, and, proceeding by the way of Richelieu River to the banks of the St. Lawrence, join General Wolfe in his attempt upon the capital of Canada; and Brigadier Prideaux, with a third army, reinforced by a body of provincials and friendly Indians, under Sir William Johnson, was to invest the important fortress of Niagara, which in a manner commanded the interior parts of the northern division of the New World. It was also proposed, that the troops under Brigadier Prideaux, after the reduction of Niagara, should embark on Lake Ontario; fall down the river St. Lawrence; besiege and take Montreal; and then join or co-operate with the combined army, under Amherst and Wolfe. The army under Amherst was soon in motion. The French having abandoned Ticonderago, it was speedily occupied (July 27), and the same thing happened at Crown Point (Aug. 1). But Amherst was not able to effect a junction with Wolfe, which was the prime object of his enterprise. Meanwhile Sir William Johnson had succeeded in his attack upon Niagara (July 24), and Wolfe landed with his troops a few leagues below the city of Quebec, which is chiefly built upon a steep rock on the northern bank of the

river St. Lawrence, and is further defended by the river St. Charles, which places it in a kind of peninsula. Montcalm, the French general, was advantageously posted in the neighbourhood, with a force superior to the English army. To undertake the siege of the town, in such circumstances, seemed contrary to all the established maxims of war. Wolfe determined to make the attempt, and after several severe encounters, and an entire change of his plan of operations, established himself upon the heights of Abraham, which commanded the city (Sep. 13, 1759). This was so perilous and difficult an operation, that the French general, Montcalm, could hardly believe in its accomplishment. Convinced that it had been effected, he determined to risk an engagement. Wolfe fell in the hour of victory, Montcalm was mortally wounded, the French retired, and five days afterwards Quebec surrendered (Sept. 18).^a

§ 552. The French besieged Madras, but were obliged to retire, and some of their settlements in the Carnatic were captured. Surat, in Malabar, was also taken, and the Dutch chastised for their intrigues in Bengal. The English were also victorious at sea. A French squadron was defeated by Boscawen off Cape Lagos (Aug. 18); and Sir Edward Hawke gained another naval triumph near Belleisle (Nov. 20). Thurot, who had sailed into the North Sea, with a powerful squadron, was obliged to take shelter in the ports of Norway and Sweden. He afterwards ravaged

^a Wolfe floating down the St. Lawrence to Quebec is thus described by Lord Stanhope, in his History.—“Not a word was spoken, not a sound was heard beyond the rippling of the stream. Wolfe alone—thus tradition has told us—repeated, in a low voice, to the other officers in his boat those beautiful stanzas with which a country churchyard inspired the muse of Gray; one noble line, ‘The paths of glory lead but to the grave,’ must have seemed, at such a moment, fraught with mournful meaning. At the close of the recitation Wolfe added, ‘Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec.’” A fitting tribute to the memory of both of these gallant men has been erected at Quebec. It is thus described by the author whom we have quoted above.—“More recently, on the other side of the Atlantic, a small column has been raised to mark the very spot where Wolfe received his death-wound. But the noblest monument to his memory is one that blends his fame with the fame of his gallant enemy: far different, indeed, as to success, but alike both in courage and in doom. Amidst the government gardens of Quebec there now stands an obelisk, sixty feet in height: its front, looking to the land side, along which the French general moved, bears inscribed the word MONTCALM; its south front, towards which the English general advanced, bears the word WOLFE.”

the coast of Ireland, pillaged Carrickfergus (Feb. 21, 1760), but was intercepted and slain by Elliott, and all his ships were taken (Feb. 28). During the campaign of 1760, Prince Fredinand did not accomplish much. The French advanced in one direction, and retired in another, and the large armies in the field achieved nothing to increase their reputation. The king of Prussia struggled gallantly against the Russians, the Austrians, the Swedes, and the army of the empire. The Prussians were defeated at Landshut (June 23), and Glatz immediately surrendered. Frederic II. failed in an attack upon Dresden (July 19), but defeated the Austrians at Psaffendorf (Aug. 14), in Silesia. In the mean time the Russians and Austrians had advanced against Berlin, of which they made themselves masters (Oct. 9). This aroused Frederic, and with an army of fifty thousand men he gained a brilliant victory over the Austrians, eighty thousand strong, in their entrenched camp at Torgau (Nov. 3). Of all the king of Prussia's victories, this was perhaps the most glorious, as it was certainly the most important. Frederic II. immediately entered Torgau; he recovered all Saxony except Dresden, before the close of the campaign; and he put his troops into winter quarters in that electorate, instead of being obliged to canton them in his own wasted dominions. The shock of victory seemed to be felt in every hostile quarter. Laudohn abruptly evacuated Silesia. The Russians abandoned the siege of Colberg in Eastern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, defeated by the Prussians in Western Pomerania, were forced to take refuge under the the cannon of Stralsund.

§ 553. In North America and the East Indies, the English continued their career of victory. After the fall of Quebec the French army had retired to Montreal. They were reinforced, and attempted to regain possession of Quebec. After the most gallant efforts, they were obliged to give up the enterprise, and being pressed by the English forces, capitulated (Sept. 8). All the French fortresses in Canada surrendered; but it was stipulated that the French troops should be transported to France, and the Canadians were secured in their property, and in the free exercise of their religion. Pondicherry, in the East Indies, surrendered (Jan. 15, 1761); and Mahè soon after fell (Feb. 10). The English people were not, however, satisfied with the wonderful acquisitions of trade and territory consequent upon these conquests. They complained of the inaction in Germany,

and desired that the French should have all their West Indian possessions wrested from them. In the midst of these disputes, George II. died suddenly, in the seventy-seventh year of his age (Oct. 25, 1760). Violent in his temper, but humane and candid in his disposition, he conciliated the affection, if he failed to command the respect, of those who were most about his person. His attachment to German politics rendered the early part of his reign unpopular.

LETTER 35.—State of Europe, and the Progress of the War, from the Accession of George III. to the Peace of Paris. A.D. 1760—1763. Vol. ii., pages 522—546.

§ 554. George III., grandson of the former king, who succeeded to the crown of Great Britain in the twenty-third year of his age, was universally allowed to be the arbiter of peace and war, as he was beyond dispute the most powerful monarch in Europe. Large supplies had already been granted by his subjects; yet were they still able and willing to raise more, in order to complete the humiliation of their enemies. He declared in council, that as he ascended the throne in the midst of an expensive but just and necessary war, he would endeavour to prosecute that war in the manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with his allies. This declaration quieted the allies; and the liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, for supporting the war during the next campaign (which amounted to the immense sum of nearly twenty millions sterling), astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. The dominions of the house of Austria were much wasted; the king of Prussia was in a better situation than at the opening of the former campaign; the army under Prince Ferdinand amounted to eighty thousand men; the Russians and Swedes seemed tired of a contest in which they had acquired neither honour nor advantage; the elector of Saxony was still in as distressed circumstances as ever, and his Polish subjects obstinately refused to interpose in his behalf. France declared her inability to discharge her pecuniary engagements to her allies. Her finances were low; her navy was ruined; her affairs in America and the East Indies were irretrievable; and it was evident that her West India islands must surrender to the first English armament that should appear upon their coasts. A con-

gress was accordingly ordered to meet at Augsburg, in the beginning of April, for settling the disputes among the German powers; while the ministers of France and England were appointed to negotiate at London and Paris, in order to adjust the differences between the two crowns. The congress at Augsburg never took place, but the negotiations between France and England were carried on for some time, in spite of the hostilities, which still raged with great fury.

§ 555. The war on the continent in 1761 did not produce any important results. At sea the English were again victorious, and several actions between small squadrons, and even single ships, added greatly to the honour of the British flag. A formidable armament was fitted out against Belleisle, on the coast of France, which achieved the most decisive success (June 7). The negotiations with France were resumed, but although that power offered to make great concessions, difficulties occurred, and they were finally broken off. The court of Madrid had fallen under French influence, and it was foreseen that Spain would become involved in the contest. On the death of Ferdinand VI. (Aug. 10, 1759), his brother, Don Carlos, king of Naples and Sicily, succeeded to the throne under the title of Charles III. On this event, by an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip should have ascended the throne of the Two Sicilies; and Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should have reverted to the house of Austria, saving certain provisions made by the same treaty in favour of the king of Sardinia. But as Don Carlos had never acceded to that treaty, he left the crown of the Two Sicilies, by will, to his third son, Don Ferdinand, the eldest being judged unfit for government, and the second designed for the Spanish succession. Don Philip acquiesced in this arrangement; and the court of Vienna, through the mediation of France, permitted him to remain in possession of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, without putting in any claim to those territories. The king of Sardinia was quieted with money. The French government prevailed upon the new king of Spain to enter into still closer relations, and the celebrated family compact, between the Bourbons of France, Spain, Naples, and Parma, was signed (Aug. 15), pledging the kings of France and Spain in particular to the most intimate alliance. William Pitt, fully alive to the consequences of the intimate alliance between

France and Spain, advocated decisive measures, and being outvoted in the council, resigned (Oct. 5, 1761). A pension was settled upon him, and his wife was made Baroness Chatham.

§ 556. The ministry continued under the lead of the duke of Newcastle, and did not seem in the least degree inclined to make undue concessions to France or Spain. They demanded explanations from the latter power relative to the family compact, and not receiving a satisfactory reply, declared war (Jan. 4, 1762). Never had Great Britain been in so perilous a situation. She was engaged, as a principal, in a war with the whole house of Bourbon; and, as an ally, she had the declining cause of the king of Prussia to support against Austria, the empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and the Germanic body. Nor was this all. As the strength of her victorious navy gave her a manifest superiority over the fleets of France and Spain, an expedient was fallen upon to engage her in a new land war; and, by that means, finally to exhaust her resources, and divert her attention from distant conquests or naval enterprises. This expedient was an attack upon the neutral kingdom of Portugal. England having assisted in the establishment of the house of Braganza on the throne of Portugal, had always maintained the most intimate relations with that country. She gave a preference in her ports to her wines, and obtained in return many exclusive commercial privileges. In 1758, a Jesuit conspiracy had broken out against the life of Joseph Emanuel, but it miscarried, and the Jesuits were expelled. This had excited the resentment of the Pope, and the little kingdom was actually environed by enemies. The Spanish forces marched upon Portugal, then in a defenceless state, and demanded admission into its chief strongholds, on the plea of affording protection against the naval force of Great Britain. The king of Portugal refused to barter away his independence, the ministers of France and Spain withdrew from Lisbon, and soon after declared war (June 15, 1762). England sent troops, ammunitions, and supplies to Portugal, and the Spaniards were speedily driven out of the places they had seized.

§ 557. The war in Germany was in the mean time waged with vigour. Prince Ferdinand gained several advantages, particularly in actions at Grabenstein, Homberg, and Melsungen, in which the English troops, under the marquis

of Granby, acquired signal honour. The French were victorious at Johannisberg (Aug. 30); but Prince Ferdinand took Cassel (Nov. 1), and had recovered a great part of Hesse, when he received intelligence of the cessation of hostilities. At the death of the Empress Elizabeth, second daughter of Peter the Great (Jan. 5, 1762), her nephew, Peter III., ascended the throne of Russia. This prince at once ordered his generals to desist from hostilities against Frederic II. of Prussia, and actually entered into an alliance with that potentate. The Austrians were forced to retreat; but in the height of his victorious career, a revolution in Russia threatened to deprive Frederic of all the advantages of his alliance. Peter III., having been deposed and put to death, was succeeded by his widow, Katherine II. (July 30). This princess declared in favour of neutrality. Frederic II., nothing dismayed, recovered Schweidnitz, and drove the Austrians out of Silesia. A truce was afterwards concluded between Prussia and Austria, for Saxony and Silesia. Meanwhile the Prussian troops ravaged Bohemia and Franconia. Great naval victories crowned the English arms. Martinique, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and other West Indian islands, were captured in February. Havannah was taken from the Spaniards (Aug. 14), and all Cuba fell into our power. Manilla and the whole range of the Philippine Islands submitted in October. In the midst of these conquests, negotiations were once more set on foot, and preliminaries of peace signed at Fontainebleau (Nov. 3, 1762).

§ 558. The duke of Newcastle had resigned in May (29), and the earl of Bute was placed at the head of the ministry. The new government, anticipating great difficulty in raising supplies, in face of the opposition of Pitt, Newcastle, and their supporters, were but too glad to listen to the proposals of peace made by France and Spain. It was stipulated, that France should cede to Great Britain, Canada, with the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and all that part of Louisiana which lies on this side of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and its territory: that the French should be permitted to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain limitations; and that the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon should be ceded to them for the benefit of their fishery; that Spain should relinquish her claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; permit the English log-wood cutters to build houses in the bay of

Honduras, for the conveniency of their trade; evacuate whatever places she had taken belonging to Portugal; and cede Florida to Great Britain, in consideration of having the Havannah, and all that part of the island of Cuba conquered by the British arms, restored to her: that the island of Minorca should be restored to Great Britain, and the islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belleisle to France: that France should cede to Great Britain the forts and factories she had lost on the river Senegal, the island of Granada and the Grenadines, and give up all claim to the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. But St. Lucia, the most valuable of the neutral islands, was delivered in full right to France, and the French East-India Company were put in the same situation as after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by the restitution of Pondicherry and other places, with the single exception of their not being allowed to erect forts in the province of Bengal. In return for so many indulgences, France agreed to destroy the harbour, and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk. These preliminaries were approved, contrary to all expectation, by a majority of the British Parliament (Nov. 1762), and the definitive treaty was signed at Paris early in the following year (Feb. 10, 1763). At Hubertsburg, a treaty of peace between the empress-queen and the king of Prussia was signed; by which it was provided, that a mutual restitution of conquests and an oblivion of injuries should take place, and that both parties should be put in the same situation as at the commencement of hostilities (Nov. 15, 1763); and this brought to a close the Seven Years' War.

LETTER 36.—The Progress of Society in Europe during part of the Eighteenth Century. A.D. 1700—1763. Vol. ii., pages 546—571.

§ 559. Russia, altogether rude and barbarous at the commencement of the eighteenth century, made rapid advances towards civilization. Of the progress of improvement in Poland, where, in addition to other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy still retained their ascendancy, rendering the king a shadow, the people slaves, and the nobles tyrants, little could be said. Sweden and Denmark declined, but the sons of the North did not seem to be less happy, though they appeared to have lost, with their political freedom, their ancient spirit of liberty and independence. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture made considerable progress amongst them. Sweden could boast

of Linnæus, the most profound naturalist of modern times. Germany, during the period under review, underwent less change, perhaps, than any other country of equal extent. Agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts, however, made great progress in many parts, especially in Prussia. The sciences and polite arts also flourished under the protection of Frederic II., and the works of Gesner, Klopstock, and other men of genius, were translated into most modern languages.

§ 560. The Swiss, so much distinguished by their love of liberty and of their country, and so long accustomed to sell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their soil, endeavoured to cultivate their barren mountains, and acquire a knowledge of the necessary arts. The Dutch permitted the love of gain to extinguish amongst them the spirit of patriotism. A total want of principle prevailed in Holland. Avarice became the only passion, and wealth the only merit, in the United Provinces. Italy acquired new lustre during the eighteenth century, from the splendid courts of Turin and Naples, in which arts and literature were encouraged. If painting and architecture continued to decline, music and poetry flourished greatly in this classical country. Metastasio perfected her musical drama. The state of society in Spain improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon. The intercourse of the sexes became more general and easy. A taste for agriculture, arts, manufactures, and even a passion for arms and enterprise, revived among the Spaniards. A similar taste extended itself to the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal after the expulsion of the Jesuits.

§ 561. In France, as has been previously shown, society attained its highest polish before the close of the seventeenth century. But the misfortunes which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. threw a gloom over the manners of the people, and a mystical religion became fashionable at court. Madame de Maintenon herself was deeply penetrated with this religion, as was the celebrated Fénelon, afterwards archbishop of Cambray, preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and author of the "Adventures of Telemachus," one of the finest works of human imagination. The fervour spread, and Racine, in compliance with the prevailing taste, wrote tragedies on sacred subjects. The court, however, resumed its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orleans, not-

withstanding the accumulated distresses of the nation; and his libertine example, with that of his minister, the Cardinal Dubois, introduced a total corruption of manners, which prevailed during the greater part of the reign of Louis XV. A furious dispute between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abstract points in theology, had distracted France in the brightest days of Louis XIV. Many able men employed their pens on both sides. But the Jansenists, supported by the talents of Nicole, Arnaud, and Pascal, had evidently the advantage both in raillery and reasoning. The Jesuits then had recourse to persecution, and afterwards sent to Rome one hundred and three propositions for condemnation, of which one hundred and one were declared to be heretical (1713).

§ 562. The bull containing the condemnation of the opinions of the Jansenists, commonly known by the name of UNIGENITUS, from the word with which it begins, instead of composing the pious dispute, threw all France into a flame. The body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop of Paris, fifteen other prelates, and many of the most respectable among the inferior clergy, violently opposed it, as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an insult on their private judgment. But the king, who was wholly governed by the Jesuits, and spurred on to violent measures by his confessor, enforced its reception; and the kingdom was soon divided into Acceptants and Recusants. The death of Louis XIV. put a stop to the dispute; and the duke of Orleans, while regent, ordered the persecution to cease, and at the same time enjoined the recusant bishops to accept the bull, accompanied with certain explications. They found themselves under the necessity of complying. Even the good Cardinal of Noailles, archbishop of Paris, was induced to do violence to his sentiments, in 1720, for the sake of peace. From that time to the year 1750, the bull Unigenitus, though held in execration by the people, occasioned no public disturbance. Then it was resolved by the clergy to demand confessional notes of dying persons; and it was ordered that these notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction, could be obtained. These consolatory rites were refused without pity to all Recusants, and to all such as confessed to Recusants. The parliaments, or supreme courts of justice, espoused the cause of the people against

the clergy, until Louis XV., by an act of his absolute authority, ordered the parliaments not to take cognizance of such matters. The parliaments remonstrated, the king, backed by the clergy, attempted to suppress them, but failed, and in 1754, the parliament returned in triumph to Paris.

§ 563. The clergy, however, persisted in refusing the sacraments. The king appealed to Benedict XIV., who declared that the bull *Unigenitus* must be acknowledged as a universal law. The parliament of Paris, considering this brief as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, suppressed it by a decree. The king, enraged at their boldness, as well as at their refusal to register certain oppressive taxes, resolved to hold a Bed of Justice. He accordingly went to the parliament on the 13th day of November, in the year 1756, attended by the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he suppressed the fourth and fifth Chambers of Inquest, the members of which had been most firm in opposing the brief. He then commanded that the bull *Unigenitus* should be respected, and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacrament; and he concluded with declaring that he would be obeyed! Fifteen counsellors of the great chamber lodged their resignation at the office next day. One hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example, and discontent prevailed in the city and throughout the kingdom. In the midst of these, the fanatic Francis Damien stabbed the king, and the parliaments soon after achieved another triumph.

§ 564. The Jesuits, the chief supporters of the bull *Unigenitus*, having rendered themselves universally odious by their share in the conspiracy against the life of the king of Portugal, fell in France under the lash of the civil power, for certain fraudulent mercantile transactions. They refused to discharge the debts of one of their body, who had become bankrupt for a large sum, and who was supposed to act for the benefit of the whole society. The parliaments eagerly seized upon an opportunity of humbling their spiritual enemies. The Jesuits were everywhere cited before those high tribunals, in 1761, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. They seemed to acquiesce in the decision, but delayed payment under various pretences. New suits were commenced against them, in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In

the course of these proceedings, which the king endeavoured in vain to stay, they were compelled to produce their "Institute," or the rules of their order, hitherto studiously concealed. That mysterious volume, which was found to contain maxims subversive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principles of morals, completed their ruin. All their colleges were seized, their effects confiscated; and the king, ashamed, or afraid, to protect them, not only abandoned them to their fate, but finally expelled them the kingdom, by a solemn edict, and utterly abolished the order of Jesus in France.

§ 565. In spite of these struggles, the enlargement and improvement of the human mind continued during the eighteenth century. Many arts, both useful and ornamental, were either invented or improved. Du Hamel philosophically invested the principles of husbandry, made it a fashionable study, and introduced a taste for agriculture; while Montesquieu and Helvetius devoted their attention to the political and moral world, and the investigation of the powers and principles of man as a member of society, with the effect of government and laws upon the human character. Buffon was employed in surveying the natural world. Voltaire, though a dangerous writer, was a man of great genius. His *Age of Louis XIV.*, his history of Russia, and of Charles XII. of Sweden, are models of elegant composition and of just thinking. Rousseau may be mentioned, and D'Alembert and Diderot, to whom French literature is indebted for that treasure of universal science, the "Encyclopædia." Marmontel, one of its contributors, enriched the literature of his country by a new species of fiction in his enchanting "*Contes Moraux.*" Nor must the two Crébillons be omitted. The father gave to tragedy a force of character not found in Corneille or Voltaire; and the romances of the son are captivating, but dangerous productions, in a new taste. This sportive and elegant mode of writing, with all its levities, digressions, and libertine display of sentiment, was happily imitated in England, by the celebrated author of "*Tristram Shandy.*" Even the idea of the much-admired "*Adventures of a Guinea*" was borrowed from the "*Sopha*" of the younger Crébillon.

§ 566. In our own country, arts, manners, and literature made great progress after the glorious era of the Revolution; when our civil and religious rights were fully established;

and our constitution was more equally balanced. This fortunate event introduced a passion for political reasoning; and the austere character of William, with the exemplary deportment of Mary, gave a check to the licentious manners of the court, which had grievously offended the nation during the two preceding reigns. Under the reign of William, Locke wrote his "Essay on Government," and Swift his "Tale of a Tub." These are two of the most excellent prose compositions in our language, whether we consider the style or matter; the former an example of close, manly reasoning, carrying conviction to the heart; the latter, of the irresistible force of ridicule, when supported by wit, humour, and satire. But as William was regarded in England, by one half of the nation, as only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a distance from court; so that the advance of taste and politeness was, till the reign of Queen Anne, inconsiderable. Then the splendour of heroic actions called off for a time the attention of all parties from political disputes, to contemplate the glory of their country. A crowd of great men appeared, whose characters are well known, and whose names are familiar to every ear. Then were displayed the strong talents and elegant accomplishments of Marlborough, Godolphin, Somers, Harley, and St. John. Then subsisted in full force that natural connection between the learned and the great, by which the latter never fail to be gainers. Swift, Addison, Congreve, Rowe, Steele, Vanbrugh, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of the principal persons in power, but most of them in early life obtained places in some of the less onerous departments of Government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independence.

§ 567. Several of these men of genius united in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the "Spectator," which, by the elevation of its tone, had a wonderful effect in improving the manners and taste of the nation. This was followed by several kindred productions. Prior's "Henry and Emma" is the first poem of any length in our language, in which love is treated with becoming delicacy, if we except those of the epic and dramatic kind, by Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. To Prior we are also indebted for the art of telling a gay story with ease, grace, and levity. He is the first English poet who has

united elegance and correctness. Our polite literature, in all its branches, now tended fast towards perfection. Steele freed English comedy from the licentiousness of former writers. If he has not the wit of Congreve, or the humour of Vanbrugh, he is more chaste and natural than either. He knew life well, and has given us in his comedies, as well as in his numerous papers in the "Tattler" and "Spectator," many just and lively pictures of the manners of that age of half-refinement. Rowe, in like manner, purified our tragic poetry, by excluding from his best pieces all grossly sensual descriptions, as well as impious and indelicate expressions. Though intimately acquainted with the best models, both ancient and modern, he may be deemed an original writer. His plots and his sentiments are chiefly his own. Addison's "Cato" has more vigour of versification than the tragedies of Rowe, but less ease. Addison has also written verses on various subjects, both in English and Latin, and is always polished and correct, though not enthusiastically poetical. But whatever merit he may have as a poet, he is great as a prose writer. Bolingbroke, in his "Dissertation on Parties;" in his "Letter to Sir William Wyndham," and in his "Idea of a Patriot King," has united strength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. It is not possible to carry farther the beauty and force of our multifarious tongue, without endangering the one or the other. The earl of Chesterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully easy, but he wants the nervous power of his master; and if Johnson, on some subjects, appears to have more force than Bolingbroke, he is generally destitute of ease.

§ 568. What Bolingbroke performed in prose, his friend Pope accomplished in verse. Having early discovered the bent of his genius, he diligently studied the poets who had written before him in his native tongue, but more especially those who had made use of rhyme. He seems to have confined his attention chiefly to Waller, Denham, and Dryden. If Pope's versification has any fault, it is that of too much regularity. He generally confines the sense, and consequently the run of metrical harmony, to the couplet. Thomson has left us, in his "Seasons," a greater number of just, beautiful, and sublime views of external nature, than are to be found in the works of all other poets since the days of Lucretius. Akenside has given, in his "Plea-

ures of Imagination," a delightful system of the philosophy of taste, unfolded in all the pomp of Miltonic verse; and Armstrong, the friend of Thomson, and, like Akenside, a physician by profession, has bequeathed to mankind a valuable legacy, in his "Art of Preserving Health." Collins and Gray successfully imitated the wild enthusiasm of Pindar; while Shenstone produced a refined species of rural poetry.

§ 569. This zealous and continued attention to the improvement of our poetry, in its various branches, did not prevent imagination and sentiment from flowing in other channels. A classical form was given to the comic romance by Fielding and Smollett, who have painted modern manners with great force of colouring, as well as truth of delineation, and given to the ludicrous features of life all the heightenings of wit, humour, and satire. Richardson, no less classical, created a new species of fiction, which may be called the epic of civil life, as it exhibits, in an extended and artfully-constructed fable, and in a variety of strongly-marked characters, under the influence of different passions, and engaged in different pursuits, the beauty and dignity of virtue, and the meanness and deformity of vice, without any ludicrous circumstance, or display of warlike exploits. The principal productions of these authors, under the well-known names of "Tom Jones," "Roderick Random," "Sir Charles Grandison," "Clarissa," and "Amelia," seemed for a time to occupy the attention, and even to turn the heads, of the younger part of the nation. But the histories of Robertson and Hume appeared, and romances were no longer read. A new taste was introduced. The lovers of mere amusement found that real incidents, properly selected and disposed, and real characters, delineated with truth and force, can more strongly engage both the mind and heart than any fabulous narrative. This taste, which has since given birth to many other elegant historical productions, fortunately for English literature, continues to gain ground.

§ 570. The theatre during this period continued to thrive, and the Italian Opera was established. The comedies of Steele were followed by those of Cibber, who has given us, in his "Careless Husband," a finished picture of polite life. The formal style and sententious morality of Addison's "Cato," in a certain degree, distinguish all the tragedies of Thomson. Those of Southern and Young are more impassioned, though in other respects no less faulty. Our

tragic actors, before the appearance of Garrick, seemed to have had but an imperfect notion of their business. Garrick introduced a natural in the place of an artificial style of acting. This new style led to a better taste in writing. Instead of the rant and fustian of Dryden and Lee, which the old players delighted to mouth, Garrick and his disciples displayed their bewitching power of moving the passions chiefly in the pathetic and awful scenes of Shakespeare and Otway, to which they drew more general admiration. And Aaron Hill, a great promoter of natural playing, having adapted to the English stage several of the elegant and interesting tragedies of Voltaire, gave variety to theatrical exhibitions. Some of the productions of Mason and of Glover are pregnant with nature and passion. Garrick also excelled in comedy. We had few new comedies of any merit till Hoadly produced the "Suspicious Husband," and Foote those inimitable sketches of real life which were so long the delight of the town, and justly gained him the name of the English Aristophanes. At length Colman, in the "Jealous Wife" and the "Clandestine Marriage," united the humour of Plautus to the elegance of Terence, and our comedy seemed to be perfected. But a new species was afterwards imported from France, of which Kelly's "False Delicacy," and Cumberland's "West Indian," may be regarded as specimens. Scenery and costume underwent great improvements; dancing was carried to perfection, and theatrical music made rapid advances. Gay's "Beggar's Opera" was the first successful original musical piece produced upon the English stage. Handel soon afterwards introduced a new species of musical drama, to which he gave the name of an Oratorio, and in which he exerted all his powers of combining harmony, to the delight and astonishment of the musical world.

§ 571. Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren were native architects of great merit. The latter is rendered immortal by the plan of St. Paul's and of St. Stephen's, Walbrook; exclusive of his other great designs—that of Greenwich Hospital, or the additions to the palace of Hampton Court. Wren was succeeded by the classical Lord Burlington, a liberal patron of the arts, and no contemptible professor; and by the ponderous but inventive Kent, whose plan of Holkham, the seat of the earl of Leicester, in Norfolk, and his temple of Venus in Stowe Gardens, if he had designed nothing else, would entitle him to a

distinguished rank among modern architects. But Kent was greatly surpassed in architecture by Sir William Chambers, Wyat, Adams, and others, who adorned the capital and every part of the kingdom with edifices in the purest taste of antiquity, combining elegance with convenience, and lightness with solidity. Nor should Milne, the architect of Blackfriars Bridge, be forgotten. Hogarth, the first eminent English painter, if we except Scott, who excelled in sea-pieces, may be said to have formed a new school. Above the Flemish comic painters, who servilely copy low life, or debase it into farce, and below the best Italian masters, who generally draw exalted characters, and elevate human nature, he delineates, like Fielding and Smollett, the ludicrous features of ordinary life, with as much truth and force as either, and with a more direct view to a moral purpose. Those who are in doubt about this matter need only consult his "Harlot's Progress," his "Rake's Progress," his "Marriage à la Mode," and his "Stages of Cruelty." Halley illustrated the theory of the tides, and increased the catalogue of the stars; while Maclaurin made great progress in algebra, and Gregory reduced astronomy to a regular system. The vegetable system of Tull led to the greatest improvements in agriculture; and the bold discoveries of Franklin, in electricity, may be said to have given birth to a new science. Among the successors of Locke, Hume is entitled to the first place; not that his metaphysical inquiries are more acute than those of Berkeley, Baxter, Hartley, or perhaps of Reid; but because his discoveries, like those of his great master, have a more intimate relation to human affairs—are of universal application in science, and are closely connected with the leading principles of the arts. If Mr. Hume was happy in illustrating his metaphysical system, he was yet more successful in exemplifying it. His moral, political, and literary essays, are perfect models of philosophical investigation. It is, however, to be regretted that his writings are tainted with scepticism. Amongst other celebrated men who flourished in England during this period, may be mentioned Arbuthnot, a miscellaneous writer, who died in 1735; Bentley, a classical critic, who lived from 1662 to 1742; Isaac Watts, a writer of sacred poetry, 1674—1748; and Doddridge, the theologian, who died in 1751. Edward Young, the poet, flourished 1684—1765; David Mallet, the poet, 1700—1765. Bishop

Atterbury^a died in exile in 1731, and in the same year Daniel Defoe breathed his last at the age of seventy. The term Methodists was first applied to a religious party in England in 1728. It was a designation given at Oxford to Charles Wesley and his followers.

* Of this remarkable, eccentric, and unfortunate person, a living historian says :—" Few men have attained a more complete mastery of the English language ; and all his compositions are marked with peculiar force, elegance, and dignity of style. A fine person and a graceful delivery added lustre to his eloquence, both in the pulpit and in the House of Lords. His haughty and aspiring mind constantly impelled him into violent measures, which were well supported by his abilities, but which seemed in some degree alien from his sphere. It is well observed by Mirabeau, in speaking of the duke of Brunswick, that one great sign of a well-regulated character, is not merely to be equal to its daily task, but to be satisfied with it, and not to step beyond it in search of fresh employment. Atterbury, on the contrary, could never remain tranquil. He might be compared to the chivalrous Peterborough exclaiming to the Minister,—' You must find me work in the Old World or the New ! ' His devotion to the Protestant faith was warm and pure ; his labours for the Established Church no less praiseworthy ; but his defence was of somewhat too fierce and turbulent a character ; he thought less of personal worth than of party principles in others ; and he was one of those of whom it has been wittily said, that out of their zeal for religion they have never time to say their prayers ! Yet in private life no trace of his vehemence and bitterness appeared ; his ' softer hour ' is affectionately remembered by Pope, and his own devoted love to his daughter, Mrs. Morice, sheds a milder light around his character. On the whole, he would have made an admirable Bishop had he been a less good partisan." This is an exquisite picture of the man.

PART III.

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763, TO THE
TREATY OF AMIENS, IN 1802.

CHAPTER I.

LETTER I.—View of the Situation of Great Britain, from the Termination of the War to the Dissensions with the American Colonies. A.D. 1763—1774. Vol. iii., pages 1—7.

§ 572. THE peace of 1763 left the nations of Europe under the pressure of enormous taxation. The reduction of the armies at the same time dispersed a number of men, whose military habits unfitted them for peaceful industry. Some of these sought a home in Russia, but the majority took refuge in America. The country gentlemen and the landed proprietors resided more in the capital; and this alteration in their mode of life caused such a change amongst the lower classes, that numbers, more particularly from Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, were induced to emigrate. The British people were dissatisfied with the terms of peace. Though the French had been expelled from the continent of America, and the disorderly court of Louis XV. could not be an object of serious apprehension, the English government established a permanent military force in that colony, under a commander-in-chief. The introduction of the Stamp Act caused the greatest discontent (1765). The colonists refused to submit; and Massachusetts took the lead in the resistance. The British Parliament rescinded the obnoxious measure (March 8, 1766), and the Americans celebrated this as a great triumph. The colonists declared that the mother country had no right whatever to impose taxes upon them. This

was, however, clearly wrong, for England had embarked in an arduous contest in their defence, and was entitled to ask them to share the burthens which it entailed.

§ 573. The progress of the North American colonies, had been most rapid. In most of the European states, population doubled once in a hundred years; in North America this was accomplished in twenty-five. Of course this result was chiefly owing to the stream of emigration that set steadily from the old world. The constitution of the American colonies bore the original impress of liberty. The British monarch appointed the governors, and the resident proprietors elected a council. Such was the general plan adopted, with various modifications, in the different states. Soon after the withdrawal of the Stamp Act, the English government imposed a duty of twenty-five per cent. upon tea (1767). The Americans again resisted; and in Boston three cargoes of tea were thrown into the harbour (1773). The government prepared to vindicate its authority, and the Americans convened a general Congress, which resolved that the Parliament of Great Britain had the right of enacting general laws, and the king that of refusing to confirm the provincial statutes; but that in all matters relating to property, none but the owners, or their representatives, had any power to legislate (1774). The governors took refuge in England, and the British Parliament persevered. Lord North was now at the head of affairs. The earl of Bute had resigned in 1763 (April 8), and had been succeeded by George Grenville, who became involved in a quarrel with John Wilkes. This celebrated demagogue published in No. 45 of the "North Briton," an attack upon the king's speech of the current year. A general warrant was issued against author, printer, and publisher; and John Wilkes was sentenced to expulsion from the House of Commons and outlawed (Jan. 20, 1764). The ministry was in a very precarious condition, and after several attempts to strengthen it, the marquis of Rockingham took office (July 10, 1765). This cabinet did not last long, and Pitt, as earl of Chatham, again succeeded to power (July 12, 1766). The great commoner did not long retain the helm; changes ensued, which terminated in the elevation of Lord North (Jan. 28, 1770); and, under his administration, the dispute with America degenerated into open warfare.

LETTER 2.—View of the Affairs of the Northern States of Europe, from the Treaty of Hubertsburg to the First Partition of Poland. A.D. 1763—1773. Vol. iii., pages 7—15.

§ 574. On the death of the Empress Elizabeth (Jan. 5, 1762), Peter III. succeeded to the throne, but was soon after deposed, through the intrigues of his wife, Katherine II., who obtained the sceptre. Frederic Augustus II., king of Poland and elector of Saxony died in 1763 (Oct. 5). Anarchy prevailed some time in Poland, and at last, owing to the influence of Russia and Prussia, Count Poniatowski mounted the throne, with the title of Stanislas Augustus (Sept. 7, 1764). The intrigues of Russia led to civil war, and parts of the country were occupied by the Muscovite hordes. The contests in Poland lay chiefly between the Roman Catholics and the Dissidents, as dissenters from that communion were denominated. These were principally members of the Greek church, in whose behalf Katherine pretended that the treaty of Oliva gave her the right of interference. The king was inclined to be tolerant, and this rendered him still more hateful to the despotic courts. Some conflicts ensued, and in pursuing the Poles, the Russians violated Turkish territory, which led to war between Russia and the Porte.

§ 575. The Dissidents were persecuted most furiously, and a confederation was formed against them at Bar (1768). The Haydamacks made incessant incursions into the country from the Russian vice-royalty of Elizabethgorod. The Jews became the chief objects of their fury, and these unhappy people were everywhere ruthlessly massacred. The peasants joined with the Haydamacks, and threw the country into terrible confusion. The Russians directed their efforts against the confederates, and besieged them in Cracow, which was at last compelled to submit (Aug. 19, 1768). The war raged violently, Prussia and Austria interfered, and in 1772, the first partition of Poland took place. The three aggressors could not however, at this juncture agree respecting the division of the spoil, and the Austrian armies were actually set in motion. They managed to settle their differences, Poland was compelled to submit, and from that hour it ceased to be an independent state (1773). Europe did not at that time seem to be aware of the true nature of that aggressive policy by which Russia hoped to raise herself at the expense of smaller states.

LETTER 3.—Rupture between Russia and Turkey—English Fleet under Admiral Elphinstone Assists the Russians and Defeats the Turks—Dreadful Ravages of the Plague at Moscow and the vicinity. A.D. 1768—1774. Vol. iii., pages 15—20.

§ 576. The proceedings of the Russians in Poland, excited the alarm of the Ottoman ruler; while the burning of the town of Balta, and the murder of its inhabitants by the Russians, led to the outbreak of hostilities (July 21, 1768). The first operations of the war were decidedly unfavourable to the Muscovites, and they were compelled to retire from the Danube. In the next campaign they retrieved their reverses; occupied Wallachia and Moldavia, and captured Choczim, Yassi, and Bucharest; but failed in an attack upon Bender (1769). The inhabitants of Greece, then under Turkish rule, were induced by the promises of the Russians to revolt; but they were defeated in several encounters (1770). In the mean time the Russian fleet, reinforced by Admiral Elphinstone, with an English squadron, appeared in the Mediterranean, and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Tchesme (July 5, 1770). In spite of this reverse, and insurrections in Syria and Egypt, Turkey still maintained the struggle with vigour. In 1771 the plague, which had before shown itself in various parts of Europe, broke out with great fury at Moscow. The Russians obtained possession of the Crimea in 1772; and in the following year they crossed the Danube and advanced to Varna; but were again repulsed. Negotiations were set on foot, and the treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardjii was concluded (July 21, 1774). The Russians retained Kinburn, Yenikale, Kertch, all the country between the Dnieper, the Bug, Azoff, and Taganrog, together with the free navigation of the Black Sea: the Crimea was severed from the political power of the Turkish emperor, though he retained the Caliphate.

LETTER 4.—Affairs of Sweden—Abdication of Adolphus Frederic—Accession of Gustavus III.—Dispute for the Bavarian Succession. A.D. 1761—1777. Vol. iii., pages 21—26.

§ 577. Increasing discontent in his kingdom, induced Adolphus Frederic, who had ascended the throne in 1751, to demand that a diet should be summoned, and as the council of state refused to do this, he resigned (1761). Thereupon the council of state gave way, a diet was called, and Adolphus Frederic withdrew his resignation. The Diet

assembled at Nykoping, and speedily re-adjusted matters. On the death of Adolphus Frederic, his son, Gustavus III., succeeded (1771). By the aid of his two brothers he effected a revolution. Sweden lost the constitution which had then been established a little more than half a century, and Gustavus III. obtained absolute power (1772). On the death of Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, and son of the Emperor Charles VII. (Dec. 30, 1777), that branch of the family of Wittelsbach, which had honourably governed Bavaria for nearly five hundred years, became extinct, and Charles Theodore Von Sulzbach, elector of the palatinate of the Rhine, and head of the next branch of the family of Wittelsbach, was proclaimed. Austria immediately advanced her ancient claims upon Lower Bavaria, and the new elector, afraid of embarking in a struggle with that formidable power, entered into a convention for giving up this portion of his inheritance, and admitted other claims of the ambitious house of Austria.

§ 578. The duke of Deuxponts, presumptive heir, protested against these proceedings, and demanded the interference of the Diet. Frederic II. espoused the cause of the German princes, and as Austria refused to agree to any terms whatever, war once more broke out in the heart of Europe. The armies of Austria and Prussia moved towards the frontiers of Bohemia and Silesia. Frederic II. passed into Bohemia, and seized Machod (July 4, 1778); and several skirmishes ensued, in which the Prussians were victorious. Though powerful armies were encamped almost within sight of each other, both parties were unwilling to hazard a great battle, and during the autumn the Prussians withdrew. Russia and France interfered, and a treaty was concluded at Teschen, in Upper Silesia (May 13, 1779). Austria renounced all claim to the dominions of the elector of Bavaria, received a tract of territory between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, and agreed to pay the elector of Saxony a compensation for his claims.

LETTER 5.—Retrospect of the Affairs of Portugal—Administration of the Count d'Oeyras—Attempt to Assassinate Joseph Emanuel I.—Execution of the Conspirators—War Declared by Spain—Result of the Campaign—Commerce and Internal Government of the Portuguese Government. A.D. 1750—1763. Vol. iii., pages 26—37.

§ 579. On his accession (1750), Joseph Emanuel I. found his treasury empty, and his government oppressed with debts.

Carvalho, afterwards created Count d'Oeyras, obtained the direction of affairs, and whilst he was endeavouring to restore the prosperity of the kingdom, the terrible earthquake destroyed a great portion of Lisbon (Nov. 1, 1755). The Count d'Oeyras exerted himself most strenuously in order to remedy the consequences of this visitation. The confidence reposed in him by his sovereign awakened the jealousy of some of the nobles, and these, incited by the Jesuits, formed a conspiracy against the monarch and his minister. They attacked the king, but he escaped (Sept. 3, 1758); and Carvalho, having obtained the names of the chief conspirators, caused them to be arrested, and they were afterwards executed. The Jesuits were expelled the kingdom. On account of the attachment of the Portuguese to the English, and their close union with them, the Spanish made war upon them (June 15, 1762); but the English interfered, and the Spaniards were speedily expelled.

§ 580. The Count d'Oeyras found Portugal in a state of rapid decay, and in spite of the ravages of the earthquake of 1755, and the Spanish war of 1762, succeeded in restoring its prosperity. The navy, which consisted of five or six disabled ships, and as many frigates, without sailors or officers, was in seven or eight years established upon a good footing; at the same time the English, the Swedes, the Dutch, the Danes, and the French, were invited into the country to teach navigation. The commerce, which had fallen principally into the hands of the English, was improved. The old trading companies, with their exclusive rights, were abolished, and the Portuguese themselves invited to take the management of their trade. Manufactures for silk, woollen drapery, leather, and soap, were established, and the importation of foreign stuffs was prohibited. The Count d'Oeyras tried to attract the commerce of Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, to Lisbon, by forming treaties with those states. He also encouraged agriculture, and sought to remodel the finances of the kingdom. He abolished numerous sinecures, reduced the number of public functionaries, and introduced a very rigid system of inspection of the public accounts. By these statesmanlike measures Portugal once more bade fair to attain a much higher degree of prosperity than the country had for some time enjoyed.

LETTER 6.—View of the Internal Affairs of France, from the Peace of Versailles to the Banishment of the Duke of Choiseul, with some Account of Corsica. A.D. 1763—1770. Vol. iii., pages 37—49.

§ 581. France was in a deplorable condition at the conclusion of the war. The parliament of Paris refused to register the king's edicts for continuing some taxes, imposing new ones, and vesting in him a power to redeem the public debts at twenty years' purchase. The provincial parliaments followed this example. Most of the public officers in the government of Canada were condemned to fines and banishment, for their misappropriation of the revenues entrusted to their charge. Yet the French government refused to pay the just claims of the Canadians, which led to a long negotiation with the British ministry. In 1764, the French king issued a declaration to the East-India Company, to the effect that assistance could no longer be afforded, and the association rapidly declined in power and importance. Madame Pompadour died (April 15) in the same year. For upwards of twenty years she had governed Louis XV., and maintained, in spite of all opposition, her influence and position at court. At her death, people hoped that wiser counsels would prevail, but the king abandoned himself entirely to the minions and tools of that extraordinary woman.

§ 582. The French ministry had for some time formed a secret plan for getting possession of Corsica, under the plea of assisting the Genoese. The moment the inhabitants were made aware of the project, they called an assembly, which passed a resolution that no French troops should be permitted to land. They also ordered their commander-in-chief, Pascal Paoli, to remonstrate against this unjustifiable expedient. The French, however, persisted, and landed a body of troops, and the Genoese, who had never conquered the island, ceded Corsica to France (1768). In 1765 the French government offered £670,000 to England as a compensation for the maintenance of the French prisoners during the war; the tender was accepted, and an instalment paid. The emperor of Morocco, having refused to punish a Salee rover who had seized a French vessel, an expedition was fitted out and despatched against him, but it returned to France without having accomplished the desired results. The dauphin of France, father of Louis XVI., an amiable, but weak prince, died in 1765 (Dec. 20). He was too

much attached to the priesthood, and submitted entirely to the sway of the Jesuits.

§ 583. The struggle between the king and the parliaments still continued. The king, anxious to obtain the ascendancy, repaired suddenly to Paris (March 3, 1766); and went to the grand chamber of the parliament, in order to hold what was termed a Bed of Justice, at which he annulled all their previous enactments. The duke of Choiseul was at this period at the head of the French government. Though anxious to secure the glory of France, he was a very despotic minister, and interfered in an arbitrary manner in the affairs of different states. An attempt on the part of the Italian princes to limit the power of the pope, involved Clement XIII. in disasters (1768). He issued bulls against his assailants, but these had ceased to be dangerous, and all the Bourbon princes, in accordance with the articles of the celebrated family compact, coalesced against him. Louis XV. took possession of Avignon. Clement XIII. died (Feb. 2, 1769) just as he was on the point of making concessions, which were granted by his successor, Clement XIV. France completed the conquest of Corsica, and although the inhabitants of the island struggled valiantly, and gained many battles, they were ultimately compelled to submit (1769).

§ 584. The queen of France died in 1768 (June 24), regretted by all ranks of people. The quarrel between the king and the parliaments was renewed. In the beginning of the year, he had granted some additional privileges to the grand council of state, which affected those of the parliament, and were indeed encroachments upon the ancient constitution of the kingdom. The parliaments of France resisted, and a great scarcity that prevailed, increased public discontent. The bankruptcy of the French East-India Company in 1769, and the general stagnation of trade, rendered matters worse. As the influence of the duke of Choiseul had declined at court, as well as amongst the people, he attempted to regain that of the latter by espousing the cause of the parliaments. In 1770 the restored parliament of Brittany commenced a prosecution against his rival duke of Aiguillon, for his tyrannical treatment of Chalotais, their attorney-general. During the progress of the trial, and when it was evident that Aiguillon would be condemned, Louis interfered to save his favourite, and put a stop to the proceedings. The par-

liaments resented this stretch of authority ; violent measures were adopted, and the king held another Bed of Justice (Sep. 3, 1770), at which he imposed silence upon them all. They protested against this arbitrary act, and Louis XV. lost the title of the " Well beloved," that had been before bestowed upon him. De Choiseul was also soon after disgraced and banished.

LETTER 7.—View of the Internal State of France, from the Decline of De Choiseul's Influence to the Death of Louis XV. A.D. 1770—1774. Vol. iii., vol. 50—56.

§ 585. Louis XV. had found a new mistress in Mademoiselle l'Ange, who was, for the sake of appearances, married to the Count Du Barri. She entirely governed this weak monarch, and had been chiefly instrumental in procuring the dismissal of De Choiseul. Just before his fall, this minister's scheme for the alliance of the ancient houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg by marriage was carried out in the union of Louis, son of the deceased dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI. to Marie Antoinette, daughter of the emperor Francis I. and the illustrious Maria Theresa (May 19, 1770). At a display of fireworks, given in honour of this auspicious event (May 31), a terrible accident occurred. The barriers not being strong enough to keep the multitude back, and some fireworks having caught fire and scattered flames amongst the people, a panic ensued, in which nearly two hundred persons were killed, and as many more maimed or severely injured. Having got rid of De Choiseul, the king persevered with his measures for the suppression of some of the refractory parliaments, and the effectual restraint of others, which, amid a scene of confusion, he succeeded in carrying out. The parliament of Paris was banished, and a new one appointed by the king. Great was the indignation of the nobles and the people at this forcible invasion of their privileges, but resistance was of no avail.

§ 586. Adolphus Frederic, king of Sweden, died in 1771 (Feb. 12), and his son and heir, Gustavus III., being at that time in Paris, negotiations in which he had been engaged, concerning the payment of some arrears due by France on a subsidiary treaty, were brought to a close by the liquidation of a portion of the debt. France was suspected by Great Britain and Russia of intrigues with the Turks, and in Poland ; but the king gave the strongest assurances of his pacific disposition. In fact, France was

in no condition to wage war. Tumults and insurrections, on account of the dearness of bread, were almost of daily occurrence; the ministry were universally detested; the king was despised, on account of his arbitrary proceedings against the parliaments, and his attachment to his mistress; and the finances were still in so poor a condition, that the Canadian indemnity could not be discharged, though the tedious negotiations for the final payment had been concluded by Lord Rochford, the British ambassador at Paris, in 1772. The high price of corn caused riots in several parts of the kingdom. In the midst of these disorders, Louis XV. fell ill at Trianon. The physicians, not understanding the real nature of his complaint—the small-pox—adopted a wrong course of treatment, which rendered recovery hopeless. The king was removed to Versailles, where he died (May 10, 1774). The reign of Louis XIV. was the era of military glory in France, that of Louis XV. was as remarkable for successful negotiations. The treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) and of Paris (1763), the alliance with the house of Austria, and the Family Compact, in all of which, France, by sound policy, indemnified herself for the ravages of unsuccessful wars, will be durable monuments of the superior talents of her ministers, while they reflect but little lustre on those of the other powers of Europe.

LETTER 8.—View of the Spanish Monarchy, with a Glance at Naples and Switzerland. A.D. 1763—1780. Vol. iii., pages 56—61.

§ 587. Spain, a fertile country, possessing great advantages, at this period declined rapidly in wealth and importance, in consequence of bad government. Charles III., who ascended the throne on the death of Ferdinand VI. (1759), joined in the Family Compact of the Bourbons (1761); and although he resisted the Jesuits, and entered into discussions with the pope, made no effort to relieve the kingdom from the worst inconveniences of the Roman Catholic system. Bent upon the aggrandizement of the Bourbons, he assisted the revolted colonists in America against England, and endeavoured to increase his influence abroad instead of attempting necessary reforms at home. Its rulers had permitted the establishment of the Inquisition, and the kingdom was overrun with priests and nuns. The provinces of Castile contained upwards of ninety thousand secular priests and monks, and twenty thousand nuns, and

one thirtieth part of the nation belonged to the ecclesiastical body. Public opinion had no effect upon the Government; and even the convocation of the Cortes was abandoned. The nobility were divided into *grandees*, knights, and *lieges*; and their most essential privileges consisted in exemption from certain imposts. The revenues were raised in a manner which actually tended to foster corruption. The court received a fifth of all the silver, and a twentieth of the gold produced from its mines, which were at one time the sources of wealth to the kingdom. Various isolated attempts were made to improve the military and naval organization, but little judicious reform was effected. The kings of Naples and Sicily protected their subjects from the Inquisition, and they continued to enjoy many privileges. Switzerland flourished under its free government. Although this state took no part in the numerous wars of the period, many of the Swiss people went forth to recruit the different armies of Europe.

LETTER 9.—Affairs of the Court of Rome, and the Intrigues of the Jesuits, which led to their Expulsion from Europe. A.D. 1759—1773. Vol. iii., pages 61—68.

§ 588. It is a matter of astonishment, when we reflect upon their organization, that the Jesuits should have been allowed to establish themselves in any country in the world. They managed, however, to make the arts, the sciences, and the education of youth, the means by which to obtain ascendancy. Several sovereigns at length opened their eyes, and discovered their real objects. Their arbitrary proceedings in Paraguay, in South America, which had been ceded to them, and the discovery of some of the instructions of their order, led to their humiliation in Spain and Portugal. The order was totally and permanently abolished in France (1764). In Spain and Naples the same course was adopted (1767), and Parma expelled them in the following year; while Venice imposed strict restraints upon all ecclesiastical orders. The court of Rome struggled long in defence of its emissaries, but was compelled to give way; and Clement XIV., without even consulting the cardinals, issued a papal bull for the dissolution of the order (July 21, 1773). Yet this celebrated society managed to survive this and all other efforts adopted for its suppression, and in the nineteenth century once more emerged from obscurity to trouble the repose of continental states.

LETTER 10.—View of the Constitution and Government of Holland, with some Account of the German Circles. A.D. 1763—1781. Vol. iii., pages 68—76.

§ 589. Holland, situated near the mouths of the Rhine, was for many years one of the great strongholds of Protestantism; but the constitution of the greater part of its cities had been, towards the end of the eighteenth century, for some time tending towards an aristocracy. All the seven provinces formed the assembly of the states-general and the council of state. The states-general possessed the dignity of representation and the duty of superintendence; although, as it could deliberate, but could not resolve, it possessed no power, properly so called; and the supreme authority resided in the magistracy of every province and city. The council of state, to which the executive power was confided, consisted of three deputies from Holland; the same number from Gröningen, Overijssel, and Utrecht; two from Zealand, and as many from Guelders and Friesland. This assembly had the superintendence of the military department, and administered the affairs of the Dutch Netherlands; but, on the other hand, the affairs of the barriers belonged to the states-general, because this was not so properly a possession, as a measure of precaution for the security of the commonwealth. The most important affairs thus depended on the election of the magistracies of the towns; which, for this reason, was conferred in times of danger on the hereditary stadtholders. The stadtholder was required to be a Protestant; if that dignity should descend to a female, the choice of her husband was to be made by the states-general, but could in no case fall on a king or an electoral prince, or on any other than a Protestant. A widow who should hold the office of regent during the minority of her son, was not allowed to marry a second time.

§ 590. The court of France was almost always opposed to the stadtholder, while England supported his interests. The barrier-treaty, which gave permanency and security to the frontiers of Holland, seemed to promise the republic a more tranquil existence. The land-forces were accordingly reduced, and attention was devoted entirely to the condition of the fleet. At the approach of the American war, in the course of which the republic became involved in a contest with England, she equipped fourteen ships of the line, and

eighteen frigates, which were manned by seven thousand nine hundred and twenty seamen, and carried twelve hundred and eighty pieces of cannon. The industry of its inhabitants was the main support of the republic, and by their unwearied efforts they rendered their country one of the chief trading communities of Europe. Taxation was, however, very heavy; and this at length produced discontent. The war with England was unpopular, and soon after the naval action off the Doggerbank (1781) discontents increased. A great ferment took place in the interior: the wealthy and republican citizens saw, with indignation, that the affairs of the state were conducted by the nobility, who were, for the most part, involved in debt; and discontent loosened the ties of confidence which had hitherto united the inhabitants of the cities and those of the country in the different provinces, as well as the whole commonwealth of Holland.

§ 591. The ancient body of the German empire continued to be held together by the formularies of the Golden Bull, the regulations of the imperial elective compacts, the peace of Westphalia, the decrees of the Diet, the ordinations of the imperial tribunals, and the relics of the feudal system. The constitution of the circles was a representation in miniature of that of the empire. This constitution originally prevailed in every sovereignty, where the concurrence of the states of the country, consisting of prelates, knights, and citizens, was necessary to the authority of the prince on all important occasions. But after the introduction of standing armies, the place of these members of the community was generally filled by the more simple forms of military despotism: thus by the perpetual frustrating of references to the imperial tribunals and to the supreme head of the empire, by the rejection of these applications, and by the execution of the decrees of the imperial courts, the people became more and more helpless in every succeeding age; while against such of this hapless class as were stigmatized with the appellation of rebels, every petty tyrant was at full liberty to exercise his caprice and his power without control or question. The imperial cities enjoyed a high degree of prosperity, as long as the commerce between Venice and the North was carried on by way of Augsburg and Nuremberg: but the alteration which took place when Venice and Egypt yielded to the maritime powers, in consequence of the discovery of the passage by the Cape of

Good Hope—together with the oligarchal oppressions which in many instances destroyed the spirit of the citizens, the injurious effects of Roman Catholic and Protestant intolerance, and the petty policy of the numerous municipal governments—destroyed their importance. Those communities of citizens so proud of their independence; those vigilant and undaunted defenders of the municipal rights; those members of the empire who were so zealously engaged in efforts to ennoble their condition and to increase their opulence, were lost amid the crowd of powerful and warlike princes, and were scarcely noticed in Frankfort, Hamburg, and other towns of inferior importance.

§ 592. Denmark, a kingdom which had formerly given laws to all Scandinavia, and which, including Norway and Holstein, was superior in extent to the monarchy of Austria, lost a great part of its power during a long period of peace, under the sway of a succession of weak though benevolent princes. The preservation of the national reputation and the foundation of its prosperity may be ascribed to the excellent administrations of the elder and younger Counts Bernstorff. The former conferred a most essential benefit on his country; inasmuch as, after the death of the czar, Peter III., who as duke of Holstein had threatened the independence of Denmark, he managed, by negotiation, to extirpate this root of perpetual contention and destructive wars, just at the moment when the ducal family succeeded to the supreme power in the greatest monarchy of the earth; the whole of Holstein was transferred to the court of Denmark, which, in return, gave up Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. These last hereditary estates of the kings of Scandinavia were inhabited by about seventy-five thousand individuals, and yielded an annual produce of scarcely four hundred thousand florins: the court of Petersburg bestowed them on a younger branch of that family which reside at Eutin, and administered the secularized bishoprick of Lubeck. Even including Holstein, the population of Denmark scarcely exceeded two millions; while Sweden with three millions of inhabitants sank into a state of decline, the effect of her former exertions, so disproportionate to her strength. The decline of these once powerful states secured the ascendancy of Russia in the north.

CHAPTER II.

LETTER 11.—History of the American War, from its Outbreak at the Skirmish at Lexington to the Defeat of Washington at Brandywine, and the Capture of Philadelphia. A.D. 1775—1778. Vol. iii., pages 76—85.

§ 593. At the peace of 1763, France paid to Great Britain ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, as a compensation for the islands in the West Indies, which had been wrested from her during the war, and which were restored, and a further sum of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds, as a ransom for the prisoners of war. The king devoted his share of the captures, amounting to six hundred and ninety thousand pounds, to the public funds. In a few days afterwards, the Bank of England paid for the renewal of its charter, one hundred and ten thousand pounds, and the East-India Company engaged to furnish an annual contribution of four hundred thousand pounds from the produce of its conquests. The national debt was diminished about ten millions in the space of twelve years; and of the remaining one hundred and twenty-nine millions, a funded stock was created to the amount of one hundred and twenty-four, paying interest. The sources of public prosperity were now husbanded, and incalculably increased by new manufactures, the progress of the colonies, and the dominion of the sea. Labour rose in value, and became a premium for the increase of population, by which the numbers of those who had emigrated or fallen in war were soon repaired. Such is a brief sketch of the state of affairs at the commencement of the American war. A skirmish with the troops which General Gage had ordered to seize the magazines at Lexington, was the commencement of hostilities, and that officer at once proclaimed martial law (April 19, 1775).

§ 594. The American Congress, which first met in 1774,

resumed its sittings at Philadelphia, and adopted measures for carrying on the contest (May 10, 1775). Towards the end of May, three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston with reinforcements. The Congress appointed Washington commander-in-chief of the American forces. On the morning of the 17th of June, the attention of the English was attracted by a cannonade, and it was discovered that a redoubt and some other works had been thrown up on Bunker's Hill. The English troops, led by General Howe, gallantly scaled the heights, and expelled the Americans at the point of the bayonet. On the 7th July, Congress published a declaration of the causes which had induced the colonists to take up arms. Little of consequence was effected during the year; but early in 1776, Washington, by a clever stratagem, obtained possession of Boston (March 17). In the north the campaign opened very auspiciously for Great Britain, whilst an attack upon Charleston, in the south, failed (June 28). On the 4th of July, thirteen British colonies in America declared themselves free and independent states, abjuring all allegiance to the British crown, and renouncing all political connection with that country. This act at once annihilated every hope of an accommodation. The English defeated the Americans near Long Island, the former losing in killed and wounded three hundred men, and the latter in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about three thousand (Aug. 27), and captured New York (Sept. 15). The British arms were crowned with a series of successes. General Howe, having turned the works which the Americans occupied at Kingsbridge, marched against Washington, who, aware of the inferiority of his troops, was too wary to be brought to an engagement. The British forces stormed Fort Washington, and took two thousand six hundred men prisoners of war (Nov. 16). They next seized Fort Lee, and overran New Jersey as far as Brunswick, while General Washington, who had passed the north river to protect those provinces, was obliged to retreat to Newark, and from thence, breaking down the bridge over the Rariton, to Princetown.

§ 595. Rhode Island surrendered to the British forces without making any resistance (Dec. 9); and such was the wretched condition of the rebel army, that had Lord Cornwallis been allowed to follow up the blow as he desired, it must have been dispersed or captured, and Washington in all probability taken prisoner. Congress, however,

persevered. They had signed a treaty of perpetual union and confederacy between the thirteen colonies (Oct. 4); and they continued their measures to raise fresh levies and carry on the war. The ill success of the American arms began, however, to produce internal effects as much to be dreaded as those of external force. Timidity and discord prevailed. After the taking of New York, a petition, signed by a great number of the inhabitants, was presented to General Howe, acknowledging the supremacy of Great Britain, and requesting to be received into the king's peace and protection; and it was followed by another of a similar tendency from the people of Long Island: several of the leading men in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys also went over to the commissioners at New York. These proceedings induced General Washington to detach three regiments to the place, a measure which gave a check to the movements of the disaffected.

§ 596. On the approach of winter, the British army went into cantonments, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick on the river Rariton to the Delaware. Among these posts, Trenton, which was situated on the Delaware, was occupied by Colonel Rhalle, with three battalions of Hessians, and some British light horse and chasseurs. Washington formed the design of surprising them, and, with that object in view, pushed a corps across the Delaware, which, making a sudden attack on their piquets, brought Rhalle to their assistance. The latter received a mortal wound; and the Hessians, finding themselves repulsed in their endeavours to retreat, surrendered prisoners of war, to the number of nine hundred and eighteen (Dec. 25, 1776). The refractory colonists received every support from France and Spain, whose ports were opened both for their trade and the disposal of their prizes. Artillery and military stores were sent out, and several French officers and engineers entered their service. The great number of privateers, and the armaments of France and Spain, induced England to increase her fleet. Had General Howe followed up his successes at this period, he might, in all human probability, have brought the contest to a speedy and successful issue for Great Britain. But his negligence gave General Washington the opportunity he desired for strengthening his army. In spite of this, Washington was defeated in New Jersey, and again at Brandywine (Sept. 11, 1777). On the latter occasion, although the Americans were much superior in point of

numbers, they lost thirteen hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while the English lost only four hundred in killed and wounded. Howe marched towards Philadelphia, the enemy retreating as he advanced. He entered the town on the 26th of September, Congress having previously removed to Lancaster.

LETTER 12.—History of the American War continued, from the Capture of Philadelphia to the Declaration of War by England against France and Spain. A.D. 1777—1779. Vol. iii., pages 85—93.

§ 597. Before hostilities had broken out, the Americans endeavoured to enlist the Indians in their cause. Many of these tribes, however, preferred taking part with the British, and joined General Burgoyne, who commanded in Canada. This officer's object at this period was to penetrate as far as Albany, in order to cut off the communication between the northern and southern colonies. The Americans deserted Ticonderago, and were repulsed during the retreat with great slaughter. They retired upon Saratoga. Here they were, however, reinforced, and as the English army had suffered much from desertion, their generals hoped to gain an easy victory. In this they were disappointed, and after several skirmishes in which the Americans were defeated, and an obstinate battle in which victory remained undecided, they refused on the following day to renew the combat. The English, being cut off from their supplies, and hemmed in by an overwhelming force, were at last compelled to surrender (Oct. 17, 1777). The conditions upon which that surrender was made were not afterwards fulfilled, and the American legislators deliberately and wilfully, and with their eyes open to the consequences, broke the faith pledged by their generals.

§ 598. The English Parliament met in November (1777), and strong opposition was made to the war in America. In 1778 Lord North introduced two conciliatory measures, the one referring to the right of taxing the colonies, and the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners to re-establish peace. These, in spite of some opposition, were passed. On the 7th of April, the duke of Richmond recommended the government to recognize the independence of America. This called forth an eloquent reply from Lord Chatham, denouncing the concession, and in the middle of his speech he fell down in a fit, and was carried out of the House of Lords. Death soon followed (May 11, 1778).

and he was honoured with a public funeral. The concessions tendered by the three commissioners sent out under Lord North's conciliatory bill were rejected by Congress, which demanded the recognition of American independence and the withdrawal of the troops (June 17, 1778).

§ 599. In the mean time a treaty of alliance had been signed between France and the United States, and a war between France and England thus rendered inevitable. Admiral Keppel took the command of the fleet, and captured two French ships, but, finding the enemy in much superior force, returned to Portsmouth. Having received reinforcements, he again set sail, and fought an indecisive action off Ushant (July 27, 1778). The English, however, maintained their supremacy upon the ocean. A French fleet with troops sailed from Toulon, managed to evade the vigilance of our cruisers, and arrived safely in America. The campaigns of 1778 and 1779, in America, were not distinguished by any very remarkable occurrences. Both parties were chiefly engaged in making preparations for future operations. The Americans anticipated great advantages from their European alliances, while England had not put forth her strength. Spain, closely allied to the court of Versailles, prepared to support France, and the consequence was the outbreak of war with Great Britain. England, Scotland, and even Ireland, were convulsed during the year 1779, in consequence of the repeal of some of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and several no-popery riots occurred. The ill-success of the war, and the alarming situation in which the nation was placed, increased public discontent, and several petitions were presented to Parliament for a redress of grievances.

LETTER 13.—History of the American War continued, from the Interference of France and Spain to the Declaration of War against Holland, and the Naval Action off the Doggerbank ; with an Account of the Gordon Riots and of the siege of Gibraltar. A.D. 1779—1781. Vol. iii., pages 93—107.

§ 600. Lord George Gordon, brother of the duke of Gordon, encouraged the movement against the repeal of the penal laws, and he fanned the flame of resistance in the metropolis. He put himself at the head of the Protestant Association, and as Lord North refused to present a petition against the law which had been passed in favour of the English Roman Catholics, Lord George Gordon, who was a

member of the House of Commons, resolved to present it himself, and called upon the people to accompany him to the House of Commons. Several thousands assembled in St. George's Fields (June 2, 1780) ; and Lord George Gordon's motion for the immediate consideration of his petition was rejected by one hundred and ninety-two votes to six. A riot ensued, and the mob proceeded to destroy the Roman Catholic chapels and other buildings, and for several days London was completely at their mercy. Newgate, and other prisons, were burnt, and the prisoners released. Thirty-six fires were seen burning at one time. Reinforcements of troops were at last brought to the capital, the disturbances were quelled, and Lord George Gordon was arrested. He was afterwards tried for high treason, and acquitted. Nearly three hundred persons lost their lives in these disturbances.

§ 601. The junction of the French and Spanish fleets gave them the command of the Channel, and by the aid of privateers, fitted out by the Americans, much injury was inflicted upon the commerce of England. A French squadron, with reinforcements and supplies of arms and ammunition, arrived in safety in Rhode Island (June 10, 1780), but, in spite of this assistance, the English remained victorious. Lord Cornwallis defeated Gates at Camden (Aug. 16), and while the loss of the British was little more than two hundred, the enemy had eight hundred killed, and one thousand prisoners. The Americans and French in this action outnumbered the British troops, being in fact as three to one. Dissensions prevailed amongst the Americans, and General Arnold, who commanded at West Point, New York, entered into negotiations to deliver up the post to the British general. Sir Henry Clinton selected Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, to conduct the negotiations. He was a young officer of great promise, high spirit, and undaunted courage. Having been captured in the execution of this perilous duty, he was, to the eternal disgrace of the American commander, hanged as a spy (Oct. 2). Arnold made good his retreat, published an address to the refractory colonists, exposing the arts by which a separation from the mother country had been effected ; and Major André was honoured with a monument in Westminster Abbey. A terrible hurricane ravaged the West Indies during the month of October, causing great losses of life and property. The English

government, having discovered that the States of Holland were carrying on negotiations with the rebel armies in America, declared war against them (Dec. 20, 1780).

§ 602. The campaign of 1781 was waged on all sides with vigour. The French attacked the island of Jersey, and although they effected a surprise, were at last defeated and expelled (Jan. 6). The French and Spaniards made the most strenuous exertions to wrest Gibraltar from the English. The siege, which had commenced in the autumn of 1779, was prosecuted with zeal. While the fleets assailed it from the sea, the Spaniards erected formidable approaches on the land side, which the garrison attacked, captured, and destroyed (Nov. 27, 1781). The English commanders in America continued their operations against the French and Americans. Lord Cornwallis pursued Green, and defeated him at Guildford (March 15). The English general's army was inferior to the enemy in point of numbers, but the spirit of the men was excellent; and Lord Rawdon, with a few gallant veterans, gained another victory over Green, at Hobkirk's Hill (April 25); and several desultory actions occurred, in which the British, with their small armies, were for the most part victorious. Sir Henry Clinton had promised to send reinforcements to Lord Cornwallis, but, being imposed upon by a stratagem devised by Washington, he changed his intention. Cornwallis, in expectation of support, prepared to defend himself to the last extremity. Being surrounded by overwhelming forces, he was compelled to surrender (Oct. 19, 1781). The isolation and ultimate capitulation of this gallant general at York Town, after a series of brilliant successes in the field, and owing entirely to mismanagement, altogether changed the fortunes of the war. The naval occurrences of 1781 were important. Pensacola was taken by the Spaniards (May 9), and Tobago by the French. The Dutch island of St. Eustatia, which had furnished the Americans with supplies, was captured by Rodney (Feb. 3), and although several of the Dutch settlements surrendered, they were afterwards retaken. The Dutch were defeated in a naval action off the Doggerbank (Aug. 5), and Sir S. Hood could not bring the count of Grasse to a decisive action, although his fleet bore the proportion of four to three to the English squadron (April 29).

LETTER 14.—History of the American War continued, with an Account of the Naval Exploits of Great Britain and Ministerial Changes from the Action off the Doggerbank to the Peace Signed at Versailles. A.D. 1781—1784. Vol. iii., pages 108—118.

§ 603. The French ministry, during the campaign of 1781, appear to have pursued the same plan of operation that had been defeated in the preceding, namely, to attempt to overpower the English force in the West Indies, and afterwards compel Britain to relinquish her transatlantic colonies. England maintained her superiority in spite of the great exertions made by her opponents in fitting out and despatching fleets to various quarters of the globe. The nation, however, were getting tired of a war that did not promise permanent advantages, and the repeated attacks of the opposition upon the conduct of the same weakened the ministry. A motion by General Conway, condemnatory of the war, was only negatived by a majority of one vote (Feb. 22, 1782), and an address to the king, in favour of peace, was immediately passed. Lord North soon after resigned (March 19), and the marquis of Rockingham became prime minister, with Charles Fox as foreign secretary. Several of our West Indian possessions had fallen into the hands of the French and Spaniards, when the news of Rodney's victory off Martinique (April 12, 1782) revived the drooping spirits of the nation. The rival fleets were about equal in point of numbers and armament, but the superiority of British ships and seamen was strikingly exemplified on this occasion. The enemy's loss in men was prodigious; upwards of three thousand were either drowned or killed, and six thousand wounded, independent of about two thousand taken prisoners. On the part of the British the loss was one thousand and fifty. Rodney, on his return to England, was honoured with an English, and Sir Samuel Hood with an Irish peerage. Indeed, the fortune of Rodney was eminently glorious during the war. Within little more than two years, he had inflicted severe blows upon the French, the Spanish, and the Dutch navies, and taken an admiral of each nation. He had in that time added twelve line-of-battle ships, all captured from the enemy, to the British navy; and he had destroyed five more. Some Dutch forts on the coast of Africa were taken during the year, and Trincomalee, in Ceylon, captured by Sir Edward Hughes (Jan. 11).

§ 604. The naval administration received a fresh impulse from the new ministers. Several squadrons and single vessels were captured, but some of the finest prizes taken by Rodney foundered on their homeward passage (Aug. 29, 1782), and the *Royal George*, while undergoing repairs at Spithead, upset, carrying nearly one thousand persons, men, women, and children, to a watery grave. The siege of Gibraltar was in the mean time prosecuted with vigour, and the government fitted out an expedition for its relief. The besiegers had prepared new and extraordinary machines; and battering ships, which, though of an astonishing bulk, could go through all their evolutions with the ease and dexterity of frigates. Twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were to play from land and sea, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb-ketches. The land and sea forces by which these operations were to be carried on, amounted to forty thousand men, independent of the combined fleet, consisting of fifty ships of the line, which was to cover and support the attack. It occurred on the 13th of September; the garrison fired red-hot shot, destroyed the enemy's works, beat off their ships and floating batteries, and repulsed them with great loss. Lord Howe arrived off the fortress, sent in his convoy with ammunition and provisions (Oct. 11 and 18), and kept the French and Spanish fleets at bay. He was too prudent to rush into a conflict, merely for the sake of fighting, and to incur certain danger without any definite object. He therefore proceeded to England, where, after having on his way detached part of his fleet to the West Indies, he arrived safely with the remainder. And thus, in the protection of her coasts and trade, preventing the Dutch fleet from forming a junction with those of the house of Bourbon, and having effected the relief of Gibraltar, Great Britain secured the three grand objects of the campaign of 1782. A confederacy extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, comprising the three greatest maritime powers in the world, and almost all the naval force of continental Europe, found their mighty efforts against the navy of England recoil upon themselves. Meanwhile the death of Lord Rockingham led to a change of ministry (July 1). Lord Shelburne was made first lord of the treasury, whereupon Fox and his friends resigned, and William Pitt, at the age of twenty-three, became chancellor of the exchequer.

§ 605. The period had now arrived when the various con-

tending parties began to have their eyes open to the nature of the contest in which they were engaged. They perceived that the war ultimately tended to the general injury of all the belligerent powers. France had, indeed, succeeded in her efforts to separate the American colonies from the mother country, but had been foiled in her principal purpose, of obtaining naval and commercial supremacy. The war which caused such unprecedented expenditure, had not produced any advantage likely to secure an eventual equivalent. The confederacy in India was crumbling to pieces, and British superiority was again manifest. All the sanguine projects of France against the West Indies had fallen before the victorious arms of Rodney; and America, impoverished by her long and arduous struggle, was more likely to drain her allies than to supply them with treasure. Spain had engaged in the war as the tool of French ambition, dazzled by the splendid promises of Gibraltar and Jamaica. All her mighty and costly preparations against Gibraltar had fallen under General Elliott's red-hot balls; her projects against Jamaica had been completely defeated by the skill and valour of Rodney; her hopes of naval and commercial aggrandizement, through the depression of England, were blighted; her ships had been captured, and her fleets vanquished. In four years, her extraordinary exertions, her waste of blood and treasure, had terminated in the conquest of the defenceless province of West Florida, and the barren island of Minorca, which was little better than an hospital. America alone had succeeded in the contest, and attained the objects for which she fought; but she prevailed by efforts which drained her resources, and by labours which required a respite as soon as it could be procured consistently with her public engagements. During her short warfare, Holland, in the loss of her settlements, the seizure of her treasures, and the destruction of her trade, learned how dangerous it is for a state deriving its subsistence from commerce, to provoke a neighbour that rules the ocean. England, for the last five years, had been engaged in a war in defence of her maritime sovereignty; and great as had been her maritime losses, she had, upon the whole, maintained that grand object. But her defence, though manifesting her energy, had drained her resources. Her expenditure was enormous; her debt and taxes had far surpassed the anticipations of her most desponding politicians.

§ 606. Under these circumstances preliminaries of peace

between England and France, and England and Spain, were signed at Versailles (Jan. 20, 1783). By the first of these treaties, France obtained an extension of her rights of fishery at Newfoundland, and unrestricted possession of the isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on that coast. In the West Indies St. Lucia was restored, and Tobago ceded to her; whilst she restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, with those of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa, France obtained the cession of the river of Senegal, and its dependencies and forts, with a restoration of Goree; and England the possession of Fort James and the river Gambia. In the East Indies all that France had lost was given back, with considerable additions. England further consented to the abrogation of all the articles relating to Dunkirk, which had been inserted in the treaty of Utrecht, and in every posterior treaty. By the preliminaries with Spain, England relinquished to her Minorca and West Florida, and ceded East Florida, but obtained the restitution of Providence and the Bahama islands. The States-General of the United Provinces having consented, under the influence of France, to agree to preliminaries of peace with Great Britain, the articles were accordingly signed at Paris (Sept. 2, 1783). Of these the most important were the cession of Negapatam to Great Britain, but with a proviso of treating for its restitution in case of an equivalent being offered by the States; and the restoration to the States, of Trincomalee, and of all the other places conquered from them. The definitive treaties of peace between Great Britain and the other belligerents, viz., France, Spain, and America, were signed on the following day. Thus terminated the most inauspicious war in which Great Britain was ever engaged, and the country was now restored to the blessings of tranquillity, for which it had so long ardently thirsted.

LETTER 15.—History of France, from the Accession of Louis XVI. to the Assembling of the States-General. A.D. 1774—1789. Vol. iii., pages 118—127.

§ 607. The government of France, from the reign of Louis XIV. to the revolution, was arbitrary rather than despotic, for the monarchs had much greater power than they exercised: their immense authority was resisted only by the feeblest barriers. The crown disposed of the persons of their subjects by *lettres-de-cachet*; of property, by con-

fiscations; of income, by imposts. It is true, certain bodies possessed a means of defence, which they called privileges; but these were seldom respected. The parliaments had the privilege of consenting to or refusing an impost; but the king enforced registration by a bed of justice, and punished their members by letters of exile. The nobility were exempted from imposts: the clergy had the privilege of taxing themselves by voluntary grants. Some of the provinces had the option of compounding for these imposts, and others that of making the assessment themselves. Such were the small guarantees of France, and even these were still turned to the advantage of the favoured classes, and to the oppression of the people. The third estate, or common people, called the *Tiers Etat*, groaned under the most grievous burdens, increased by the wars in which their rulers embarked so rashly. This important section of the community prepared at last to struggle for its rights. Called to the throne at a terrible crisis, Louis XVI. wanted that firmness and perseverance necessary for the emergency. His first choice of a prime minister was also unfortunate. Maurepas cared little for the good of France and the glory of his master; his chief object being to win favour. Yet he successively introduced good men to power. These were Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker, who attempted judicious and useful reforms; but, encountering invincible obstacles, successively quitted office.

§ 608. The death of Maurepas occurred (1781) soon after the retreat of Necker, and Louis XVI. gave himself up entirely to the influence of the queen. Courtier ministers took the place of popular men, and hastened by their mal-administration the crisis which the others endeavoured to avert by their reforms. Calonne ruined the finances by his extravagance, and, having involved the nation still more deeply in debt, was compelled to retire. The struggle between the king and the parliaments was renewed, and another attempt to suppress them produced a crisis. Troubles broke out in Dauphiné, in Brittany, in Provence, in Flanders, in Languedoc, and in Béarn. The ministry, instead of the regular opposition of the parliaments, encountered an opposition still more vigorous and factious,—of the nobility, the commons, the provincial states, and even the clergy. Brienne, Calonne's successor, harassed by want of money, convoked an extraordinary assembly of the clergy. They voted an address to the king, requiring the abolition

of the "Cour Plenièrè," which they declared to have been illegally appointed, and the prompt convocation of the States-General. As the Notables and the parliaments had for ten years refused their sanction to any new taxes, it was evident that something must be done. Brienne had, therefore, hit upon the plan of the "Cour Plenièrè." It was to be intrusted with the registration of edicts over the whole kingdom, and to be composed of the chancellor, several high functionaries, the princes of the blood, the peers, ten councillors of state, a member from every provincial parliament, and two from the parliament of Paris. Yet all this minister's efforts were unavailing, and his fall only served to precipitate matters (Aug. 25, 1788).

§ 609. The States-General had become the only means of government, and the last resource of the throne. They had been demanded with earnestness by the parliament and the peers of the realm in 1787; by the states of Dauphiné, and by the clergy, in its assembly of Paris. The provincial states had prepared the public mind for it; the Notables had been its harbingers. The king, after having promised in 1787 the convocation within five years, in 1788 fixed the opening for May, 1789. Necker was recalled, the parliament re-established, the "Cour Plenièrè" abolished, the bailiwicks destroyed, the provinces satisfied, and the new minister made arrangements for the election of the deputies, and for the holding of the States. Difficulties, however, arose, respecting the form and composition of the States-General. Some advocated adherence to the form of 1614, the last occasion on which they had assembled; others advocated a much wider basis. It was said that the Tiers Etat, or third estate, ought to form an important element in the assembly; and while the ferment was at its height, the Abbé Sièyes published his celebrated pamphlet. It was entitled "Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?" and it professed to answer the question by declaring that it was "the French nation, *minus* the nobility and the clergy." The American revolution had given an impetus to the violent party, and they prepared to take advantage of the internal agitation, in order to effect a revolution. From this moment, concessions were most unwisely made by the government. Instead of granting wholesome reforms, they let in the inundation which was to sweep away the throne. The number of deputies to be elected by the Tiers Etat was at once doubled, that is, was made equal to that elected by the

clergy and nobles together. France was greatly excited by the contest, and all classes took part in the political struggle. The 5th of May, 1789, was ultimately fixed upon for the opening of the States-General.

LETTER 16.—History of France, from the Opening of the States-General to the outbreak of the Revolution. A.D. 1789, May 5—Aug. 4. Vol. iii., pages 127—146.

§ 610. On the evening before that fixed upon for the opening of the States-General, a religious procession took place. The States-General assembled at Versailles, and were opened with great solemnity on the 5th of May, 1789. So rejoiced were the people at the re-establishment of this popular institution that the inauguration bore the aspect of a festival. The etiquette, the costume, and the modes of precedence of 1614 were at first preserved. Preliminary matters having been adjusted, Louis XVI. took his seat upon the throne, and delivered an impressive address, counselling cordial co-operation, and praying for the happiness and prosperity of the realm. Necker spoke at some length, principally upon financial affairs. In the former organization of the States, the three orders—the nobility, the clergy, and the Tiers Etat, had each deliberated and voted separately; but much opposition to this system was manifested in the new assembly. Necker's plan was to adopt a modification of the English legislature, by uniting the nobility and the clergy in one chamber, and leaving the Tiers Etat in another. The verification of the powers of the deputies was the first matter that disturbed the harmony of their proceedings. The nobility and the clergy met in their respective chambers, but the Tiers Etat contended for a united verification. This produced acrimonious debates. At length the verification of the powers of the Tiers Etat was concluded; and, on the motion of the Abbé Sièyes, they constituted themselves the National Assembly, one and indivisible; and voted that no deputies of any class had the right to act separately (June 17). Louis XVI. refused to sanction this proceeding, and ordered the hall to be closed. The Tiers Etat repaired to the tennis-court, and took an oath not to separate until they had given a constitution to France (June 20). Admission to the tennis-court having been afterwards denied to them, the church of St. Louis was fixed upon as their place of assembly, where they were joined by the majority of the

clergy. The king called a royal sitting, at which he offered certain concessions, but annulled the preceding votes of the Tiers Etat, and insisted upon maintaining the distinction between the three orders (June 23, 1789). To this the Tiers Etat refused to consent, and Mirabeau first distinguished himself by making an inflammatory harangue. The Tiers Etat persevered in their deliberations, and decreed the inviolability of the members.

§ 611. The royal authority was on this memorable occasion lost; and the Tiers Etat, in their first struggle for power, came off victorious. Louis XVI., impressed with the idea that it would be advisable to concede this point, gave way reluctantly (June 27). Necker was dismissed (July 11), and the king, alarmed at the menacing aspect of affairs, collected troops round Paris and Versailles. The Tiers Etat protested, but Louis XVI. declared that he alone was competent to judge of the urgency of the crisis and the necessity of summoning the troops, and offered to transfer the assembly to Noyon or Soissons. Exaggerated reports of these events threw Paris into a state of terrible fermentation, and the leaders of the popular party spread false accounts of impending famine and other calamities, in order to excite the people. The dismissal of Necker, and the formation of a new ministry, served to increase the agitation. The people assembled with menacing cries; they were addressed by Camille Desmoulins and other demagogues, and several conflicts ensued. The assembly voted itself in permanence, and pretended to take measures to put a stop to a conflict which it had provoked. The agitation in the capital continued. The convent of St. Lazaire was plundered and burnt; the Garde-Meuble was forced, and the arms carried off; and many gun-shops were pillaged. A permanent committee was formed, to take measures to insure the common safety; and a kind of citizen-militia, afterwards called the "National Guard," organized.

§ 612. The populace betrayed a dangerous anxiety to obtain possession of arms, and severe collisions occurred in consequence. In one of these, the cry of "To the Bastille!" was raised, whereupon the fortress was immediately besieged. The governor, Delaunay, was overpowered, and the place captured. The infuriated mob put him to death, and several of those who had distinguished themselves in the defence (July 14). M. Flesselles, the provost of the mer-

chants, who had been summoned by the revolutionary leaders to take part in their proceedings, being obnoxious to the mob, was murdered in the streets. Alarmed at their own violent acts, and afraid of the consequences, the Parisians set about fortifying the city. They broke up the pavement, formed intrenchments, and raised barricades. In the mean time, the king and his ministers were preparing measures to quell the revolt. The assembly remained in permanence. When apprised of the real nature of the movement, and of the defection of the troops, Louis at once gave way, and ordered the soldiers to be removed from Paris and Versailles. The next day (July 17, 1789), accompanied by a large number of the members of the National Assembly, the king set out for Paris. He was received by Bailly, at the head of the municipality, and repaired to the Hotel de Ville. After having sanctioned the new magistracies, and approved the choice of the people, he returned to Versailles. The count of Artois, the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, the family of Polignac, fled from France, and thus commenced the emigration. Necker was recalled in triumph, but his popularity soon declined.

§ 613. The movement spread through the provinces, in which municipal government was organized, and national guards were enrolled. The assembly, pleased at its triumph, next proceeded to the abolition of privileges. Feudal rights were redeemed, personal servitudes suppressed. The privileged classes made a voluntary surrender of their rights, and seemed to vie one against the other in a rivalry of self-denial. After the sacrifices made by private persons, came those of corporate bodies, of towns, of provinces; the wardenships and freedom of companies were abolished. The march of the revolution had been rapid. The three orders had been annihilated, and the States-General changed into a National Assembly, June 17: the moral influence of the crown had terminated on the 23rd of June, and its material power on the 14th of July. The 4th of August was the completion of this first revolution. The epoch just described is conspicuously detached from the others; within its short period the seat of power was displaced, and all the preliminary changes were effected. The epoch which follows is that in which the new *régime* was discussed and established, and in which the assembly, after having been destructive, was supposed to become constituent.

LETTER 17.—The History of the French Revolution continued, from the Abolition of Privileges to the Insurrection of the Fifth and Sixth of October and the Removal of the King to Paris. A.D. 1789, Aug. 4—Oct. 12. Vol. iii., pages 146—156.

§ 614. The peasants in the provinces committed fearful excesses. The country-houses of many gentlemen were burnt, and persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious were assassinated. The people, and even the Assembly, were sadly divided. In the latter, the court still had a party, though by no means formidable in point of numbers. Many, however, felt a secret sympathy for the king, which, under the circumstances, they were afraid to avow. Necker and the ministry had a small following, which consisted principally of men anxious to form the constitution after the English model. The rest of the Assembly consisted of what was called the national party; men determined upon effecting a complete revolution. Some of these of course advocated more extreme measures than others, but the majority were bent upon violent changes. The three leaders who had most influence at this period were the Abbé Sièyes, Mirabeau, and the duke of Orleans. The latter, hoping that the royal family would seek safety in flight, and that he might thus obtain the lieutenant-generalcy of the kingdom, joined the popular party, and from the first assisted in accelerating the revolution.^a

§ 615. The Assembly had acquired the whole power, the municipalities supported its authority, the national guard

^a The duke of Chartres, afterwards duke of Orleans, was surnamed *Egalité*, or Citizen Equality, because, in furtherance of his ambitious views, he pretended to identify himself with the revolutionary party. Raised to the head of his family on the death of his father, in 1785, he plotted to supplant the elder branch. As, during the first eleven years of their marriage, Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were not blessed with any family, the young duke of Chartres had at one time entertained hopes of inheriting the throne in regular succession. These were entirely dispelled by the birth of Marie Thérèse Charlotte, afterwards duchess of Angoulême (Dec. 19, 1778), and that of the dauphin (Oct. 22, 1781). Hence the duke of Orleans became a revolutionist, voted for the execution of Louis XVI., in 1793, and lost his own head on a scaffold in the very same year. His son, Louis Philippe, carried out his father's policy. His schemes against the elder branch of the Bourbons were crowned with success in 1830, when he was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and afterwards king. His ignominious flight, and the overthrow of the rule of the Orleans family, in 1848, form one of those lessons which history is continually teaching, that power, gained by fraud and intrigue, rests upon sandy foundations, and can be but rarely maintained.

obeyed its orders. It was divided into committees, to facilitate its labours, and to be sufficient for them. The royal power, though existing by right, was not obeyed, and the Assembly attempted to supply the royal functions by the exercise of its own. Thus independently of the committees charged with the preparation of its labours, it had others also nominated to exercise a useful surveillance without. A committee of subsistence was occupied on the supply of provisions, an important object in a year of famine; a committee of relations corresponded with the municipalities and the provinces; a committee of investigation received the depositions against the conspirators of the 16th of July. But the special subjects of its attention were the finances and the constitution. Having made some provision for the former, the Assembly proceeded to frame a constitution. The members decided upon having only one chamber, which was to be permanent, and merely gave the king the right of a suspensive *veto*, which could not be prolonged beyond two legislatures. A declaration of rights, drawn up in imitation of the manifesto of the American Congress, was adopted. These changes were accepted by Louis XVI. with reluctance, but he was hurried on by the tide. On the 1st of October a dinner, according to old custom, in the French army, was given by the king's guards to the officers of the regiment of Flanders, and of the suburban guard of Versailles, at which the king's health was drunk, and a wish expressed that he would show himself to his defenders. Louis complied with the request, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and much sympathy was evinced for the royal family. This spontaneous demonstration of good feeling excited the jealousy of the revolutionary party in the capital. The clubs, which had then only recently been called into existence, became very active, and the most wicked calumnies and false reports were circulated. On the 5th of October, a young girl ran through the streets beating a drum, and crying "Bread, bread." A mob speedily assembled, the shout "to Versailles" became general, and in spite of the exertions of Lafayette, the commander of the national guard, the multitude determined upon repairing to the court. Finding that he could not change their resolution, Lafayette resolved to go with them, and the order to set out was given at seven in the evening.

§ 616. The unexpected appearance of the women, for they headed the procession, and had arrested all the couriers

who could have announced their arrival, excited the greatest terror at the court. The rabble poured into the palace, and invaded the hall in which the National Assembly held their sitting. During the confusion on the outside, a blow was struck and a conflict ensued. Carriages had been prepared, by the orders, it is said, of the duke of Orleans, who still aimed at supplanting by the younger, the elder branch of the Bourbons; but Louis XVI. refused to abandon his throne. Lafayette, with the national guard, appeared upon the scene and restored order. The people, wearied by excesses, retired to take repose; but early in the morning some of them penetrated into the palace, and engaged in a hostile encounter with the sentinels, whom they ruthlessly massacred. Lafayette was summoned to the scene of danger, and at last succeeded in restraining the fury of the rioters. They demanded the departure of the king for Paris; Louis readily promised to comply with their request, and to take the queen and his children with him. In spite of the extreme danger of the proceeding, Marie Antoinette showed herself to the clamorous crowd. Thus ended the scene, and the royal family, escorted by some troops and the national guard, set out for Paris (Oct. 12).

LETTER 18.—The History of the French Revolution continued, from the Departure of Louis XVI. from Versailles to Paris, until the Death of Mirabeau. A.D. 1789—1791. Vol. iii., pages 157—170.

§ 617. As the violent nature of the alterations proposed became more apparent, many persons who had at first joined the popular party, separated from it in disgust. Mounier and Lally Tollendal retired from the Assembly, declaring that they would not assist in the tragedies that were being daily enacted. The removal of the court to Paris produced several changes. The duke of Orleans, who had tried all means to gain the ascendancy, having actually stirred up disturbances against the royal family, was sent on a mission to London. Lafayette, at the head of the national guard, endeavoured to preserve order; and other outbreaks having occurred, martial law was proclaimed. The National Assembly followed the king to Paris, and continued their work. Church property was appropriated, the provincial parliaments and assemblies were suppressed, assignats were issued, the domains of the crown and the property of emigrants were seized, and France was divided into eighty-three departments, with minor districts and can-

tons. The most extraordinary efforts failed to avert national bankruptcy. The country was in a fearful state of disorganization, and deeds of horror were perpetrated in every quarter. The opposition to the revolution gained ground as every fresh interest was in turn attacked, and those who had at first been most anxious for a change, perceived the mistake which they had committed in placing power in the grasp of violent and discordant factions.

§ 618. Several attempts at resistance were made in various parts, but they were not carried on with sufficient spirit, nor guided by experience. The marquis of Favras, who was said to have formed a design for rescuing the king, was seized, and condemned by the high court of the Châtelet. His sentence was carried out at three in the morning, on the Place de Grève, and he became the first judicially-condemned victim of the French Revolution (Jan. 18, 1790). Blood had been shed in various conflicts and insurrections, the revolutionary tribunals were about to inaugurate the reign of terror. The king, too weak a prince to wield a sceptre at such a crisis, repaired to the National Assembly, and tendered his adhesion to the new order of things (Feb. 4). On the 14th of July, the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, and of the commencement of the Revolution, a grand national festival, called the confederation of the whole kingdom, was held in the Champ de Mars. Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, celebrated mass, and Lafayette, at the head of the national guard, presided on the occasion. The oath of fidelity to the constitution was taken by the chief authorities, as well as by the king, while the queen held the dauphin up in her arms in token of his adhesion to the system. Illuminations, plays, and balls, followed, and when the festival had terminated, medals were struck in commemoration of the same.

§ 619. The duke of Orleans, who had returned from London, and Mirabeau, were accused before the Assembly of having conspired to produce the revolt of the 5th of October, but the impeachment could not be sustained. The retirement of Necker soon after led to a change in the ministry, which only served to precipitate matters. A strong opposition had arisen against this violent course of change, and insurrections occurred in the capital and in the provinces. These were, however, suppressed. All public functionaries and the clergy were required to take an oath of

fidelity to the nation, the law, the king, and the new constitution (Nov. 27, 1790). The clergy, almost to a man, refused to comply, and were expelled from their preferments. At this period the clubs wielded great influence. The first of these comparatively modern associations was one which held its meetings at Montrouge, near Paris, and had for its object the overthrow of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and the elevation of the Orleans family (1789). Mirabeau, Sièyes, Laclos, and other leading characters of the period, belonged to this association. Another club, which held its meetings at Paris, was formed about the same time. It was called the Club Breton, and took its name from a number of ardent deputies from Brittany. The opinions advocated were of the most democratical and violent nature, as may be learned from the facts that Sièyes, once a member, quitted it in disgust, and that Robespierre belonged to it. On the removal of the court to Paris, the Breton Club followed; and as it held its sittings in the ancient convent of the Jacobins, was henceforward called the Jacobin Club. As it increased in power and importance, the moderate party became alarmed, and formed another, called the Club of 1789, to counteract its influence. Sièyes, Lafayette, and La Rochefoucaud were among its leaders. A club entitled *La Monarchique* met with some success at first; but the Jacobins gained the ascendancy, carried all before them, and actually suppressed those of their opponents most inimical to them. People recoiled at the abyss opening out before them, and even Mirabeau, who had at first promoted the revolution, accepted a pension from the count of Artois, and laboured energetically to support the throne. His strong constitution sank under the terrible struggle, and he died predicting a long series of misfortunes to France (April 2, 1791). He was the first interred in the new church of St. Genevieve, called by the Assembly their Pantheon. His death was the signal for even greater calamities than those that had already happened; and when he was laid in the grave, the last restraint seemed removed.

LETTER 19.—The History of the French Revolution continued, from the Death of Mirabeau to the Termination of the Constituent Assembly. A.D. 1791, April 2—Sept. 29. Vol. iii., pages 170—177.

§ 620. These extraordinary events produced a great sensation in Europe, and the necessity that existed for being prepared for whatever emergency might arise, induced the

different governments to watch the progress of the revolution with anxious attention. The numerous emigrants from France that took refuge in every direction formed themselves into associations, and appealed to the continental sovereigns to interfere for the restoration of their just rights and the preservation of the French throne. The emigrant princes collected forces at Coblenz and Worms, and prepared to march against the revolutionary Assembly. Emissaries had been despatched by Louis XVI. to various courts, and an agreement was concluded at Mantua (May 20, 1791), between the emperor of Germany, the king of Sardinia, and the king of Spain, by which five armies were to march to the French frontiers. These troops were to be put in motion in July; the princes of the house of Bourbon were to issue a protest, which was to be immediately followed by a manifesto from the allied powers. Louis XVI., unable to bear the ignominious position in which he was placed, even until relief might arrive, made preparations for his escape, and suddenly quitted Paris with the queen (June 20). Paris was profoundly agitated when their flight became known, and every effort was made to capture the fugitives. This was unfortunately effected at Varennes (June 22), and they were brought back to Paris (June 25). The king was provisionally suspended, a guard was appointed over him, as well as over the queen and the dauphin, and commissaries were nominated to interrogate him.

§ 621. The republican party proceeded to the most violent measures. They wished to dethrone the king; and being foiled in this, they attempted to create an insurrection in the Champ de Mars (July 17); in fact, did all in their power to furnish an excuse for the destruction of the monarchy. The Assembly declared its sittings permanent, and summoned the national guard. The republicans were defeated, and had the clubs been closed, might have been crushed. Congratulatory addresses from all parts of the kingdom poured in upon the Assembly. They then prepared to submit the constitution to the king, but before doing this, ordered that none of its members should be capable of election into the next legislature. The failure of the king's attempt at flight induced the emigrants to renew their efforts to obtain foreign intervention. In spite of all appeals, the English government refused to swerve from its strict neutrality. A convention was signed at Vienna between Austria and Prussia (July 25), by which it was stipulated

that the two courts should endeavour to unite the European powers for some common measure with regard to France. A personal interview between the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria took place at Pilnitz,^a and a declaration was issued, recommending a mutual course of action by European sovereigns for the re-establishment of the monarchical government in France (Aug. 27, 1791); and declaring that Austria and Prussia were ready to take up arms in the cause. The Assembly adopted measures for the defence of the kingdom, and prepared to bring its labours to a close. The king was restored to freedom, and accepted the new constitution. The 29th of September was fixed upon for the dissolution of the Assembly, and Louis XVI. presided on the occasion. Illuminations and rejoicings followed, the Constituent Assembly had dissolved itself, and many imagined that the revolution was at an end.

* The declaration of Pilnitz was as follows:—"Their majesties, the emperor and the king of Prussia, having considered the representations of Monsieur, brother of the king, and of his excellency the count of Artois, declare conjointly, that they consider the situation of the king of France as a matter of common interest to all the European sovereigns. They hope that the reality of that interest will be duly appreciated by the other powers, whose assistance they will invoke, and that, in consequence, they will not decline to employ their forces, conjointly with their majesties, in order to put the king of France in a situation to lay the foundation of a monarchical government, conformable alike to the rights of sovereigns and the well-being of the French nation. In that case, the emperor and the king are resolved to act promptly with the forces necessary to attain their common end. In the mean time they will give the requisite orders for the troops to hold themselves in immediate readiness for active service."

CHAPTER III.

LETTER 20.—The History of the French Revolution continued, from the Opening of the National Legislative Assembly to the Declaration of War against Austria. A.D. 1791—1792. Vol. iii., pages 178—187.

§ 622. On the 1st of October, 1791, the new chamber commenced its session, and at once declared itself the National Legislative Assembly. It had been elected entirely by the popular party; the court, the nobles, and the clergy, having scarcely any representatives. It was divided, like its predecessor, into the *Côté Droit*, or friends of the constitution, and the *Côté Gauche*, or democrats; and a party that fluctuated between the two extremes. The members of the right were called the "Feuillants," from the club which formed the centre of their power. Its leaders were Barnave, Damas, Lameth, and Vaubanc; and it derived its chief strength from the powerful support of Madame de Staël, the daughter of Necker, a woman at whose feet Edmund Gibbon had knelt enslaved. The moderate republicans were known by the name of the "Girondists," from a district near Bordeaux, called the Gironde, in which the most celebrated of their party were elected. Brissot, Gaudet, Gensonné, Isnard, and Vergniaud, were its leaders. Madame Roland was the great female luminary of this section. The left side comprised men of the most violent opinions, belonging, for the most part, to the clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers; amongst whom Robespierre (out of doors, for he was not a member of the new Assembly), Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, St. Just, and Fabre d'Eglantine, soon rendered themselves notorious. The Legislative Assembly did not from the first seem inclined to treat Louis XVI. with much courtesy. His brothers, the prince of Condé and the duke of Bourbon, had protested against the concessions he had made, and the emigration continued. A revolt soon after broke out in La Vendée. Measures were taken against the emigrants, and those who were

seeking to get up a counter-revolution on the frontiers, as well as the refractory clergy, to which measures the king refused to give his sanction. Lafayette had resigned the command of the national guard, and the Girondists, at this time becoming powerful, obtained the post for their candidate, and caused Pétion to be made mayor of Paris, in opposition to Lafayette, who was also a candidate (Nov. 17, 1791).

§ 623. Flushed with success, the Girondists next attacked the ministry, who had become sufficiently unpopular. Their foreign policy, and the intrigues of the emigrants, were the grounds upon which they founded their assault. It was successful, and the Girondists obtained power (1792). The preparations of foreign princes for an armed interference, which had been for some time suspended, in consequence of the adhesion of Louis XVI. to the new constitution, were, owing to the influence of the emigrant nobility, resumed. Russia and Sweden, with the courts of Spain and Sardinia, entered into an agreement to effect a diversion in Normandy; and Gustavus III. was about to put himself at the head of the levies, when he was assassinated (March 6, 1792). Austria had signed an offensive and defensive alliance with Sweden (Feb. 7, 1792), and the emperor Leopold II. died soon after (March 1). He was succeeded by Francis II., who immediately gave orders for the assemblage of troops. Austria demanded as an ultimatum the re-establishment of the monarchy on the basis of the royal sitting of June 23, the restoration of the property of the clergy, of the lands of Alsace, with all the rights of the German princes, and of Avignon and the Venaissin territory to the pope. The Girondists were anxious for war. They hurried Louis XVI. into a declaration of hostilities against Austria (April 20, 1792), and the revolutionists thus became the aggressors in that long struggle that literally deluged Europe with blood.

LETTER 21.—History of the French Revolution, from the Declaration of War against Austria to the Retreat of the Combined Armies. A.D. 1792, April 20—Sept. 30. Vol. iii., pages 188—206.

§ 624. The declaration of war was hailed with enthusiasm in every part of France. It communicated a new excitement to the people, already sufficiently agitated by domestic brawls. The French, determined, if possible, to strike the first blow, planned an invasion of the Low Countries, the inhabitants of which would, they hoped, receive them with open arms. The troops committed some

excesses, seized and massacred Dillon, one of their generals, and after capturing some towns, retired. While this contest was in progress upon the frontiers, Louis XVI., growing more and more disgusted with the Girondists, at last dismissed them, and selected a ministry from the Feuillants (June, 1792). Thereupon the majority of the Girondists joined with the Jacobins, and thus paved the way for the overthrow of the throne. An insurrection occurred on the 20th of June, the anniversary of the oath of the tennis-court; when the populace, after invading the Legislative Assembly and the palace, where they again insulted their sovereign, committed numerous excesses. On hearing of these fresh outrages, Lafayette quitted the army, repaired to Paris, and demanded the punishment of the leaders of the insurrection and the suppression of the Jacobins (June 28). This was refused, and Lafayette having failed in an attempt to induce the national guard to rally round the throne, returned to the army. From that hour the Girondists were indefatigable in their efforts to obtain the deposition of the king.

§ 625. Prussia coalesced with Austria and the German princes, and having been joined by Sardinia, prepared to invade France. The death of Gustavus III. had produced a change in the policy of Sweden. Russia and Spain stood aloof from the league, and England adhered firmly to her principle of non-interference. Even so late as Sept. 18, 1792, M. Kersaint declared in the National Assembly at Paris, "There is but one nation whose neutrality on the affairs of France is decidedly pronounced, and that is England;" but the murder of the king, and the revolutionary system of propagandism, ultimately compelled the English government to abandon that neutrality. The duke of Brunswick took the command of the army of the coalition, about one hundred and forty thousand strong; and on the 25th of July, broke up from Coblenz, and published a manifesto in the name of the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia. The commotion in France increased, the dethronement of the king was openly demanded, and delegates flocked in from the provinces for the purpose of hurrying on the revolution. The accusation of Lafayette was demanded, but the Assembly refused to proceed against him. An insurrection was caused by the march from the Faubourg St. Antoine (Aug. 10) of a formidable mob to demand the dethronement of the king. Louis XVI., anxious on account of his wife and family, repaired to the National Assembly.

Five of the Swiss guards having been assassinated, that corps fired upon and dispersed the mob. The latter were, however, reinforced; they returned to the assault, besieged, overwhelmed, and exterminated the gallant body of troops. When the Assembly had recovered from its first panic, it decreed the dismissal of ministers and the suspension of the royal authority. Louis XVI. was removed to the Temple, and the Girondists were recalled. The revolutionary tribunal which shed so much blood was instituted (Aug. 19); and an extraordinary sitting was summoned to decide upon the fate of the monarchy.

§ 626. The army of invasion, which had quitted Coblenz on the 25th of July, advanced along the banks of the Moselle. On becoming acquainted with the events of the 10th of August, Lafayette endeavoured to rally the troops under his command in favour of the throne, and failing in this, fled into the Netherlands, and was taken prisoner by the Germans. Several places were captured, and the capital was thrown into a state of great agitation. On the 30th of August the allied army appeared before Verdun, and commenced the bombardment. In case of its capture, the road to Paris lay open. Intelligence of its fall arrived in the night, between the 1st and 2nd of September, and the revolutionary authorities at once resolved, with savage barbarity, to massacre all the prisoners, mostly persons supposed to be hostile to their party. Those shut up at the Carmelites, at the abbey of St. Germain, at the Châtelet, at the Hôtel de la Force, at the Conciergerie, and at other places, to the number of several thousands, including women, were inhumanly murdered. Preparations were made for the defence of the capital; and had the invading armies marched at once upon Paris, the revolution would have been crushed. They moved cautiously, Dumourier seized a strong position at the forest of Argonne, and effectually checked their progress. The Prussians attacked Kellerman at Valmy (Sept. 20), but were compelled to retire. The Prussian army was ill-provided for a campaign, and on the evening of the 30th of September commenced its retreat. The French gained victories in other quarters in which the war had broken out, and the revolution triumphed, more from the timid policy of its assailants than from any superior powers or abilities in its supporters. In the mean time the National Legislative Assembly had been dissolved, and a National Convention was summoned.

LETTER 22.—History of the French Revolution, from the Formation of the National Convention to the Execution of Louis XVI. A.D. 1792—1793. Vol. iii., pages 206—219.

§ 627. The National Convention met on the 22nd of September, 1792, and at its first sitting abolished royalty, and proclaimed the republic. The most violent republicans carried the elections, and for Paris, Robespierre and Danton, the authors of the September massacres, were first elected. The Convention was principally divided into two parties, the Girondists and the Mountain. The Jacobins occupied the seats on the summit of the left, hence the designation. Both were revolutionists, both advocated extreme measures, both had waded in blood; but the Mountain were regarded as the most violent. It cannot be wondered, therefore, that a chamber thus composed should abolish royalty, and decree that the old calendar from the year of Christ's birth should be abandoned, and that all public acts should be dated from the first year of the French republic. They established a new constitution, and passed severe laws against the emigrants and the priests. The Girondists endeavoured to impeach Robespierre and some of the most blood-thirsty tyrants of the mob, but they had themselves been too much implicated in the illegal events of the period, to sustain an accusation. The question of putting Louis XVI. on his trial was next discussed, and after a stormy debate, carried in the affirmative. Louis, who had been imprisoned in the Temple for four months, was ordered to be brought to the bar of the Convention (Dec. 3).

§ 628. The dethroned monarch was treated with much indignity when brought before his accusers. The Mountain, in spite of his noble bearing, calm attitude, and his satisfactory refutation of every charge brought against him, wished to have him executed that very night, but the majority, composed of the Girondists and the neutrals, decided that he should be formally tried and defended by counsel. The king named Target and Tronchet as his defenders. The former refused, but the aged Malesherbes volunteered to supply his place; and nobly did he perform the task. A vehement debate, which extended over twenty days, ensued, and at length Louis was unanimously declared guilty. The appeal to the people was rejected by four hundred and twenty-three to two hundred and eighty-two (Jan. 7, 1793). A majority stated to have been

twenty-six, but afterwards discovered to be only five, voted for his death. The Girondists, who could have saved the king's life, deserted him, and assisted his enemies to consummate his ruin. His foes thirsted so much for this good but weak monarch's blood, that they could hardly allow him time to prepare for his execution. He mounted the scaffold with a firm step, and at ten minutes past ten had ceased to live (Jan. 21, 1793). There are few rulers who have left behind them so excellent a memory; and history will say of him, that with more firmness of mind he would have been a model of a king.

LETTER 23.—History of the Domestic Affairs of Great Britain, from the Termination of the American War to the earlier years of the French Revolution. A.D. 1783—1792. Vol. iii., pages 220—238.

§ 629. On the death of the marquis of Rockingham (July 1, 1782), Lord Shelburne became prime minister, whereupon Charles Fox and his friends resigned. The latter attacked the principles upon which peace had been concluded, and succeeded in placing the ministry in a minority (Feb. 17, 1783). The ministerial interregnum lasted till the month of March, when the celebrated "Coalition Ministry," under the direction of the duke of Portland, was formed, in which Fox and Lord North held office together (April 2). Fox's bill for the settlement of India met with strong opposition in the country, and was rejected by the Lords (Dec. 17). William Pitt, then only twenty-four years of age, became prime minister (Dec. 22). His plan for reform had been rejected in the early part of the session, by a majority of one hundred and forty-four, and his elevation to the highest post in the ministry so soon after must have been particularly distasteful to his opponents. The new ministry were out-voted in Parliament, and appealed to the country, and having obtained a good majority, set boldly to work to regulate the affairs of the state. William Pitt first endeavoured to restore the finances, and then brought in his plan for the government of India, which was adopted in spite of the opposition of Fox. But his Reform Bill, again introduced early in the session of 1785, was negatived by a majority of seventy-four.

§ 630. The acts of Warren Hastings, governor-general of Bengal, who was accused by Edmund Burke of high crimes and misdemeanours, gave rise to various debates during the session of 1786. The house refused to impeach him for

his conduct in the Rohilla war, but decided that in his conduct respecting the expulsion of Cheyt-Sing from the zemindary of Benares, grounds of impeachment existed. The trial of Mr. Hastings having commenced, it was brought forward annually during the session of Parliament, and, strange to say, protracted to its eighth year, for it was not concluded until 1794, when events of such overwhelming magnitude engrossed the attention of the public, that the impeachment of Mr. Hastings had ceased to interest, and the governor-general of India was then acquitted. His trial during its progress gave occasion to an unprecedented display of eloquence on the part of the managers; and the speeches of Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, will remain a lasting memorial of the transcendent talents of these British statesmen. That they were fully satisfied in their own minds of the guilt of the delinquent, there can be no reasonable doubt, and that they were much disappointed at the result of the trial, are facts now put beyond all reasonable question, by a letter which Mr. Burke wrote to his friend Dr. Laurence a little before his death, and which was, after a lapse of thirty years, published. In 1784 (Dec. 13) Dr. Samuel Johnson, one of the greatest literary men that England ever produced, died, after a laborious and a useful life.

§ 631. Soon after the prorogation in 1788, the king and queen repaired to Cheltenham, as his physicians thought it advisable that his Majesty, whose health had been some time declining, should try the effects of the medicinal waters. The change did not produce the desired effect; George III. grew worse, his disorder assumed the aspect of mental derangement, and Dr. Willis declared that the pressure of business, severe exercise, over-abstemiousness, and little rest, had been too much for his constitution. The king having been thus, by the visitation of God, rendered incapable of exercising his political functions, the consideration of a regency occupied the minds of all ranks of the community. Animated debates occurred in parliament on the question, and Mr. Pitt, having carried the ministerial scheme, proposed to invest the prince of Wales with the royal authority, subject to certain limitations and restrictions. The first of these was, that the regent should not have the power of creating peers; the second, that he should not grant any place or pension for life or in reversion, other than such place as from its nature is to be held for life or during good

behaviour; the third, that he should be restrained from all power over the king's personal property. Besides these resolutions, he proposed one giving the queen the entire care of the royal person during his illness, and placing under her authority the whole of the king's household, with full power to dismiss and appoint at her pleasure; and another, for the nomination of a council to assist her Majesty with their advice. These resolutions were carried, although a protest, signed by no less than fifty-seven peers, was entered against them (Dec. 1788). Mr. Pitt introduced the Regency Bill (Feb. 3, 1789), and while it was in progress the king recovered. The national rejoicings on this happy event exceeded everything before witnessed. Illuminations were given throughout the kingdom. A day of general thanksgiving was appointed, and it was observed with unusual solemnity; the king in person, attended by the royal family, the great officers of state, and both Houses of Parliament, went in grand procession to St. Paul's cathedral to acknowledge the divine clemency in his Majesty's restoration (April 23).

§ 632. On the 21st of January, 1790, the British Parliament was opened by the king in person with a speech, in which he alluded to the commotions on the continent. During the session Fox spoke in warm commendation of the French revolution, and was answered by Burke in a tone of eloquent indignation. This led to a separation between those statesmen, who had so long acted together. A dispute occurred with Spain relative to the illegal seizure of two English ships in Nootka Sound, on the coast of California, during the summer of 1789; but the Spanish government, alarmed at the energetic preparations of England, made the required concessions. The session closed on the 11th of June, and Parliament was dissolved the day after. During the next session a bill to relieve the English Roman Catholics from the legal penalties then existing against them obtained the assent of Parliament, and Fox brought in a measure to amend the law of libel. The latter passed the Commons, but was postponed. The evidence on the slave trade having been at length closed, Mr. Wilberforce introduced a bill for its abolition. This was thrown out by a majority of seventy-five. In a discussion upon Pitt's bill for the division of Canada into two provinces, Upper and Lower, the breach between Fox and Burke was widened, the former taking the opportunity to vindicate, and the latter to condemn, the French revolution (May 6, 1791). The country was pro-

foundly agitated by the same event. The anniversary of the 14th of July was celebrated in many places, and in Birmingham led to a fearful riot. The places of worship and the dwelling-houses of the Socinians in particular were attacked, and the notorious Dr. Priestley was compelled to flee for his life. In the session of 1792 the slave trade was again discussed, and a measure for the abolition passed by the Commons, while the Lords appointed a committee to hear evidence at the bar. Fox's libel bill was carried. A society called "The Friends of the People," pledged to the agitation of parliamentary reform, and numbering amongst its supporters about thirty members of parliament, was formed. On the 21st of May a royal proclamation against seditious meetings and publications was issued; and prosecutions were commenced against persons endeavouring to circulate publications advocating principles subversive of law, order, and morality.

LETTER 24.—History of the French Revolution, from the Execution of Louis XVI. to that of Marie Antoinette. A.D. 1793—1794. Vol. iii., pages 238—257.

§ 633. The death of Louis XVI. secured the ascendancy of the Mountain; and the nature of the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were soon fully tested. Blood continued to flow in torrents, and Europe stood aghast at the horrors enacted by the extreme party in Paris. The war had commenced in a favourable manner for France. Not only were the German forces expelled from the country, but the Low Countries were conquered. Dumourier having gained the battle of Jemappes (Nov. 6, 1792), entered Mons, Brussels, and Liege in quick succession. The French prepared to take permanent possession of the country, and the National Convention issued a decree, declaring that the French nation would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wished to recover their liberty (Nov. 19). This propagandism and the murder of the king induced the English government to recall their minister from Paris, and to prepare for hostilities. The republican Convention declared war (Feb. 1, 1793) against England, Spain, and Holland. A committee of General Defence and of Public Safety was appointed (March 25). It was at first composed of members of the Girondists and the Mountain, to the number of twenty-five. This revolutionary tribunal daily gained more power, and precipitated the state upon its career of destruction. Dumourier formed a plan for delivering the Low Countries

from the rule of the Jacobins, marching upon Paris to upset the revolutionary party, proclaim the constitution of 1791, and restore the monarchy. His schemes were, however, defeated, and several reverses which the French armies at this period experienced in the field rendered him unpopular.

§ 634. The Jacobins entered into a conspiracy to create an insurrection, which they hoped would afford them a favourable pretext for the removal of all their opponents. Ministers were, however, upon their guard, and the terrible plot miscarried. The struggle in La Vendée, in which the constitutional party manfully contended against the revolutionary levies, furnished the government with an excuse for adopting the most rigorous measures against the priests, the emigrants, and all who in any way attempted to thwart their schemes. The French armies in the Low Countries had been again defeated, and Dumourier entered into negotiations with the Austrians for the overthrow of the revolutionary junta. The army not seeming inclined to support him, he went over to the Austrians, and was declared a traitor by the Convention. A fearful struggle between the various factions in the National Assembly and the clubs ensued, in which the Jacobins at last gained a complete ascendancy. The result of this, after several conflicts, was the commencement of the Reign of Terror (June 2, 1793). The Girondist leaders were imprisoned, and Robespierre and his satellites continued to deluge the land with the blood of their fellow-citizens. More than sixty of the departments took up arms in defence of the constitution. Charlotte Corday set out from Caen on her mission for the delivery of France from its enemies, and stabbed the tyrant Marat to the heart (July 14). Lyons became the head-quarters of the constitutional party.

§ 635. The resistance to the Convention was of a most formidable character. The Vendean army, marching from victory to victory, conquered Saumur and Angers, and advanced upon Nantes. Everything seemed to conspire to overthrow the Convention. Its armies were beaten in the north and at the Pyrenees: at the same moment it was threatened by the Lyonese in the centre, the Marseillois in the south, the Girondists in one part of the west, and the Vendéans in the other. That military reaction which, after the brilliant campaign of Argonne and the Netherlands, had taken place in consequence more especially of the disagreement between Dumourier and the Jacobins, and between

the army and the government, had become much more decided since the defection of the general-in-chief. There was no longer agreement in their operations, ardour in the troops, or concert between the Convention, now occupied with its own quarrels, and the dispirited generals. The wreck of Dumourier's army had been collected together at the camp of Famars, under the command of Dampierre; but they were compelled, after a defeat, to retire under the walls of Bouchain (May 8, 1793). Dampierre was killed. From Dunkirk to Givet, the frontier was threatened by a superior force. Custine was suddenly recalled from the Moselle to the army of the north; but his presence did not re-establish affairs. Valenciennes, the key of France, was taken (July 28); Condé just before met with the same fate; and the French army, driven from one position to another, retired behind the Scarpe in front of Arras, the last post for retreat between them and Paris. In another quarter, Mayence, suffering from famine, and briskly pressed by the enemy, lost all hope of being relieved by the army of the Moselle, which was then reduced to a state of inaction; and despairing of being able to hold out any longer, it capitulated (July 22). The situation of the republic could not be worse. In this emergency ministers occupied themselves framing a new constitution, intended to perpetuate their sway. In order to deal with the crisis, which every hour seemed to aggravate, levies were raised, and a law was passed against the suspected.

§ 636. The war was waged furiously between the republicans and their opponents; and the former speedily regained a greater part of France. The royalists had delivered Toulon into the hands of the English (Aug. 28). Admiral Hood took possession in the name of Louis XVII., and expelled the republican armies. Lyons was, however, captured by the forces of the Convention, amidst the most savage butchery, and thousands of inoffensive people were either beheaded, drowned, or cut to pieces with grape-shot (Oct. 10). The Convention proved everywhere victorious. Toulon was recovered (Dec. 19), and Napoleon Buonaparte first distinguished himself in its defence. The royalists experienced four successive defeats; two at Châtillon, and two at Chollet. Their leaders, Lescure, Bonchamp, and d'Elbée, were mortally wounded; and the insurgents, totally defeated in Upper Vendée, fearing, if they took refuge in the Lower, that they should be exterminated, decided upon quitting

their country, to the number of eighty thousand. This emigration across Brittany, in which they hoped to effect an insurrection, proved fatal to them. In spite of several victories, they were repulsed before Granville, completely routed at Mans, destroyed at Savenay; and the wreck of this vast emigration, a few thousand men, with difficulty re-entered La Vendée. These irreparable disasters of the royalist cause, the capture of the island of Noirmoutier from Charette, the dispersion of the troops of this chief, and the death of Larochejaquelein, rendered the republicans masters of the country. The Committee of Public Safety thinking, not without cause, that its enemies, although subdued, were not disposed to submission, adopted a terrible system of extermination, to prevent their recovering themselves. General Thurreau surrounded the reduced La Vendée with sixteen intrenched camps; twelve columns, known by the name of the infernal columns, scoured the neighbourhood with fire and sword, explored the woods, carried off those who were collected together, and spread terror throughout this unfortunate country. The foreign armies had also been again driven from the frontiers which they had invaded. The revolutionary tribunal continued its sanguinary system. Marie Antoinette was sent to the scaffold (Oct. 16, 1793), twenty Girondist deputies followed (Oct. 31). The duke of Orleans, Egalité, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., paid the penalty of his treachery (Nov. 6). Madame Roland died heroically (Nov. 8). Bailly followed (Nov. 11), whilst Condorcet and M. Roland put an end to their own lives; scaffolds were erected all over the country, and France became literally and truly one scene of bloodshed and horror.

LETTER 25.—History of France during the Reign of Terror, from the Fall of the Girondists to the Execution of Robespierre. A.D. 1793—1794. Vol. iii., pages 257—272.

§ 637. On the fall of the Girondists the Committee of Public Safety was formed entirely of members of the Mountain, who at once adopted measures to inaugurate that terrible system, known as the Reign of Terror (June 2, 1793). They established an entirely new era; changed the divisions of the year, the names of the months and of the days. In place of the Christian calendar, they substituted that of the republican,—for the week, the decade, making every tenth day, instead of Sunday, the day of rest (Nov. 24,

1793). The new era was ordered to be dated from the 22nd of September, 1792, the epoch of the foundation of the republic. They had twelve equal months, consisting of thirty days each, which commenced on the 22nd of September, in the following order:—Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, for the autumn; Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose, for the winter; Germinal, Floréal, Prairial, for the spring; Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor, for the summer. The five supernumerary days were thrown to the end of the year, to complete the whole, and they were called the *Sans-Culotteides*. The constitution of 1793 led to the republican calendar, and the republican calendar to the abolition of public worship. The existence of the Deity was publicly denied; and the worship of the Goddess of Reason decreed (Nov. 10, 1793). The churches were, in most districts of France, closed against priests and worshippers, the bells were broken and cast into cannon, the whole ecclesiastical establishment was destroyed, and the republican inscription over the cemeteries, declaring death to be a perpetual sleep, announced to those who lived under that dominion, that they were to hope for no redress even in the next world. Marriage was declared to be only a civil contract, and all the relations of life and of society were undermined.

§ 638. Eternal jealousy reigned amongst the authors of these atrocities, and, having removed those who had opposed their schemes, they turned their rage against each other. The Cordeliers had excited the jealousy of Robespierre, and several of their leaders were consigned to the executioner (March 24, 1794). Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and others, who had helped to deluge France with blood, became the next victims (April 5). The slaughter of inoffensive citizens, without even the formality of a trial, rose to a fearful pitch, and a quarrel between the murderers put an end to the Reign of Terror. Robespierre perceiving that his dictatorship was at an end, thought of flight, but was, before he could effect it, with his principal associates, denounced and arrested. In this hour of peril the baseness and cowardice of his nature were fully displayed, and the tyrant who had sent so many thousands to the scaffold, trembled and yelled in the hands of the executioner (July 28, 1794). The fall and execution of Robespierre brought the Reign of Terror to a close. In different parts of France upwards of a million of persons are supposed to have perished in those fearful proscriptions.

LETTER 26.—Early Career of Napoleon Buonaparte, and his Influence upon the Affairs of Republican France. A.D. 1768—1796. Vol. iii., pages 273—288.

§ 639. Napoleon Buonaparte was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the 5th of February, 1768.^a His family were at the time of his birth in reduced circumstances. Napoleon was the second of thirteen children, eight of whom—five sons and three daughters—survived their father. At an early age, he was sent to the military school, first at Angers and afterwards of Brienne, an institution intended for training youths in the engineer and artillery service. At the age of fourteen he was removed to the *Ecole Militaire* at Paris, for the completion of his studies. In 1785, he received a commission as second lieutenant in a regiment of artillery, and was soon after promoted to the rank of first lieutenant in a corps quartered at Valence. In 1792, Napoleon became a captain, and the same year witnessed the two insurrections of the 20th of June and 10th of August. His first military exploit was an expedition against his native city in Corsica, and it proved unfortunate (1793). At the siege of Toulon, at which place the English and Spaniards came to the assistance of the royalists, Napoleon distinguished himself. The siege had been conducted in a very unsatisfactory manner, when he obtained command of the artillery, changed the plan of operations, and succeeded in expelling the English and Spaniards (Dec. 19, 1793).

§ 640. In consequence of this success, the young Napoleon was confirmed in his provisional situation of chief of battalion, and appointed to hold that rank in the army of Italy. His influence with the republican general Dumorbion mainly contributed to the capture of Saorgio, and the triumphs of the campaign of 1794. In the mean time, Robespierre had fallen. Napoleon's intimacy with Robespierre's younger brother rendered him an object of suspicion to the

^a This is one of the many historical events of which the correct date is not given, even in works enjoying the highest reputation. It is usually stated that Wellington and Napoleon were born not only in the same year, but on the same day of the month. Yet Wellington was born May 1, 1769, and Napoleon Buonaparte February 5, 1768. Napoleon's object in stating that he was born in 1769, was because, at the actual period of his birth, Corsica had not been incorporated with the French monarchy, and he was not therefore a French citizen.

authorities, and he was arrested. Through the interest of friends he obtained his release, but remained without employment or promotion, and was at one time on the point of quitting the army. After the fall of Robespierre, which was called the Revolution of the 9th Thermidor (July 27), France was in a very distracted state. The Thermidorians, thus designated from the day on which their first triumph had been achieved, determined, if possible, to put a stop to the revolutionary passion for bloodshed. They liberated thousands of suspected persons, who had been arrested during the Reign of Terror, and awaited in the prisons the order for their removal to the scaffold. The advocates of the principles that had led to the Reign of Terror struggled hard to maintain the accursed system, and the Thermidorians became involved in a fearful contest. They summoned to their aid the youth of Paris; and these, armed with short clubs loaded with lead, formed a band known by the name of *La Jeunesse Dorée*. The Jacobin Club was suppressed, and the sanguinary decrees of the Mountain one by one abrogated.

§ 641. In the terrible conflict with the sections, Barras was appointed commander, and he named Napoleon second in command. The energetic measures adopted by the latter, on this occasion, completely crushed the insurrection of the 13th Vendémiaire (Oct. 5, 1795). The Convention had been engaged in the formation of a new constitution, the third attempted in France since 1789. They proposed that the legislative power should be divided between two councils, that of the Five Hundred and that of the Ancients. The former was to have the sole right of originating, and the latter of passing or rejecting, the laws. The executive power was to be lodged in the hands of five Directors, nominated by the Council of the Five Hundred, and approved by that of the Ancients. Opposition to these changes produced the revolt, which was crushed, the new constitution being established, and the Directory appointed. Thus terminated the rule of the Convention, after it had existed for more than three years, from Sept. 21, 1791, to Oct. 26, 1795. After this success, Napoleon was appointed general of the army of the interior. At this period he made the acquaintance of Josephine Beauharnais, widow of Count Alexander Beauharnais, to whom he was married on the 9th of March, 1796. The lady, a Creole, was older than her husband. She was possessed of much grace, and had an exquisite taste in dress. The

influence of her connections obtained for Napoleon the command of the army of Italy. Twelve days after the marriage, he set out for the Alps, and thus his extraordinary career may be said to have commenced.

LETTER 27.—History of Affairs in Great Britain, and the War with France, from its Commencement to the Failure of Lord Malmesbury's Negotiations for Peace. A.D. 1793—1796. Vol. iii., pages 289—305.

§ 642. In consequence of the threatening aspect of affairs, the English ministry placed the kingdom in a state of defence. The execution of Louis XVI., the system of propagandism, and the attack of the French upon the Netherlands, led to forcible remonstrances on the part of the English government. In reply, the Convention declared war against England (Feb. 1, 1793); and an English army was sent into the Netherlands. The allies, at the opening of the campaign, gained some successes, but were afterwards repulsed. In fact, at one time, the combined armies were penetrating into France, at different points of the frontier, from Strasburg to Dunkirk, and the southern provinces of the republic were in open insurrection; but at the end of the year, the allies were everywhere repulsed, and Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, reduced under the power of the Convention. In 1794, England found it necessary to subsidize Prussia, Holland, and other states, to induce them to take up arms in their own defence. The Opposition endeavoured to obstruct the Government in its course, but were defeated by large majorities. A misunderstanding occurred with the United States of America, on the question of the right of search, which was amicably arranged. In consequence of the spread of revolutionary doctrines in the country, precautionary measures were adopted, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Some trials against the more prominent members of the revolutionary societies created great excitement, and the defendants were acquitted. In a naval action between French and English fleets of nearly equal strength, the latter, under the command of Lord Howe, gained a complete victory (June 1, 1794).

§ 643. The campaign of 1794 was most disastrous to the cause of the allies. Francis II., of Austria, had put himself at the head of the army, but the French were victorious; and all Austrian Flanders and Brabant fell into their power. They were equally successful on the frontiers of Germany, where they captured several fortresses, with immense stores

of arms and ammunition. Early in 1795, the French resumed their victorious career, the British army continued to retreat, and at length returned to England (April 14, 1795). The stadtholder sought refuge in London, and the palace of Hampton Court was assigned as his residence. Although defended by Austria and England, the Dutch made no efforts in their self-defence, and at the dictation of France, consented to remodel the United Provinces, under the name of the Batavian Republic, and to form an offensive and defensive alliance with that country (May 16, 1795). Several of the powers subsidised by England concluded peace with the French republic. The king of Prussia, having secured the payment of the subsidy, signed the treaty of Basle (April 5, 1795); and Spain, and some minor states, followed the example. Great agitation prevailed in England, and an unfortunate expedition to Quiberon Bay (July 21), intended to create a diversion in favour of the French royalists, served to increase public discontent. Parliament met on the 29th of October, and so great was the dissatisfaction at the failure of the allies, that the king was publicly insulted, and the crowd followed his carriage, clamouring for the dismissal of Pitt and the restoration of peace. As the aspect of affairs continued to grow worse, the government were at last induced to send Lord Malmesbury to Paris (Oct. 13, 1796). Although Great Britain offered to make great concessions, the Directory, flushed with their earlier successes, did not seem inclined to abandon any of their numerous conquests, and abruptly ordered Lord Malmesbury to quit the republic within forty-eight hours (Dec. 19, 1796).^a

^a The terms offered at this period were highly honourable to the English government, and show their anxiety to obtain peace. They declared themselves willing to restore all the colonies of France and Holland captured during the war, and to recognize the French republic. In return they required the evacuation by the French of their conquests on the continent. These were the chief points of the proposal. The Directory had embarked upon a career of aggression, and, flushed by their successes, felt unwilling to disgorge any portion of the spoil.

CHAPTER IV.

LETTER 28.—The French Campaign in Italy, from the Arrival of Napoleon at Head-quarters to his Triumphant Entry into Milan, with some account of his Spoliations. A.D. 1796. March 27—May 15. Vol. iii., pages 305—321.

§ 644. Napoleon reached Nice on the 27th of March, and had no sooner joined the French army than he resolved upon penetrating into Italy, by crossing the lowest part of the mountainous range which separates that country from France. He had scarcely set his troops in motion when they were attacked by the Austrian general at Montenotte. Colonel Rampon, with a handful of men, arrested the progress of the Austro-Sardinian army, which enabled Buonaparte to concentrate his forces, and the enemy were forced to retreat (April 9—11). The French followed in pursuit; and the victories of Millesimo (April 14) and of Mondovi (April 22) induced the king of Sardinia to sue for peace. Napoleon granted an armistice, on the surrender of the fortresses of Tortona, Corri, and Alessandria into his hands. A fortnight later a treaty of peace was signed between Sardinia and the French republic. The former renounced the coalition, ceded Savoy, Nice, and other territories in Piedmont, and gave the French troops a free passage through the country. Buonaparte, resolving to obtain further conquests in Italy, crossed the Po, and entered Parma (May 7). The grand duke was compelled to furnish supplies, and a contribution upon works of art was levied. This was the commencement of that system of spoliation pursued by the French in conquered states, and which afterwards raised the indignation of the civilized world.

§ 645. The Austrians had taken up a strong position on the Adda, and the advanced divisions of the two armies met at a village called Fombio, not far from Casal (May 8), when an encounter ensued, in which the Austrians were defeated. Thereupon they crossed the Adda, and determined to defend the passage at Lodi. This large town con-

tained twelve thousand inhabitants. It had old Gothic walls, but its chief defence consisted in the river Adda, which flows through it, and was crossed by a wooden bridge about five hundred feet in length. When Beaulieu, after the affair of Fombio, evacuated Casal, he retreated to this place with about ten thousand men: the rest of his army was directed upon Milan and Cassano, a town situated, like Lodi, upon the Adda. On his arrival, Napoleon found that although the bridge had not been destroyed, it was swept by twenty pieces of artillery. He immediately placed some guns in position, the cavalry passed at a ford lower down the river, and the French attacked the Austrians with impetuosity (May 10). The column ordered to charge over the bridge was thrown into disorder by the terrible fire of the Austrian artillery, when Napoleon and some of his generals rushed to the head. Their coolness decided the struggle; the Austrians gave way on every side, soon after abandoned Milan, and retired to Mantua.

§ 646. On the 15th of May, Buonaparte made his public entry into Milan, under a triumphal arch prepared for the occasion, and took up his residence in the archiepiscopal palace. The same evening a splendid entertainment was given, and the tree of liberty was erected with great ceremony in the principal square. This affectation of popular joy did not prevent the French general from making Milan contribute to the relief of his army. He imposed upon the place a requisition of twenty millions of livres, but offered to accept of goods of any sort in kind, and at a rateable valuation; for it may be easily supposed that specie was scarce in a city circumstanced as Milan then was. The public funds of every description, even those dedicated to the support of hospitals, went into the French military chest; the church plate was seized as part of the requisition, and when all this was done, the citizens were burthened with the charge of finding rations for fifteen thousand men daily, by which force the citadel, with its Austrian garrison, was blockaded. The duke of Modena purchased the privilege of neutrality for five millions and a half of French livres, with large contributions in provisions and accoutrements. Like the duke of Parma, he was also compelled to give up his choicest pictures and other works of art. The same system was followed at Milan, where several of the most valuable articles were taken from the Ambrosian collection. Thus Napoleon managed, in every way, to gratify

the Directory and the revolutionary party; for while he drained Italy to support his armies, he sent the choicest productions of art, as trophies, to adorn Paris.

LETTER 29.—History of the Campaign in Italy continued, from the Insurrection at Pavia to the Battle of Arcole. A.D. 1796—1797. Vol. iii., pages 322—345.

§ 647. After these victories by the republican army, the Austrian general, in order to secure his position, had occupied the line formed by the Mincio, his left flank resting upon Mantua, his right upon Peschiera, a Venetian city and fortress, but of which he had taken possession, against the wish of the Venetian government, who were desirous of observing a neutrality between such powerful belligerents, not, perhaps, altogether aware how far the victor in so dreadful a strife might be disposed to neglect the general law of nations. The Austrian defence on the right was prolonged by the Lago di Guarda, a large lake out of which the Mincio flows, and which, running thirty-five miles northward into the mountains of the Tyrol, maintained uninterrupted Beaulieu's communication with Germany. The Directory, probably jealous of the rising fame of the young general, resolved to divide the army of Italy between Buonaparte and Kellerman, and directed the former general to pass the Po, and advance southward on Rome and Naples, with twenty thousand men; while Kellerman, with the rest of the Italian army, was to press the siege of Mantua, and make head against the Austrians. Buonaparte positively refused to accede to this arrangement, and the Directory at once gave way. The fortunate general fixed his headquarters at Lodi upon the 24th of May; but he had scarcely arrived there when he received the alarming intelligence that the people of the city of Pavia, and of all the surrounding districts, were in arms in his rear; that the tocsin was ringing in every village, and that news was circulated that the prince of Condé's army, united with a strong Austrian force, had descended from the Tyrol into Italy. Some commotions occurred in Milan, and the Austrian garrison there made demonstrations towards favouring the insurrection in Pavia, where the insurgents were completely successful, and had captured a French corps of three hundred men. The Italians had been roused to this resistance by the exactions practised by the French generals, and the indignities offered by the soldiers to their sacred edifices.

Buonaparte marched upon Pavia, suppressed the revolt, punished the leaders, and issued a republican proclamation.

§ 648. Having quelled these disturbances, Napoleon determined to drive the Austrians from their strong position. By skilful manœuvres he effected the passage of the Mincio. Thereupon the Austrians retired within the frontiers of Tyrol, and Mantua and the citadel of Milan were the only places in Italy of any consequence that remained in their hands. Buonaparte blockaded Mantua with a large force, and compelled the republic of Venice, which had remained neutral during the conflict, to expel Louis XVIII., who, under the title of the count de Lisle, was living in strict seclusion at Verona. In spite of this concession, the French occupied Verona (June 3, 1796). Naples renounced the coalition, and Bologna and Ferrara were occupied by French troops. The pope purchased an armistice by the payment of twenty-one millions of francs in actual specie, with large contributions in forage and military stores, the cession of Ancona, Bologna, and Ferrara, not forgetting one hundred of the finest pictures, statues, and similar objects of art, to be selected according to the choice of the committee of artists who attended the French army. It was particularly stipulated, with republican ostentation, that the busts of the elder and younger Brutus were to be among the number of the ceded articles. The archduke of Tuscany was the next victim, and in the midst of his arbitrary schemes at Florence, Buonaparte received the news of the fall of the citadel of Milan. Buonaparte made truce with several of the old states in Italy, or rather adjourned their destruction in consideration of large contributions; he was far from losing sight of the main object of the French Directory, which was to cause the adjacent governments to be revolutionized and new modelled on a republican form, corresponding to that of the great nation herself. This scheme was, in many respects, an exceedingly artful one. In every state which the French might overrun or conquer, were to be found—for such agents abound in all parts—men fitted to form the members of revolutionary government, and who, from their previous situation and habits, must necessarily be eager to do so. Such men are sure to be supported by the rabble of large towns, who are attracted by the prospect of plunder, and by the splendid promises of liberty, which they always understand as promising the equalization of property. Thus provided with materials for their edifice, the bayonets of the French army

were of strength sufficient to prevent the task from being interrupted, and the French republic had soon to greet sister states, under the government of men who held their offices by the pleasure of France, and who were obliged, therefore, to comply with all her requisitions, however unreasonable.

§ 649. The Austrian government had in the mean time become aware of the necessity of making vigorous exertions. Beaulieu, old and unlucky, was re-called, and Wurmser, one of the best of the Austrian generals, was placed at the head of thirty thousand men on the frontiers of Italy. Buonaparte pressed the siege of Mantua, and made every effort to reduce the city before Wurmser should open his campaign, but the place held out. The plan which the Directory had adopted for the campaign of 1796 was worthy of the genius of Carnot, by whom it was formed, and of Napoleon and Moreau, by whom it had been revised and approved. It had been schemed, that, to allow Austria no breathing space, Moreau, with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, should press forward on the eastern frontier of Germany, supported on the left by Jourdan, at the head of the army of the Rhine, and that both generals should continue to advance, until Moreau should be in a position to communicate with Buonaparte through the Tyrol. When this junction of the whole forces of France, in the centre of the Austrian dominions, was accomplished, it was Carnot's ultimate plan to advance upon Vienna, and dictate peace to the emperor under the walls of his own capital. Of this great project, the part intrusted to Buonaparte was completely executed, and for some time the fortune of war seemed equally auspicious to France upon the Rhine as in Italy. Moreau and Jourdan crossed that great national boundary at Neuwied and Kehl, and moved eastward through Germany, until Moreau had actually crossed the river Lech, and was almost touching with his right flank the passes of the Tyrol, through which he was, according to the plan of the campaign, to have communicated with Buonaparte. During this advance of two hostile armies, amounting each to seventy-five thousand men, which filled all Germany with consternation, the Austrian leader, Wartensleben, was driven from position to position by Jourdan, while the Archduke Charles was unable to maintain his ground before Moreau. The imperial generals were reduced to this extremity by the loss of the army, consisting of from thirty to thirty-five thousand men, detached under Wurmser, to support the remains of Beaulieu's forces, and

retrieve the Austrian affairs in Italy. But the archduke was an excellent and enterprising officer, and at this important period he saved the empire of Austria by a bold and decided manœuvre. Leaving a large part of his army to make head against Moreau, he moved to the right with the rest, so as to form a junction with Wartensleben, and overwhelm Jourdan with a local superiority of numbers, being the very principle on which the French themselves achieved so many victories. Jourdan was totally defeated, and compelled to make a hasty and disorderly retreat, which was rendered disastrous by the insurrection of the German peasantry around his fugitive army. Moreau, also unable to maintain himself in the heart of Germany, when Jourdan, with the army which covered his left flank, was defeated, was likewise under the necessity of retiring, but conducted his retrograde movement with such dexterity, that his retreat through the Black Forest, where the Austrians hoped to cut him off, was compared to a great victory.

§ 650. As the divisions of Wurmser's army began to arrive on the frontiers of Italy, Buonaparte requested the Directory to send supplies from France. Troops could not however be spared, and Buonaparte, alarmed at the advance of the Austrians, abandoned the siege of Mantua with precipitation (July 30). His object was to defeat the Austrian forces in detail, and he succeeded in repelling them at Lonato (July 31), and Castiglione (Aug. 5). Wurmser, who had been engaged revictualling Mantua, and throwing in supplies of every kind, no sooner heard of these disasters of his right wing, than he collected his troops together and advanced against the French position between Lonato and Castiglione. He was defeated and compelled to retire. In these disastrous conflicts the Austrians are supposed to have lost nearly forty thousand men. Nothing is more remarkable, during these campaigns, than the manner in which Austria stood on the defensive at every point, and by extraordinary exertions again recruited Wurmser with fresh troops, to the amount of twenty thousand men; and enabled that general to resume the offensive, by advancing from the Tyrol. Wurmser, with less confidence than before, hoped to raise the siege of Mantua a second time, and at a less desperate cost, by moving from Trent towards Mantua, through the defiles formed by the river Brenta. This manœuvre he proposed to execute with thirty thousand men, while he left twenty thousand, under General Davidowich, in a strong position at

or near Rovereda, for the purpose of covering the Tyrol. Buonaparte at once perceived his design, and having taken measures to defeat it, marched upon Rovereda, and drove Davidowich from that town with great loss (Sept. 4).

§ 651. The French commander then endeavoured to gain the Tyrolese, by issuing the usual inflated proclamations; they did not seem much inclined to barter away their independence for specious promises, and he set out to attack Wurmser. He defeated him at Primolano (Sept. 6) and Bassano, and Wurmser having almost succeeded in surprising and capturing Napoleon, threw himself into Mantua (Sept. 12), and was again blockaded in that city. The woes of war now appeared in a different and even more hideous form than when inflicted with the sword alone. When Wurmser threw himself into Mantua, the garrison amounted to twenty-six thousand men; yet ere October was far advanced there were little above half the number fit for service. There were nearly nine thousand sick in the hospitals,—infectious diseases, privations of every kind, and the unhealthy air of the lakes and marshes with which they were surrounded, had cut off the remainder. The French also had lost great numbers; but the conquerors could reckon up their victories, and forget the price at which they had been purchased. Buonaparte's situation, however brilliant, was at the same time critical, and required his undivided thoughts. Mantua still held out, and was likely to do so. Wurmser had caused about three-fourths of the horses belonging to his cavalry to be killed and salted for the use of the garrison, and thus made a large addition, such as it was, to the provisions of the place. His character for courage and determination was completely established; and being now engaged in defending a fortress by ordinary rules of art, which he perfectly understood, he was in no danger of being overreached and out-manœuvred by the new system of tactics, which occasioned his misfortunes in the open field.

§ 652. Austria, however, was not, even after these reverses, inclined to give up her Italian provinces without another struggle. By order of the Aulic council, two armies were assembled on the Italian frontier; one at Friuli, which was partly composed of that portion of the army of Wurmser, which, cut off from the main body at the battle of Bassano, had effected, under Quasdonowich, a retreat in that direction; the other was to be concentrated in the Tyrol. They were to operate in conjunction, and both were placed under the command of

Marshal Alvinzi, an officer of high reputation. Thus, for the fourth time, Buonaparte had to contest the same objects on the same ground, with new forces belonging to the same enemy. He had, indeed, himself received from France reinforcements to the number of twelve battalions, from those troops which had been employed in La Vendée. Davidowich commanded the body of the Austrians which was in the Tyrol, and which included the fine militia of that martial province. There was little difficulty in prevailing upon them to advance into Italy, convinced as they were that small security for their national independence existed while the French remained in possession of Lombardy. Buonaparte, on the other hand, had placed Vaubois in the passes upon the river Lavis, above Trent, to cover that new possession of the French republic, and check the advance of Davidowich. It was Alvinzi's plan to descend from Friuli and approach Vicenza, to which place he expected Davidowich might penetrate by a corresponding movement down the Adige. Having thus brought his united army into activity, his design was to advance on Mantua, the constant object of bloody contention. He commenced his march in the beginning of October, 1796. Vaubois was defeated, and Massena compelled to evacuate the valley of the Brenta; when Buonaparte came to the rescue. In his first encounter with Alvinzi, he was repulsed, and fell back upon Verona, and, though worsted in several skirmishes, defeated Alvinzi in a succession of combats at Arcola (Nov. 15, 16, and 17); whereupon the Austrians retired. Thus ended the fourth campaign, undertaken for the Austrian possessions in Italy. The consequences were not so decidedly in Buonaparte's favour as those of the three former. Mantua, it is true, had received no relief; and so far the principal object of the Austrians had miscarried. But Wurmser was of a temper to continue the defence till the last moment. The armies of Friuli and the Tyrol had also, since the last campaign, retained possession of Bassano and Trent, and removed the French from the mountains through which access is gained to the Austrian hereditary dominions. Neither had Alvinzi suffered any such heavy defeat as his predecessors Beaulieu or Wurmser; while Davidowich, on the contrary, was uniformly successful, had he known how to avail himself of his victories. Still the Austrians were not likely, till reinforced, to interrupt Buonaparte's quiet possession of Lombardy.

LETTER 30.—Campaign in Italy, from the Fall of Mantua to the Declaration of War against Venice. A.D. 1797, Feb. 2—May 3. Vol. iii., pages 345—365.

§ 653. Buonaparte, determined to give the enemy no repose, ordered Joubert to attack the Austrians in the Italian Tyrol, whilst he set out to aid the blockade of Mantua. After a series of harassing attacks, Wurmser surrendered Mantua (Feb. 2), and this put an end to the war in Italy. Austria soon after had to wage the contest in her own dominions. The eyes of Europe were now riveted upon Napoleon Buonaparte, whose rise had been so sudden that he had become the terror of empires and the founder of states; the conqueror of the best generals and most disciplined troops in Europe, within a few months after he had been a mere soldier of fortune, seeking rather for a subsistence than expecting honourable distinction. Such sudden elevations have occasionally happened amid semi-barbarous nations, where great popular insurrections, desolating and decisive revolutions, are common occurrences, but were hitherto unheard of in civilized Europe. Napoleon had entered into a treaty with the duke of Modena, guaranteeing his principality, on payment of immense contributions in money and stores, besides the surrender of the most valuable treasures of his museum. In consequence, the duke of Modena was permitted to govern his states by a regency, he himself fixing his residence at Venice. But his two principal towns, Reggio and Modena, especially the former, became desirous of shaking off his government. Anticipating in so doing the approbation of the French general and government, the citizens of Reggio rose in insurrection, expelled from their town a body of the ducal troops, and planted the tree of liberty, resolved, as they said, to constitute themselves a free state, under the protection of the French republic. The ducal regency, with a view of protecting Modena from a similar attempt, mounted cannon on the ramparts, and adopted other defensive measures. Buonaparte immediately took possession of the city, and placed it under the protection of France. Bologna and Ferrara, legations belonging to the Papal See, had been already occupied by French troops, and placed under the management of a committee of their citizens. They were now encouraged to coalesce with Reggio and Modena. A congress of a hundred delegates from the four districts was summoned, to effect the

formation of a government, which should extend over them all. The congress met accordingly, and engaged their constituents in a perpetual union, under the title of the Cispadane Republic, from their situation on the right of the river Po; thus assuming the character of independence, while in fact they remained under the authority of Buonaparte. Milan was afterwards united to this new state, and it received the name of the Cisalpine Commonwealth.

§ 654. Buonaparte next turned his arms against the States of the Church. Ancona fell after a timid resistance (Feb. 9, 1797), and the whole country having been overrun, the pope made his submission. The articles which he was obliged to accept at Tolentino (Feb. 19), included the cession of Avignon and its territories, the appropriation of which, by France, had never yet been recognized; the resigning the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; the occupation of Ancona, the only port excepting Venice which Italy has in the Adriatic; the payment of thirty millions of livres, in specie or in valuable effects; the complete execution of the article in the armistice of Bologna respecting the delivery of paintings, manuscripts, and objects of art; and several other stipulations of similar severity. The Austrians having again concentrated their forces on the frontiers of Italy, Buonaparte took the field in the beginning of March (1797), and advanced upon Bassano. The Archduke Charles commanded the imperial army, but was defeated in his first encounter with Buonaparte at Tagliamento (March 16). After several conflicts, the French occupied Trieste (March 24), and Klagenfurth (March 29). Joubert, who was posted in the gorge of the Tyrol above Trent, was forced to evacuate the country. The Austrians regained part of Lombardy, and compelled Napoleon to retire from Trieste and Fiume.

§ 655. So terrible had the rule of the French in Italy become, that a formidable insurrection was organized against them. Moreover, some menaces that Buonaparte had uttered against Venice, embittered the Venetians against them, and they embarked eagerly in the plot. The insurrection was secretly organized, and broke out suddenly. Fioravante, a Venetian general, marched at the head of a body of Slavonians to besiege the forts of Verona, into which the remaining French had made their retreat, and where they defended themselves. Laudon made his appearance with his Austrians and Tyrolese, and it seemed as if the fortunes of

Buonaparte had at length found a check. But the awakening from this pleasing dream was equally sudden and dreadful. News arrived that preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon, and an armistice signed between France and Austria. Laudon, therefore, and the auxiliaries on whom the Venetians had so much relied, retired from Verona. The Lombards sent an army to the assistance of the French. The Slavonians, after fighting vigorously, were compelled to surrender. The insurgent towns of Vicenza, Treviso, and Padua, were again occupied by the Republicans. Rumour proclaimed the terrible return of Napoleon and his army, and the ill-advised senate of Venice were lost in stupor, and scarcely had sense left to decide betwixt unreserved submission and hopeless defence.

§ 656. Napoleon had addressed a letter to the Archduke Charles, pretending that he was anxious to conclude peace upon honourable terms (March 31). That such was his real intention few could believe, and the war continued as before. Two encounters followed, at Neumarkt (April 2) and at Unzmark—both gave rise to fresh disasters, and the continued retreat of the Archduke Charles and the imperial army. The French general then pressed forward on the road to Vienna, through mountain-passes and defiles, which could not have been opened otherwise than by turning them on the flank. But these natural fastnesses were no longer defences. Judenbourg, the capital of Upper Styria, was abandoned to the French without a blow (April 6), and shortly after Buonaparte entered Gratz, the principal town of Lower Styria. The archduke now totally changed his plan of warfare. He no longer disputed the ground foot by foot, but began to retreat by hasty marches towards Vienna, determined to fight for the existence, it might be, of his brother's throne, under the walls of his capital. However perilous this resolution might appear, it was worthy of the high-spirited prince by whom it was adopted; and there were reasons, perhaps, besides those arising from soldierly pride and princely dignity, which seemed to recommend it. The court of Vienna finally adopted the alternative of treaty, and that of Leoben was set on foot. Generals Bellegarde and Meerfeld, on the part of the emperor, presented themselves at the head-quarters of Buonaparte (April 13, 1797), and announced the desire of their sovereign for peace. Buonaparte granted a suspension of arms, to endure for five days only; which was afterwards extended, when the pro-

bability of the definitive treaty of peace became evident. The articles in the treaty of Leoben remained long secret; the cause of this appears to have been, that the high contracting parties were not willing comparisons should be made between the preliminaries as they were originally settled, and the strange and violent alterations which occurred in the definitive treaty of Campo Formio. These two treaties of pacification differed, the one from the other, in relation to the degree and manner how a meditated partition of the territory of Venice, of the Cisalpine Republic, and other smaller powers, was to be accomplished for the mutual benefit of France and Austria.

§ 657. It was now time for Venice to tremble. She had declared against the French in their absence; her vindictive population had murdered many of them; the resentment of the French soldiers was excited to the utmost, and the Venetians had no right to reckon upon the forbearance of their general. The treaty of Leoben left the senate of that ancient state absolutely without support; nay, as they afterwards learned, Austria, after pleading their cause for a certain time, had ended by stipulating for a share of their spoils, which had been assigned to her by a secret article of the treaty. In a letter to the doge, Napoleon, bitterly upbraiding the senate for requiting his generosity with treachery and ingratitude, demanded that they should return by his aide-de-camp, who bore the letter, their instant choice betwixt war and peace, allowing them only four-and-twenty hours to disperse their insurgent peasantry, and submit to his clemency. On the 3rd of May Buonaparte declared war; but the doge and senators made the most abject submission, and on the payment of large subsidies, and the surrender of works of art and manuscripts, the French general granted conditions which he was the first to violate.

LETTER 31.—History of the Affairs of Great Britain from the Failure of Lord Malmesbury's Negotiations to the Peace of Amiens; with some Account of Buonaparte's Expedition to Egypt. A.D. 1796—1802. Vol. iii., pages 365—391.

§ 658. The return of Lord Malmesbury from his unsuccessful negotiation threw a deep gloom over the country. A message from his majesty was brought down to Parliament (Dec. 26, 1796), declaring that the pretensions of the French government were inconsistent with the general security of Europe. All the memorials and papers relating to the pro-

posals of peace were laid before both houses. Cash payments at the Bank of England were restricted (Feb. 26, 1797), secret committees were appointed to examine into the affairs of the bank, and a bill was passed authorizing the issue of one and two-pound notes. The secret committees brought up their reports (March 2 and 3), and measures were adopted by Parliament in accordance with their recommendations. Sir John Jervis, with fifteen ships of the line, seven frigates, and two sloops, engaged and completely defeated the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, twelve frigates, and a brig (Feb. 14). The action took place off Cape St. Vincent, and Commodore Nelson greatly distinguished himself. Four prizes were captured, Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent, and Nelson received the honour of knighthood. Trinidad, one of the largest of the Caribbeean cluster, was taken by General Abercrombie (Feb. 18). A descent was made in Wales, by about 1,400 Frenchmen. They landed in Pembrokeshire, and surrendered at the first summons (Feb. 22). Many of them were in rags, and had apparently been taken out of prison.

§ 659. In the midst of this great war discontents broke out in the English navy, which threatened the most serious consequences. The smallness of the pay and of the pensions of the sailors, and the unequal distribution of the prize-money, were the principal grievances. During the months of February and March anonymous petitions had been forwarded to Lord Howe, and a formidable conspiracy was organized. On the signal being hoisted on board the fleet at Spithead, to prepare for sea, three cheers were given from the *Queen Charlotte*, which was answered by the crews of the other ships, and the mutiny was declared (April 15). All the efforts of the officers to enforce subordination among the men proved ineffectual. The ships' companies appointed two delegates from each, who held their consultations in the cabin of the *Queen Charlotte*; and on the 17th an oath was administered to every seaman in the fleet, to stand firm in the general cause. Some officers who were very obnoxious to the crews were sent on shore; but in other respects the strictest discipline was observed, and the most respectful attention to their officers was enjoined, under rigorous penalties. All their proceedings indicated a concerted plan, and fixed determination to carry their point. Two petitions were drawn up and signed by the delegates,—one to the Admiralty, the other to the House of Commons, both couched

in the most decorous language, and stating their complaints, the grounds of which did not appear unreasonable. The matter seemed so serious to government, that the Board of Admiralty was transferred to Portsmouth, and a kind of negotiation was entered into with the mutineers. At length Lord Bridport went on board, hoisted his flag, declared that he brought with him a redress of all grievances and the king's pardon, and obedience was restored. A fresh mutiny broke out (May 8, 1797), but Lord Howe reduced the sailors to order, and their pay was increased. In spite of this, another mutiny occurred in a different quarter, namely, amongst the ships lying at the Nore (May 22). Parker, a man of education and good parts, put himself at the head of the revolt, which was joined by four men-of-war from Admiral Duncan's fleet off the coast of Holland (June 4). Force was employed for its suppression. Parker and his principal associates were seized, and the former, after a deliberate trial, was condemned and executed (June 30). Some of the ringleaders also suffered, and a general pardon was afterwards issued.

§ 660. The subsequent conduct of the gallant sailors speedily effaced this stain from the annals of the British navy. Admiral Duncan sailed to the Texel, and blockaded the Dutch fleet. He afterwards defeated it at the battle of Camperdown, capturing nine ships, and taking the admiral (De Winter) prisoner (Oct. 11). For this service Duncan was raised to the peerage. During the course of the year (1797), the state of Ireland was calculated to inspire the rulers of France with a degree of confidence which they otherwise might not have assumed in their negotiations with the English ministry. The dissensions in that part of the empire, inflamed by a variety of aggravations, had proceeded so far, that the malcontents, who assumed the title of United Irishmen, sent deputies to treat with the French for assistance in throwing off the yoke of England. A memorial was transmitted to the French Directory, stating that one hundred and fifty thousand United Irishmen were enrolled and organized in the province of Ulster. The consequence was, that new arrangements were made for the invasion of Ireland, and great preparations for that purpose took place at Brest and in the Texel—it being intended that both the French and Batavian republics should unite in the attempt; but the memorable victory gained by Lord Duncan over the Dutch fleet, on the 11th of October, rendered the whole

plan abortive. Parliament assembled on the 2nd of November, and was opened by a speech from the throne, of which the principal topics were, the failure of the negotiation for peace, the flourishing state of the revenue, and the naval successes, with the necessity for continuing the most vigorous exertions till a more just and pacific spirit should prevail on the part of the enemy. The state of Ireland attracted much attention during the year. The disclosure of a plot for a general insurrection, and an attack upon the castle of Dublin, caused great alarm. The malcontents rose in arms, were repulsed at Naas and Carlow (May 24, 1798), but captured Wexford (May 25). Several other conflicts ensued with different results, and at last General Lake completely defeated the rebel army at Vinegar Hill (June 21). Another portion of their levies had sustained a serious reverse near Ballynahinch (June 12), and the rebellion in the north was completely crushed. About eight hundred French troops landed at Killala (Aug. 22), marched into the country, but surrendered at Ballinamuck (Sept. 8), after a short action. A squadron sent by the French government, with reinforcements, was captured by Warren (Oct. 12), and thus the scheme to injure England by an invasion of the sister kingdom terminated.

§ 661. The Directory, about the end of October, 1797, announced their intention of assembling on the shores of the ocean, an army, to be called the Army of England; and the Citizen-general Buonaparte, who had then just returned from Italy, was named to the command. The intelligence was received in every part of France with the enthusiasm which attends the anticipation of certain victory. Buonaparte, however, advised the postponement of the invasion. Egypt was the point of attack determined upon; and a powerful armament set sail from Toulon (May 19, 1798). The line-of-battle ships extended for a league, and the semicircle formed by the convoy was at least six leagues in extent. They were joined, as they swept along the Mediterranean (June 8), by a large fleet of transports, having on board the division of General Dessaix. The 10th of June brought the armament before Malta, where Buonaparte landed some of his troops, and took possession of the almost impregnable fortresses with scarcely any opposition. Having established a garrison in Malta, which he destined to be an intermediate station between France and Egypt, the general resumed his expedition (June 19). On the coast of Candia, while the *savants*

were gazing on the rock where Jupiter is fabled to have been nurtured, Napoleon learned that a new enemy, of a different description from the Knights of Malta, was in his immediate vicinity. This was the English squadron, under the command of Nelson. The French had been heard of at Malta; but as the British admiral was about to proceed thither, he received news of their departure, and concluding that Egypt must unquestionably be the object of the expedition, he shaped his course for the mouth of the Nile. It happened singularly enough, that although Nelson anticipated the arrival of the French at Alexandria, yet, by keeping a more direct course than the French fleet had taken, when he arrived there (June 28), he heard nothing of the enemy, who, in the mean time, were making for the very same port. Nelson proceeded to Rhodes and Syracuse; and thus were the two large and hostile fleets traversing the same narrow sea, without being able to attain any certain information concerning each other's movements. On the 26th, according to Denon, Nelson's fleet was actually seen by the French standing to the westward, although the haze prevented the English from observing their enemy. The French fleet gained the coast, and the troops were landed about a mile and a half from Alexandria (June 30). Buonaparte speedily captured Alexandria (July 2), and issued a proclamation, in which he professed his respect for God, the Prophet, and the Koran; his friendship for the Sublime Porte, of which he affirmed the French to be the faithful allies; and his determination to make war upon the Mamelukes, who were routed with great slaughter at the battle of the Pyramids (July 21), so called because it occurred in sight of those celebrated monuments of antiquity. Cairo surrendered without offering any resistance, and all Lower Egypt fell into the hands of the French.

§ 662. The French squadron, after having landed the army in Egypt, took up a position in the Bay of Aboukir. They formed a compact line of battle, of a semicircular form, anchored so close to the shoal water and surf, that it was thought impossible for a passage to be forced between them and the land; and their commanders consequently concluded that they could be brought to action only on the starboard side. On the 1st of August, the British fleet appeared; and Nelson had no sooner reconnoitred the French position than he resolved to force it at every risk. Where the French ships could ride, he argued that there must be room for

English vessels to anchor between them and the shore. Accordingly he gave the signal for the attack. The squadrons were nearly of the same numerical strength: the French had thirteen ships of the line and four frigates; the English, thirteen ships of the line and one fifty-gun ship. But the French had three eighty-gun ships, besides *L'Orient*, a superb vessel of one hundred and twenty guns; whereas all the British were seventy-fours. The battle commenced with the utmost fury, and lasted till, the sun having set and the night fallen, there was no light by which the combat could be continued, except the flashes which issued from the continuous broadsides. Already, however, some of the French ships were captured, and the British assailed those which had not been engaged. In the mean time, a broad and dreadful light was thrown on the scene of action, by the breaking out of a conflagration on board *L'Orient*, the French admiral's flag-ship. In the morning the only two French ships which had their colours flying, cut their cables, and put to sea, accompanied by two frigates. They were all that remained undestroyed and uncaptured of the gallant navy that had escorted Buonaparte and his fortunes in triumph across the Mediterranean (1798).

§ 663. Buonaparte, who was greatly grieved when the news of this disaster reached him, invaded Syria, won the battle of El Arisch (Feb. 8, 1799), and captured Gaza and Jaffa, at which latter town the French general slaughtered a number of Turks, &c., that had surrendered as prisoners of war (March 9). St. Jean d'Acre was the next place attacked, at which fortress Sir Sidney Smith arrived with two ships of war, two days before the French made their appearance. The siege began on the 17th of March, and on the 28th a breach was effected. A mine was sprung, and the French proceeded to the assault, but were repulsed. Buonaparte's attention was temporarily diverted from this design by a large army that had advanced to relieve the fortress, and had cut off Kléber at the head of three thousand men. Having defeated this force, and obtained thirty pieces of cannon from Jaffa, he calculated upon the speedy reduction of St. Jean d'Acre. In this expectation he was doomed to disappointment. Sir Sidney Smith, at the head of some British seamen, defended a tower, at which danger was most imminent. The assault was renewed on the morning and the evening of the 21st of May; but on each occasion the French were repulsed.

§ 664. The siege of Acre continued sixty days from the time of the opening of the trenches. The besiegers marched no less than eight times to the assault, while eleven desperate sallies gave evidence of the obstinacy of the defence. Several of the best French generals were killed; amongst these Caffarelli, an officer for whom Napoleon had a particular esteem, and the army was greatly reduced by sword and pestilence. Retreat, therefore, became inevitable; yet Buonaparte endeavoured to gloss it over so as to make the measure seem on his part voluntary. The French army retired first to Jaffa, thence to Cairo, and gained a victory over the Turks, who had seized upon and fortified Aboukir (July 25). Napoleon returned to Cairo (Aug. 9), and soon after quitted Egypt. News of the divisions in the French government, and of the successes of the Russians in Italy, under Suwarroff, induced him to return to Europe. Having ordered two frigates to be prepared for sea, and having committed the command of the army to Kléber and Menou, he embarked with several of his most distinguished officers (Aug. 24), and after a perilous and tedious voyage, in which he several times was in danger of being captured by the English cruisers, landed in safety at Fréjus (Oct. 8).

§ 665. The English ministry, in order to frustrate more effectually the efforts of the French government to separate England from Ireland, determined to bring the two islands into still closer connection by uniting the two legislatures in one, under the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." During the month of January (1799), William Pitt introduced the subject to the notice of Parliament, and the matter was speedily effected. It was provided that the succession to the crown should be limited and settled as heretofore; that the United Kingdom should be represented by one common parliament, in which a number of lords and commons should have a seat on the part of Ireland; that the churches of England and Ireland should be preserved as then by law established; that the king's subjects of Ireland should be entitled to the same privileges, in point of trade and navigation, with those of Great Britain; that the charge for the payment of the interest of the debt of each kingdom incurred previous to the union, should continue to be a distinct concern, and defrayed by each country separately, but that the future ordinary expenses of the United Kingdom should be defrayed by them jointly, according to proportions, to be established by the Parlia-

ment of each kingdom, as agreed upon previous to the union ; that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts civil and ecclesiastical in each kingdom, should remain as heretofore, subject only to such alterations as might, from circumstances, seem requisite to the united Parliament. The union commenced Jan. 1, 1801. An English expedition effected a landing at the Helder (Aug. 27, 1799), captured the Dutch fleet in the Texel (Aug. 30), and repulsed an attack of the French and Dutch forces (Sept. 10). The duke of York landed with reinforcements, whereupon the army, aided by some Russian troops, resumed the offensive ; but the Russians received a check, and the English retired, although the loss of the enemy in killed and prisoners was considerable (Sept. 19). Reinforcements having arrived from England, the army again advanced, and after a severe struggle the French were repulsed (Oct. 2). The duke of York took up a position at Alkmaar, from which the French, strongly reinforced, in vain attempted to expel him (Oct. 6). His situation being, however, insecure, a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and the English and Russians engaged to evacuate Holland before the end of November. The principal advantage that resulted to Great Britain from this expedition was the capture of the Dutch fleet, an event that almost annihilated the naval power of Holland. A descent was made upon Ferrol (Aug. 25, 1800), which proved a failure.

§ 666. In the autumn of 1800 some advances were made towards peace, but the English government objected to an armistice by sea, and the negotiation was broken off. Peace being restored upon the continent of Europe, the most important point that remained to be settled in its political state related to the maritime confederacy of the northern powers, called the armed neutrality, the direct object of which was to annul the marine code maintained by England, and by which she arrogated a kind of naval dominion. This confederacy occupied the attention of the British ministry, and on the 14th of January, 1801, an embargo was laid on all the ships in British ports, belonging to any of the confederate powers, Prussia excepted, and letters of marque were issued for the seizure of their vessels at sea. A note was at the same time delivered to the Danish and Swedish ambassadors, explaining the reason of this procedure. In the answer returned to these official notes, the courts of Denmark and Sweden expressed a resolution to persevere

in their efforts to liberate neutral commerce, and they retaliated by an embargo on all English shipping in their ports. At the same time the English ministry carried on a negotiation with Prussia, hoping to induce that kingdom to abandon the coalition; but it proved unsuccessful. On the 30th of March the king of Prussia notified to the electoral college of Hanover his intention not only to shut the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, but also to take possession of the states belonging to the king of England in Germany, at the same time demanding the disarming of the Hanoverian troops—a requisition with which the regency of Hanover found it expedient to comply. The Prussian troops then entered the Hanoverian territory, and an embargo was laid on the English shipping. About the same time a body of Danish troops took possession of Hamburg, for the alleged purpose of stopping the British trade of that port. This bold measure on the part of Prussia produced a crisis. An English fleet was sent to the Baltic, under the command of Admiral Parker and Vice-Admiral Nelson. On the 30th of March (1801) it passed the Sound without much opposition, and anchored near the isle of Huen. The whole fleet of Denmark was stationed in the roads of Copenhagen, flanked by very powerful batteries. On this formidable force the attack was committed to Lord Nelson, at his own request. It took place on the 2nd of April, with twelve ships of the line, and all the frigates and smaller vessels of the fleet. The action, which was maintained on both sides with extraordinary bravery, was very sanguinary. Nearly all the Danish ships were destroyed, and the triumph of the English was complete.

§ 667. An armistice was agreed upon. The Russian emperor, Paul, was found dead in his bed (March 23), and one of the first acts of his successor, Alexander, was to liberate all the British sailors belonging to the sequestered ships. A convention was signed at St. Petersburg, by which all disputes were settled (June 17); and Denmark and Sweden acceded to the compact; and thus the armed neutrality was dissolved. While these events were in progress, changes of an extraordinary nature had occurred in the domestic affairs of Great Britain. The first imperial parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was opened by commission (Jan. 22, 1801), and Mr. Addington was re-elected speaker. After an administration of seventeen years, William Pitt resigned, and was

followed by several members of the government (Feb. 16). The objections of the king to make concessions to the Irish Roman Catholics was the cause of this resignation. A long interval ensued before the ministerial arrangements were completed, and at last the Addington cabinet was formed, of which the duke of Portland became lord president (July 30, 1801). George the Third experienced another attack of mental derangement during the spring.

§ 668. A formidable armament was despatched from England, under the command of Admiral Keith and Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in order to expel the French from Egypt. The land forces, to the number of sixteen thousand, effected a landing in Aboukir Bay, in spite of the opposition of the French (March 8). They repulsed a division of the French on the 13th, and defeated the whole army at the battle of Alexandria (March 21), in which Sir Ralph Abercrombie was mortally wounded. He died on the 28th. His death in all respects corresponded with the uniform tenor of his life. He closed a military career which, in America, in Belgium, and in Holland, had been distinguished by consummate skill in command, and the most brilliant exploits. General Hutchinson assumed the command, invested Cairo, and the French garrison surrendered (June 28). While these things were pending in Egypt, an army under the command of General Baird set out from India, by the way of the Red Sea, and was joined by a small force from the Cape of Good Hope. The convention of Cairo not being acceded to by General Menou, the combined British and Turkish armies (Aug. 17) commenced the siege of Alexandria; and the garrison, consisting of ten thousand men, French, Syrians, and Greeks, surrendered on the conditions of the capitulation of Cairo (Sept. 1). Alexandria was defended by three hundred and twelve pieces of cannon, and seventy-seven more were taken on board the ships of war in the harbour. In the magazines were found fourteen thousand one hundred and two cartridges, and one hundred and ninety-five thousand two hundred and eighteen pounds of powder in barrels. Thus terminated the expedition to Egypt, in which the British troops acquired great glory.

§ 669. The naval transactions of 1801 were in every respect glorious to England. Sir James Saumarez with six ships of the line attacked a French squadron, under heavy batteries, in Algesiras Bay, in which the *Hannibal*, a seventy-four-gun ship, grounded, and was left in the hands of the

enemy (July 6). The French, having been reinforced by five Spanish ships, again put to sea (July 12, 1801), and Sir James Saumarez immediately sailed in pursuit. He destroyed three of the enemy's ships, and the others managed to make their escape. Nelson attacked the French flotilla in Boulogne roads (Aug. 4, 15, and 16), but did not meet with his usual success. The invasion of England became once more the favourite theme with the French rulers and military commanders. Encampments were formed on the coasts of France and Flanders; a large fleet of French and Spanish ships of war was collected in the harbour of Brest; and every effort was made to restore the French navy, and equip in different ports a great number of vessels fitted for the purpose of landing men. These menaces were met in England by suitable preparations, and a spirit fully answerable to the danger. A vigorous effort was made at this time by the rulers of France to detach Portugal from Great Britain; and in the month of March the court of Madrid, incited by the French, declared war against Portugal. Accordingly, in May, a Spanish army of forty thousand men entered Portugal, and in a short time reduced all the strong places in the province of Alentejo. Scarcely any resistance was made; and it has therefore been supposed that there was a secret understanding between the two courts. On the 6th of June preliminaries of peace were signed at Badajoz, by which the fortress and district of Olivenza were ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal shut against the English. The French government, not approving of the terms, sent an army into Portugal, and a definitive treaty was concluded at Madrid (Sept. 29). The English ministers were occupied with deliberations on the subject of peace. The dissolution of the northern confederacy, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt, had removed the most powerful obstacles to an accommodation. Preliminaries were signed by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto (Oct. 1); and this was soon followed by treaties between France and the Ottoman Porte, and France and Russia. The definitive treaty was signed at Amiens March 27, 1802.

LETTER 32.—History of the Affairs of France, from the Insurrection of the Sections to the Overthrow of the Directory. A.D. 1795—1800. Vol. iii., pages 391—407.

§ 670. At the time the Directory were appointed, the situation of France was sufficiently discouraging. The pub-

lic treasury was exhausted, anarchy and distress everywhere prevailed; paper-money had destroyed all commerce and all confidence; famine stalked abroad, for every one refused to sell his commodities, because it was only to give them away; and in addition to these distresses, the arsenals were empty. Abroad, the armies were unprovided with waggons, horses, or provisions; the soldiers were destitute of clothes; and the generals frequently in want of that part of their pay which was in cash, amounting to eight francs a day,—a very moderate, but indispensable addition to their pay in assignats. And lastly, the troops, whose wants had rendered them discontented, and impaired their discipline, had again been defeated, and were acting on the defensive. Such was the distressing situation of the country after the fall of the Committee of Public Safety, which during its existence had provided against scarcity, both in the army and in the interior, by means of requisitions and the Maximum. Pichegru and Jourdan, the one at the head of the army of the Rhine, and the other of that of the Sambre and Meuse, were ordered to make themselves masters of Mayence; but the former general intrigued with the emigrants, suffered his army to be beaten, and retired across the Rhine. For the campaign of 1796 fresh arrangements were made, and Pichegru was superseded by Moreau. Meanwhile the Directory met with strong opposition from the royalists and the democrats. The latter had re-established their club at the Pantheon, at which the most violent of the Jacobins assembled. The head of the party was Babœuf, surnamed Gracchus, who aspired to be a tribune of the people. A formidable conspiracy was organized, a secret Directory established, and every preparation made for an insurrection, when the Directory interfered and suppressed the club (Feb. 26, 1796). Nothing daunted, the Jacobins assembled in a place called the "Temple of Reason," and prepared to establish the constitution of 1793. The day before the intended outbreak, Babœuf and the leaders were seized (May 10), and they were afterwards sentenced to death. The rest of the party once more plotted together, and attempted to upset the government, but were seized, and while the chief conspirators were sentenced to death, others were transported or imprisoned (Sept. 7).

§ 671. The elections of 1797 gave the royalists a large majority; and they speedily obtained great influence in the government of the country. Barthélemy, a royalist, was

made a director, and Pichegru was appointed president of the council of the Five Hundred. The emigrants and the banished priests returned in crowds. The Directory grew alarmed, collected troops round Paris, and relying upon the army, executed a *coup d'état*, and arrested the most active and influential of the royalist party. This occurred in the night of the 17th Fructidor (Sept. 3, 1797). The council of the Five Hundred and that of the Ancients were immediately assembled, and a commission was appointed to prepare a law of Public Safety. Many of the royalists were banished, and others were transported to Cayenne. The principal effect of this *coup d'état* was the return of the revolutionary government, a little modified. The two ancient privileged classes were again driven into the background; the refractory priests were a second time exiled. All who had protested against the abolition of the nobility and retained their titles, were ordered to quit the territory of the republic. The old nobles, as well as those recently created, were rendered incapable of exercising the rights of citizens until the expiration of seven years, after having served, as it were, an apprenticeship to the republic. The Directory at this time reached the height of its power. The armies of the republic had been everywhere victorious; and, freed from all intestine opposition, it imposed peace on Austria, by the treaty of Campo Formio, and on the empire by the congress of Rastadt. The coalition was dissolved, and England was the only belligerent power that remained. To pacify the people of the latter country, Lord Malmesbury was sent, in the character of plenipotentiary, first to Paris, and then to Lisle. The negotiations were twice broken off, and the contest between the two powers continued. War was necessary to the existence of the republic. An immense body of soldiers could not be disbanded without danger. This embarrassing state of things led the Directory to undertake the expedition to Egypt, and the invasion of Switzerland.

§ 672. Napoleon had returned to Paris, where he was received with enthusiasm by the populace (Dec. 1797). Honours were granted to him, such as no other general of the republic had ever enjoyed. A patriotic altar was prepared in the Luxembourg, and in his passage to the triumphal ceremony, of which he was the object, he passed under an arch formed of the colours taken in Italy. He was addressed by Barras, president of the Directory, who, after congratulating him on his victories, invited him "to

crown so glorious a life by a conquest which the great nation owed to its outraged dignity." This was nothing less than the conquest of England; and every preparation was apparently made for a descent—whilst the real object was the invasion of Egypt. The Directory, which was desirous of obtaining the neutrality of the Ottoman Porte, that it might attack the English, violated that of Switzerland, that it might expel the emigrants from its territories. Republican principles had penetrated into Geneva and the Pays de Vaud; but the policy of the Swiss confederation was avowedly of a counter-revolutionary cast. They had driven from the cantons all the Swiss who had shown themselves partisans of the French republic. Berne was the headquarters of the emigrants, and there most of the plots against the revolution were hatched. The Directory complained, but received no satisfaction. The Vaudois, placed by ancient treaties under the direction of France, invoked its support against the tyranny of Berne. After some negotiations, which led to nothing, the war commenced. The Swiss defended themselves with great courage and obstinacy, but they were at length compelled to yield (April 12, 1798). Geneva was re-united to France, and Switzerland exchanged its ancient constitution for that of the year three. From that moment two parties existed in the confederation, one of which advocated the cause of France and the revolution, and the other that of Austria and a counter-revolution. Switzerland, from this period, ceased to be a common barrier, and became the high-road of Europe. The revolution of Switzerland was speedily followed by that of Rome, and that state was changed into a republic. All these events tended to complete the system of the Directory, and to give it a preponderance in Europe; it was now at the head of the Helvetian, Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, and Roman republics, all of which were constructed after the same model.

§ 673. A strong majority was soon formed in France, hostile to the Directory. Their arbitrary measures had disgusted the people, and a reaction was the result. In the midst of the discussions, the new coalition, which, owing to the influence of England, had been remodelled, commenced the campaign. Their armies attacked the republic by the three great openings of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. A strong Austrian force debouched in the duchy of Mantua, defeated Scherer twice upon the Adige, and was soon afterwards joined by the victorious Suwarroff (April, 1799).

Moreau succeeded Scherer, and was, like him, defeated : he retreated on the side of Genoa, in order to protect the barrier of the Apennines, and to join the army of Naples commanded by Macdonald, who was also routed at the Trebbia (June 17, 1799). The confederates next directed their principal force against Switzerland. Some Prussian corps joined the archduke Charles, who had defeated Jourdan on the Upper Rhine, and was making preparations for crossing the Helvetian frontier. The duke of York at the same time took the command in Holland of forty thousand English and Russian troops. The small republics which protected France were invaded, and, after some new victories, the confederates were enabled to penetrate into the very seat of the revolution. In the midst of these military disasters, to which was added the discontent of all parties, the elections of May, 1799, took place : they were, like those of the preceding year, republican. The Directory was no longer possessed of sufficient strength to contend against public misfortunes and the animosity of parties. The retirement of Rewbell, who was succeeded by Sièyes, deprived it of the only man who could make head against the storm, and introduced in his stead the most decided opponent of this obnoxious and worn-out government. The moderate party and the ultra-republicans concurred in demanding of the directors an account of the internal and external state of the republic.

§ 674. Suddenly the war changed its aspect upon the two principal frontiers of the higher and lower Rhine. The allies, after having regained Italy, attempted to penetrate into France through Switzerland and Holland ; but their progress was arrested by Generals Massena and Brune. Massena advanced against Korsakoff and Suwarroff, and in a series of grand combinations and consecutive victories, during twelve days, the Russians were repulsed and forced to retreat, and the coalition was thus disorganized (Sept. 1799). The duke of York, in spite of some victories in Holland, was compelled to re-embark, and to renounce his attempt at invasion (Sept. 19—Oct. 6). The army of Italy alone was less successful : Joubert, its general, was killed at the battle of Novi, whilst charging the Austro-Russian army (Aug. 15). But notwithstanding the defeat of Novi, this frontier, which was at a great distance from the centre of events, was not passed, but was skilfully defended by Championnet. The contest amongst the factions was still

waged in Paris. Lucien Buonaparte, who had obtained great influence in the council of the Five Hundred, drew a gloomy picture of the state of affairs. The intelligence which he forwarded to his brother, induced him to quit the army of Egypt. Buonaparte landed suddenly at Fréjus (Oct. 8, 1799), and made a rapid and triumphant progress from the coast of the Mediterranean to Paris. His expedition, which had the appearance of a fabulous story, astonished all France. A victorious general, an acknowledged diplomatist, the founder of republics, he had treated all interests with address, all creeds with moderation. Ever since his victories in Italy, he had entertained thoughts of usurpation. If the Directory had been vanquished by the council (Sept. 4, 1798), he had intended to march against the latter with his army, and seize the protectorate of the republic. Finding, after the 4th of September, that the Directory was too powerful, and the inactive state of the continent too dangerous for him, he accepted the expedition to Egypt, that he might not fall into obscurity and be forgotten. On the news of the disorganization of the Directory on the 18th of June, he repaired with all possible expedition to the seat of action.

§ 675. The generals, the directors, the deputies, and even the most violent republicans, waited upon him, and Buonaparte, after weighing their different offers, closed with that of Sièyes. On the 5th of November they arranged their plan of attack against the constitution of the year three. Sièyes undertook to prepare the councils by the commissions of inspectors, who had an unlimited confidence in him. Buonaparte was to gain over the generals and the troops stationed at Paris, who displayed much enthusiasm and devotion for his person. They agreed to convoke an extraordinary meeting of the most moderate members of the councils; to lay before them a description of the public dangers; and, after exhibiting to them the menacing position of the Jacobins, to demand the removal of the legislative body to St. Cloud, and the appointment of General Buonaparte to the command of the armed force, as the only man who could save the country. They then proposed, by means of the new military power, to effect the disorganization of the Directory, and the momentary dissolution of the legislative body. The morning of the 9th of November was appointed for carrying this enterprise into effect. During the intervening days the secret was

faithfully kept. On the morning of the 9th of November, the members of the Ancients were convoked in an unusual manner by the inspectors; they repaired to the Tuileries, and entered on their session about seven o'clock, under the presidency of Lemer cier. Cornudet, Lebrun, and Fargues, three of the conspirators in the council, presented a most alarming picture of the public situation: they assured it that the Jacobins were coming in crowds from all the departments, that they wished to re-establish the revolutionary government, and that terror would again desolate the republic, if the council had not the courage and the wisdom to prevent its return. Another conspirator, Regnier (de la Meurthe), proposed that the Ancients, who were already giving way, should, by virtue of the power vested in them by the constitution, transfer the seat of the legislative body to St. Cloud, appoint Buonaparte to the command of the 17th military division, and instruct him to superintend the removal. The council granted everything that the conspirators required. On receiving intelligence of this success, Buonaparte marched to the Tuileries, repaired to the bar of the council of the Ancients, took the oath of fidelity, and named Lefebvre, the commander of the Directorial guard, for his lieutenant.

§ 676. This was only the beginning of success. The Directory, however, took the alarm, and dissolved itself. The decree of the council of the Ancients, and the proclamations of Buonaparte, were posted upon the walls of Paris; and great excitement prevailed. On the 10th of November, the members of the council repaired to St. Cloud. The gallery of Mars was prepared for the council of the Ancients; the Orangery for that of the Five Hundred. A considerable armed force surrounded the seat of the legislature, as the mob on the 2nd of June surrounded the Convention. As soon as the session opened, Emile Gaudin, one of the conspirators, ascended the tribune of the Five Hundred, and proposed a vote of thanks to the council of the Ancients for the measures which it had adopted, and that its opinions should be requested as to the means of saving the republic. This motion became the signal of the most violent tumult. The republican deputies besieged the tribune and the chair in which Lucien Buonaparte presided. The conspirators grew pale. After a protracted commotion, order was for a moment restored, and Delbrel proposed that they should renew the oath to the constitution of the year three: no

voice being raised against this motion, which at such a juncture was vital, the oath was taken with a burst of enthusiasm, and a unanimity which endangered the conspiracy. Buonaparte being informed of what was passing in the council of the Five Hundred, and seeing himself in great peril of desertion and defeat, presented himself before the council of the Ancients. Having gained them over, he proceeded to the council of the Five Hundred; but the sight of the troops exasperated the members, and in the confusion Napoleon retired. The council prepared to vindicate its authority, when Lucien concerted measures with his brother for clearing the hall. This was at last effected, and at half-past five o'clock (Nov. 10, 1799) there was no longer a national representation.

LETTER 33.—History of France, from the Overthrow of the Directory to the Peace of Amiens. A.D. 1799—1802. Vol. iii., pages 408—421.

§ 677. During the three months that followed the singular proceedings of the commencement of November, 1799, the French public were in a state of strange suspense. A provisional government was nominated, consisting of three consuls, Buonaparte, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos, with two legislative commissions, who were charged with preparing the constitution, and an order of things which should be definitive. On the 24th of December, the constitution of the year eight was published. The government was placed in the hands of a first consul, supported by two consuls, with a voice in council. The senate, primarily chosen by the consuls, itself now chose from the list of national candidates the members of the tribunate and the legislative body. The government alone had the initiation of laws, and it was soon regularly installed. Napoleon was appointed first consul, with Cambacérès and Le Brun as second and third consuls. The ex-archbishop Talleyrand and Fouché were appointed ministers of foreign affairs and of police. One of the first and most popular measures of Buonaparte, on his elevation to the consular dignity, was a proposal of peace to England, which he made early in 1800 by a letter addressed to George III. He did not, however, offer to abandon any of the conquests of the revolutionary armies, and the offer led to no satisfactory results.

§ 678. Committing the charge of the campaign upon the Rhine to Moreau, the first consul reserved for himself the

task of bringing back victory to the French standards, on the fields in which he won his earliest laurels. His plan of victory again included a passage of the Alps, as boldly and unexpectedly executed as that in 1795 had been, but in a different direction. Switzerland, formerly neutral, and allowing no passage for armies, was now as open to the march of French troops as any of their own provinces, and of this Buonaparte determined to avail himself. He was aware of the Austrian plan of taking Genoa and entering Provence; and he formed the daring resolution of putting himself at the head of the army of reserve, surmounting the line of the Alps, even where they are most difficult of access, and descending into Italy, and thus placing himself in the rear of the Austrian army, interrupting their communications, carrying off their magazines, parks, and hospitals, cooping them up betwixt his own army and that of Massena, which was in their front, and compelling them to battle, in a situation where defeat must be destruction. The strictest secrecy was necessary to insure the success of the plan; and in order to mislead foreign governments, Buonaparte ordered an army of reserve to be assembled at Dijon. On the 6th of May, 1800, the first consul left Paris, and, having reviewed the pretended army of reserve at Dijon on the 7th, arrived on the 8th at Geneva. Here he had an interview with the celebrated financier Necker; but a more interesting conversation with General Marescot, who had been despatched to survey Mont Bernard, and who had, with great difficulty, ascended as far as the convent of the Chartreux. Carnot, the minister at war, visited the first consul at Lausanne, to report to him that about twenty thousand men, detached from Moreau's army, were in the act of descending into Italy by St. Gothard, in order to form the left wing of his army. The whole army, in its various divisions, was now united under the command of Berthier, nominally as general-in-chief, though in reality under the first consul himself. This was in compliance with a regulation of the constitution, which rendered it inconsistent for the first consul to command in person.

§ 679. During the interval between the 15th and 18th of May, all the columns of the French army were put into motion across the Alps. Tureau, at the head of five thousand men, directed his march, by Mount Cenis, on Exilles and Susa. A similar division, commanded by Chabran, took the route of the Little St. Bernard. Buonaparte himself, on

the 15th, at the head of the main body of his army, consisting of thirty thousand men and upwards, marched from Lausanne to the little village called St. Pierre, at which point everything resembling a practicable road ceased. The passage was effected in spite of every obstacle, the artillery being dragged over in the trunks of hollow trees. On the 16th of May the vanguard of the French army took possession of Aosta, a village of Piedmont. Massena, who was closely blockaded in Genoa, surrendered that city (June 5, 1800), but Buonaparte entered Milan (June 2), restored the Cisalpine republic (June 4), and gained possession of several fortresses. The Austrians, though surprised, struggled obstinately for victory, and after several minor actions took their stand before Alessandria. The armies were nearly equal in point of numbers, both in high spirits, eager for the conflict, and confident of victory. Early in the morning (June 14), the Austrian army under Melas crossed the Bormida, and attacked the French. The conflict was sustained with the utmost fury on both sides, and at length the French gave way. The arrival of Dessaix with the reserve somewhat changed the fortune of the day; but that general fell at the head of his troops, and the Austrians continued to advance. A sudden charge by Kellerman, at the head of his cavalry, altered the aspect of affairs. The Austrians, before victorious, were seized with a panic and fled. Kellerman, the real victor on that memorable occasion, never received the just reward of his services, while Napoleon, who had actually been defeated, and was in full retreat, reaped all the glory as well as the benefits of this brilliant victory.

§ 680. In consequence of this defeat, Melas resolved to save the remains of his army, by entering into a convention, or rather capitulation, by which he agreed, on receiving permission to retire behind Mantua, to yield up Genoa, and all the fortified places which the Austrians possessed in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations. The armistice of Alessandria (June 16) would, it was supposed, afford time for the conclusion of a victorious peace with Austria; and Buonaparte extended this truce to the armies on the Rhine, as well as to those in Italy. Two days having been spent in the arrangements which the convention with Melas rendered necessary, Buonaparte returned to Milan, where he again renewed the republican constitution, which had been his original gift to the Cisalpine state (June 17). He executed

several other acts of authority. His presence was eagerly desired at Paris, and he set out from Milan (June 24, 1800), and in his passage through Lyons paused to lay the foundation-stone for rebuilding the Place Bellecour; a splendid square, which had been destroyed by the frantic vengeance of the Jacobins when Lyons was retaken by them from the insurgent party of Girondists and Royalists. The first consul reached Paris on the 2nd of July, and was received by all classes with enthusiasm. The Austrians, vanquished at Marengo, and then defeated in Germany by Moreau, determined to sue for peace. On the 9th of February, 1801, the French republic, the cabinet of Vienna, and the empire concluded the treaty of Luneville. Austria ratified all the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and ceded, in addition, Tuscany to the young duke of Parma. The empire recognized the independence of the Batavian, Helvetian, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics. The pacification now became general by the treaty of Florence, with the king of Naples, on the 28th of March, who ceded the isle of Elba and the principality of Piombino; with Portugal, by the treaty of Madrid, on the 29th of September, 1801; with the emperor of Russia, by the treaty of Paris, signed on the 8th of October; and finally with the Ottoman Porte, by the preliminaries signed with that power on the following day. This pacification upon the continent induced the English government to make peace, which was done by the treaty of Amiens (March 27, 1802).

PART IV.

FROM THE TREATY OF AMIENS IN 1802, TO THE DEATH
OF ALEXANDER, EMPEROR OF RUSSIA, IN 1825.

CHAPTER I.

LETTER I.—European Affairs, from the General Pacification to the Renewal of the War between France and England ; with an Account of the Insurrection in St. Domingo. A.D. 1789—1803. Vol. iv., pages 1—16.

§ 681. The definitive treaty of peace was signed at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802, and thus the war that had desolated Europe for nearly ten years was temporarily suspended. The terms of this treaty were certainly not such as England, everywhere victorious, had a right to expect. But a few months before, Nelson had dissolved the Northern Confederation, which the intrigues of Napoleon had called into existence, with the view of putting an end to our maritime supremacy. The French flag had been almost swept from the ocean, and many of the most valuable colonial possessions of France had been captured by English squadrons. A temporary check in Algeiras Bay had been redeemed by a most glorious naval victory, in which five English ships of the line attacked and defeated a French and Spanish squadron, consisting of nine line-of-battle ships. Nor were naval triumphs the only ones of which England had reason to be proud. Our troops had encountered the victorious soldiers of the Revolution, and had defeated them under the most unfavourable circumstances. An expedition, commanded at first by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and, after his glorious death at the battle of Alexandria, by General

Hutchinson, who was eventually joined by Sir David Baird, with reinforcements from our Indian empire, had defeated the French in several actions, and compelled them to abandon their conquests in that part of the world—conquests which had been gained with great difficulty, and the relinquishment of which involved the most bitter sacrifices. With the mighty exertions necessary for such great achievements, the energies and the resources of the nation increased. We commenced the war with one hundred and fifty-three sail of the line, and one hundred and thirty-three frigates; at its close our fleet consisted of two hundred and two sail of the line, and two hundred and seventy-seven frigates, manned by one hundred and twenty thousand men. Our army, including the militia, the volunteers, and the troops in our colonies, amounted, at the signature of the treaty of Amiens, to nearly five hundred thousand men, whilst, nine years before, we could scarcely muster one-fourth of that number. Yet with these advantages, both of victory and position, at the peace of Amiens we restored to France all her conquered colonies expecting Ceylon and Trinidad, and allowed her to retain the greater portion of the territories she had seized upon in Europe. The chief objection that may be urged against this celebrated treaty is, that it left Napoleon virtual master of the continent. Spain, Holland, Portugal, Italy, and some parts of Germany, were in fact little better than distant provinces of France. In accepting these very lenient conditions, England at least proved to the world that she was anxious for a general pacification, and willing to make great concessions in order to bring about so desirable a result. Her moderation in 1802 retarded her final triumph, and entailed upon her many sacrifices; yet it served to unmask Napoleon.

§ 682. The island of St. Domingo, one of the largest and richest of the West-India group, had profited by the anarchy prevailing in France to throw off its allegiance. A short summary of events here becomes necessary. At the outbreak of the revolution of 1789, the island of St. Domingo was held by the French and Spaniards; the former possessing the most valuable, and the latter by far the larger portion of the country. In the first days of the revolution the propagandists flocked in great numbers into the island. A society had been formed in Paris called the *Amis des Noirs*, the principal object of which was the emancipation of the slaves. Invited by the National

Assembly to appoint deliberative assemblies, the colonists elected deputies, and the mulattoes and blacks determined to strike a blow for freedom. The National Assembly, by decree, conferred freedom upon all persons of colour born of free parents (May 15, 1791); and in the very same year the black population rose in arms (September). Three delegates were sent out by the Convention (Nov. 1791), but they only made matters worse; and the slaves, under the command of Toussaint L'Ouverture, were eventually successful. A constitution was framed (1801), and Toussaint appointed governor, with the right of naming his successor. The news of the elevation of Toussaint to the supreme authority reached Napoleon whilst the negotiations for peace were in progress. The first consul determined upon striking a blow as quickly as possible, and the preparations for a naval expedition to recover St. Domingo were pushed forward with great haste. The armament was so extensive in its character that it excited considerable apprehension in England, and became the subject of discussion in the legislature. Some idea of the scale on which the expedition was framed, may be judged from the fact, that 21,000 soldiers, under the command of General Le Clerc, were assembled on board the ships, and that considerable reinforcements were afterwards despatched. These levies reached their destination in the spring of 1802.

§ 683. As Toussaint was not inclined to submit to the authority of the first consul, a sanguinary war ensued, in which the French troops suffered terribly. Toussaint was, however, owing to the defection of his officers, and the solemn promises of friendship and good-will of the French general, induced to submit. His adhesion was joyfully received, and he was permitted to retire to an estate of his own in the interior of the island. It was not long before a pretext was found for the arrest of the indefatigable hero, who had so valiantly maintained the independence of his country. He was speedily transported to Europe, and died in the dungeons of the prison of Besançon, to which place he had been conveyed soon after his arrival in France. In his exile at St. Helena, Napoleon indignantly denied the charge brought against him, of having caused the unfortunate hero of the slaves to be privately assassinated. Yet the circumstances of the case are most suspicious. Several eminent men about this period disappeared in a very extraordinary manner; most of them were the opponents of Napoleon, and at the

time of their sudden disappearance were incarcerated in the state prisons of France. The French no sooner obtained possession of St. Domingo than they violated the solemn promises by which they had induced the negro chiefs to submit to their authority. The re-establishment of slavery in a neighbouring colony showed the inhabitants of St. Domingo what they had to expect from their conquerors. The consequence was, that in the autumn of 1802 another insurrection broke out, which ended in the triumph of the negroes. The ravages of yellow fever were added to the horrors of war, and Le Clerc and some of his ablest officers fell victims to the fatal malady. When war was renewed between France and England, the latter supplied the negro forces with arms and ammunition, and thus secured the ejection of the French.

§ 684. Buonaparte's great aim was to render himself sole master of France, and his intrigues were crowned with success. In 1799 he had been appointed first consul for ten years; and on the 6th of May, 1802, a *senatûs-consultum* appeared, conferring the honour for an additional ten years. This was not, however, sufficient, and by the aid of his creatures a *senatûs-consultum* was obtained, decreeing: "I. The French people do appoint, and the Senate do proclaim, Napoleon Buonaparte first consul for life. II. A statue of Peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the Senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation. III. The Senate shall convey to the first consul the expression of the confidence, the love, and the admiration of the French people." In compliment to Napoleon, the *senatûs-consultum* was ordered to be proclaimed throughout France on the 15th of August, the first consul's birthday. A new constitution was proclaimed on the 5th of August. Whilst the privileges of the tribunate and of the legislative body were restrained, the powers of the first consul were extended. The right of naming the second and third consuls, as well as that of appointing a successor to his own office, and the prerogative of pardon, were conferred upon him.

§ 685. Foremost among the measures adopted by Buonaparte, in order to consolidate his power, was the concordat with the Pope, by which the Catholic religion was re-established in France. The negotiations by which this satisfactory change was effected, extended over a considerable period. The documents treating upon this subject show that Napo-

leon did not intend to barter away the advantages of power for the mere favour or friendship of the successor of St. Peter. He retained the right of nominating the archbishops and bishops, and required from those prelates an oath of fidelity to the French republic. The independence of the Gallican church was fully secured. About the same time a law, consisting of forty-four articles, provided for the organization of the Protestant churches. These measures encountered some opposition in the legislature, but were at length adopted by large majorities. The concordat, which was the most important, was publicly proclaimed in April, 1802, and was celebrated by a grand religious ceremony on the 18th of the same month. On this occasion, Napoleon sat upon the throne formerly used by the kings of France. An illumination followed in the evening, and the return of the French people to the fold of the Church caused general satisfaction both at home and abroad. Another measure by which Napoleon paved the way for the re-establishment of the throne and the restoration of titles, was the institution of the Legion of Honour. The proposal met with considerable opposition in the legislature, especially from those who held republican principles. But the first consul triumphed over every obstacle, and in spite of opposition carried his scheme. A *senatûs-consultum* was published on the 29th of April, 1802, proclaiming a general amnesty to the emigrants. Nearly a hundred thousand of these unfortunate people returned to France, and as many of them had lost everything in the revolution, they were in a most lamentable condition. They eagerly availed themselves of the permission to return to the land of their birth, and some were fortunate enough to recover certain portions of their property. It was at this period that Napoleon undertook the formation of the code that bears his name. This, the most celebrated of his various undertakings, was the work of several distinguished men.

§ 686. In accordance with the fifth article of the treaty of Luneville, and a secret stipulation with the count of Spain, the prince of Parma received the territories of the grand duchy of Tuscany, under the title of king of Etruria. The eleventh article of the treaty of Luneville guaranteed the independence of the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics, maintaining the right of the people to adopt what form of government they pleased. Buonaparte put a construction upon this article, little anti-

cipated by the other parties to the treaty. Holland had gradually forfeited its independence, and become nothing more than a province of France. The first consul presented this country with a constitution so little suited to the wishes and requirements of its inhabitants, that the Dutch legislature rejected it (1801); whereupon Napoleon dissolved the Dutch chambers, and pretended to appeal from the legislature to the people. A large majority refused to vote; but their silence was construed into consent, and the new constitution was said to be established. The next republic operated upon was the Cisalpine. Through the influence of the French authorities, a decree was passed (November, 1801), directing that an extraordinary Consulta should be formed, the members of which were ordered to assemble at Lyons. To this city M. Talleyrand and others repaired, in order to make preparations for the reception of the first consul. On the 11th of January, 1802, Napoleon, accompanied by Josephine, and attended by a brilliant train, made his entry into the city. The committee of thirty, to which the formation of a constitution for the Cisalpine republic had been intrusted, presented their report on the 25th of January. It was to the effect that the French troops should remain in Italy, and Napoleon still wield the supremacy. The report having been unanimously adopted by the Consulta, was presented to the first consul on the 26th of January. To all the proposals he yielded a ready assent. By general acclamation the title of the Italian republic was substituted for that of the Cisalpine. A constitution was immediately drawn up, which destroyed the last vestige of Italian liberty; and having thus sealed the humiliation of these states, Napoleon set out for Paris, and on his arrival (Jan. 30, 1802), a medal was struck in commemoration of these events.

§ 687. The first consul's unjustifiable attack upon the Helvetian republic next claims notice. The French revolution had profoundly agitated Switzerland, and on attaining the supreme authority in France, Buonaparte sent agents into that country to fan the flames of discontent. In 1802 he found a pretext for a more direct interference than any before attempted. The country was overrun with French troops, and the Swiss were treated with one of those mockeries called constitutions. The Swiss addressed an energetic remonstrance to the English ambassador at Paris, and the English ministers immediately protested against the in-

fraction of the treaty of Luneville, which guaranteed the independence of the Helvetic republic. Napoleon, however, persevered; a constitution was drawn up (1803), and Switzerland reduced to bondage to France. The extensive changes made by the treaty of Luneville rendered the settlement of the indemnities for the dispossessed princes a matter of some difficulty. A congress was held at Ratisbon, at which the contracting parties were several times on the eve of commencing hostilities. The conferences opened on the 18th of August (1802), and were brought to a termination in the spring of 1803. Although the powers chiefly interested managed to arrange their differences, the seeds of future dissensions and wars were sown at these memorable conferences. A new constitution was prepared for the Ligurian republic; a formal decree was issued annexing Piedmont to France (Sept. 11, 1802), and by a similar instrument issued at Parma (Oct. 23), the states of Parma, Placentia, and Guastella were declared to belong and remain to the French republic.

§ 688. These aggressions, in direct violation of the terms of the treaties of Luneville and Amiens, created a profound sensation in England, which some demands addressed by Napoleon to the British government tended to increase. Amongst other things the first consul requested that the press, which freely criticised his actions, should be restrained, that certain emigrants should be expelled from England, and the princes of the house of Bourbon required to repair to Warsaw (Aug. 17, 1802). Lord Hawkesbury showed at some length that it was impossible for the English government to interfere in these matters (Aug. 28). A prosecution was soon after instituted by the attorney-general against Peltier, one of the individuals most obnoxious to Napoleon, and a conviction was obtained. Although little more was said upon the subject, Napoleon continued to regard the freedom of the English press with aversion, as the admissions contained in many of the private memoirs of his most devoted followers fully show. Other points of contention soon arose. By the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, England engaged to evacuate Malta. But as Napoleon was increasing his power in every direction, the English ministers could not be expected to fulfil their part of the conditions of the treaty; and although they had actually commenced the evacuation of Malta, as well as of Alexandria and the Cape of Good Hope, they suddenly issued counter-orders.

On the 30th of January, 1803, a report had been published by Colonel Sebastiani, under the authority of the French government, which contained many allusions calculated to increase the ill-feeling between the two countries; and amongst others the following:—"Six thousand French would at present be enough to conquer Egypt." The English government naturally enough remonstrated forcibly upon this subject. In an interview with Lord Whitworth, Napoleon conducted himself in a most violent manner (Feb. 20); and matters rapidly came to a crisis. The preparations in the ports of Holland and France induced England to arm. The militia was called out (March 10), and Napoleon insulted our ambassador, Lord Whitworth, at a public court held in the Tuileries (March 13). Negotiations were carried on for some time, and several proposals for a settlement of the dispute made by England. The first consul would not abandon his aggressive policy. Lord Whitworth left Paris (May 6), and after a false and insecure truce of little more than twelve months' duration, war broke out afresh.

LETTER 2.—History of Europe continued, from the Recommencement of Hostilities to the Attack upon the Boulogne Flotilla. A.D. 1803—1804. Vol. iv., pages 16—26.

§ 689. The English ministry received every support at this critical juncture, and as Napoleon's real objects were better understood, the opposition to the war declined. France continued her armaments and preparations. Admiral Linois was despatched from the port of Brest for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, having on board six thousand troops, destined to strengthen the French colonies in the East, and also to reinforce the Dutch garrison at the Cape of Good Hope. Orders were issued by the French government to increase the armies of the republic to four hundred and eighty thousand men. The army of Italy was greatly augmented; reinforcements had also been ordered into Holland, and a powerful army was collected on the frontiers of Hanover. The French general Mortier, from his head-quarters, summoned the electorate to surrender (May 25); the Hanoverian army made dispositions for a brave resistance, though it proved ineffectual against so overwhelming a force, and the French troops took possession of the whole of the electorate. By this manœuvre they were enabled to control the navigation of the Elbe and Weser,

and to levy contributions, under the shape of loans, on the rich Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen. Buonaparte ordered the arrest of all the English between the ages of eighteen and sixty, in France, detaining them as hostages for those French citizens who might have been made prisoners by British ships before the declaration of war was issued. They had previously received an assurance that they should enjoy the protection of the French government as completely after as before the departure of the British ambassador, and were relying implicitly on the credit of those assurances, when they found themselves doomed to an indefinite captivity, because the British government refused to include them in any exchanges that were made between the two countries of prisoners of war.

§ 690. In the summer of 1803 a formidable insurrection broke out in Ireland. Emmett was one of the principal conspirators. His plan was to establish a republic. An armed mob endeavoured to obtain possession of the castle of Dublin (July 23), and after having murdered Lord Kilwarden, and committed other excesses, were dispersed by the troops, and the insurrection was completely extinguished. Several of the ringleaders were tried for high treason by a special commission and sentenced to death. The Addington government was dissolved in 1804. Pitt was once more invited to form an administration (May 7), and on the resignation of Mr. Addington (May 12), was named as his successor. Many of the former ministers retained office; and George Canning became treasurer of the Navy. In consequence of the seizure of Hanover by the French armies, and the interruption of the British commerce on the Elbe and Weser, a squadron of British ships was appointed to blockade the mouths of those rivers. The French government having compelled the Batavian and Italian republics to become parties in the war, imposed on them the full share of its burdens. The French drew pecuniary assistance from Spain and Portugal in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with England whether they should not be considered as involved in acts of direct hostility. The supplies of the French treasury also had been augmented by the sale of Louisiana to the United States for three millions of dollars.

§ 691. In the month of February, 1804, a plot was detected at Paris, the object of which was the subversion of the consular government. The principal persons accused

were General Pichegru, Georges, a Chouan leader, and Lajolais his confidant. Moreau was implicated in the conspiracy. On the testimony of an agent of the parties, who had been apprehended near Calais, Moreau and Lajolais were arrested. Pichegru and Georges for a while eluded the vigilance of the police, but were afterwards discovered and committed to prison. The city of Paris was declared to be in a state of siege. Pichegru died under rather suspicious circumstances in prison. Georges, Polignac, Rivière, Coster, and sixteen others, were found guilty of having conspired against the life of the chief magistrate of the French nation, and condemned to death. About ten of them were executed. Rivière was pardoned at the suit of Murat; Moreau was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, which was afterwards commuted into banishment to the United States. In violation of the law of nations, the duke d'Enghien, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, was seized in the castle of Ettenheim, in the grand duchy of Baden (March 15), and conveyed first to Strasburg and then to the Temple. Thence he was removed to Vincennes, and barbarously shot. While these events were in progress, Buonaparte exerted himself in every possible way in order to obtain the imperial dignity. His agents laboured zealously, and the tribunate, the legislative body, and the senate, all under the direction of Napoleon, voted for the empire, which was proclaimed at St. Cloud (May 18, 1804). On the same day a *senatus-consultum* modified the constitution. All publicity was destroyed; the liberty of the press had been already subjected to a censorship; there remained only one tribune open to spectators, and this was abolished. Joseph and Louis Buonaparte were recognized French princes. Eighteen of his favourite officers were nominated marshals of the empire. That nothing might be wanting to finish off this piece of pageantry, application was made to Pope Pius VII. to take a journey to Paris, for the purpose of placing the crown upon the head of Napoleon.

§ 692. The coronation took place on Sunday, December 2nd, in the church of Notre Dame. The emperor went to the metropolitan church, escorted by his guard. Marshal Kellermann carried the crown, the Marshal Perignon the sceptre of Charlemagne. The Empress Josephine, in a carriage surmounted by a crown, and drawn by eight white horses, formed part of the procession. The pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, and all the high

officers of the state, awaited him in the cathedral, which had been magnificently ornamented for this extraordinary occasion. He was harangued at the gate; and then, clothed in the imperial mantle, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he ascended the throne, which was raised at the bottom of the church. The grand almoner, a cardinal, and a bishop, came to conduct him to the foot of the altar, to be there consecrated. The pope, having anointed him, pronounced a prayer, and led him back with great solemnity to the throne, when he took the oath prescribed by the new constitution. Festivities and rejoicings followed. The murder of the duke d'Enghien, who, at the time of his arrest, was living peaceably on neutral territory, excited general indignation, and induced the emperor of Russia to break off friendly relations with France. By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded in 1796, Spain had covenanted to furnish a stated contingent of naval and military force, for the prosecution of any war in which France might think proper to engage. For prudential reasons, Great Britain abstained from exercising the right which she possessed of compelling Spain to renounce this treaty. Acting directly under the influence of Buonaparte, the Spanish rulers not only furnished him with funds, but prepared considerable armaments in her ports. The English government remonstrated, and sent a squadron to the coast of Spain. As this did not produce the desired effect, orders were issued for the capture of all Spanish ships of war. Three frigates were taken, and another destroyed off Cadiz (Oct. 5, 1804). Negotiations were carried on for some time, but without effect, and war was eventually declared by Spain (Dec. 12). Buonaparte exerted himself strenuously in order to strengthen his navy, and having induced the Ligurian republic to place its harbours, dockyards, and arsenals at his disposal, he took possession of Genoa, and began fitting out a squadron in its harbour.

§ 693. The threat of invasion was kept up against England during the whole of the year 1804, and to counteract it, several operations were at different times undertaken against the enemy's armaments on the coasts of France and Holland, but they were seldom crowned with success. The gallant Sir Sidney Smith, in the *Antelope* frigate, with some sloops of war, attempted to prevent the junction of the flotilla which lay in the harbour of Flushing with that of Ostend (May 16). His failure was

attributed to the want of gun-boats. Fifty-nine sail of the Flushing division reached their destination in safety; and the English force were obliged to haul off into deep water, with the loss of about fifty men killed and wounded. In July several attacks were made on the flotilla anchored in the roads of Boulogne, but with little success; and others made about the same period at Havre also failed. In the beginning of October, so great a proportion of the enemy's flotilla had collected at Boulogne, that the alarm of invasion became universal throughout England; and ministers were induced to sanction a project for destroying the whole armament by means of copper vessels of an oblong form filled with combustibles, and so constructed as to explode by clock-work in a given time. These vessels, which obtained the name of Catamarans, were to be towed and fastened under the bottoms of the enemy's gun-boats by a man in a small raft, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly elude detection in a dark night. Fire-ships of various constructions were to co-operate in the attack. On the 2nd of October, Lord Keith anchored off the harbour, and the requisite preparations were made for commencing the attack at night. At a quarter past nine, the first detachment of the fire-ships was launched. The vessels of the flotilla opened a passage for them as they approached, and so completely avoided them, that they passed into the rear of the line without doing any damage. At half-past ten the first explosion-ship blew up, producing an immense column of fire, but no mischief either to the ships or the batteries. A second, and a third, and a fourth, succeeded no better; and at length, when twelve had been exploded, the engagement ceased, and the English smaller vessels drew off without the loss of a man. Thus terminated, to the confusion of the projectors, and the disappointment of the public, an expedition prepared at a greater expense than the merits of the plan, on mature examination, might have warranted.

LETTER 3.—The History of Europe continued, from the Return of William Pitt to Office till his Death. A.D. 1804—1806. Vol. iv., pages 27—37.

§ 694. On resuming office for the last time (May 12, 1804), William Pitt felt the necessity of strengthening his administration, and after various overtures, formed an alliance with his predecessor, Mr. Addington, who was

created Lord Sidmouth (Jan. 11, 1805). New taxes were levied, a loan was raised, and great exertions were made for carrying on the war vigorously. During the session, Lord Melville, first lord of the Admiralty, was charged with having improperly applied the public money while treasurer of the Navy, between the years 1786—1800 (April 6). The accused was heard at the bar of the House of Commons (June 11); and was afterwards impeached. His trial did not take place till the following year (April 29, 1806), when the evidence and arguments having closed (May 17), a verdict of "not guilty" was returned (June 12). Sir Charles Middleton succeeded to the Admiralty, and was created Lord Barham. The public events of the year 1805, both political and military, were of the most important character. Buonaparte having moulded the neighbouring states into republics, wished to constitute them on the model of the empire. An order in council of the Cisalpine republic decided that hereditary monarchy should be re-established in his favour, and its vice-president, M. Melzy, required to Paris to offer the crown to Napoleon (March 17). The emperor went to take possession of this realm, received the iron crown of the Lombards (May 26), and nominated Eugène Beauharnais, his adopted son, viceroy of Italy. Genoa was also induced to abandon itself to his sovereignty. Its territory was reunited to the empire, and formed the three departments of Genoa, of Montenotte, and of the Appenines (June 4). The small republic of Lucca was also comprised in this monarchic revolution. Upon the demand of its chief magistrate, it was bestowed as an appendage on the prince and princess of Piombino, one of the sisters of Napoleon. He himself, after his royal progress, repassed the Alps, and returned to the capital of his empire (Aug. 12), from which he shortly after set out for the camp of Boulogne, where he was preparing a maritime expedition against England.

§ 695. A flotilla of two thousand small vessels, manned by sixteen thousand sailors, capable of carrying an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men, nine thousand horse, and a numerous artillery, was assembled in the ports opposite England. Squadrons of French ships were hazarded out at sea, in order to divide the British naval force; while greater enterprises were projected by the junction of the Spanish and French fleets. The preparations in England to resist the invasion were of the most

formidable character. The southern coast was fortified on the most exposed parts by a range of Martello towers, and every effort was made for increasing the forces by sea and land. Intelligence of a new coalition, the third organized by England, and the advance of the Austrians, produced an entire change in Napoleon's plans. He returned to Paris, obtained a levy of eighty thousand men, and set out for the Rhine (Sept. 24). The Austrian general, Mack, was surrounded at Ulm, and he surrendered with about thirty thousand men (Oct. 20). The French advanced upon Vienna, which city they entered almost without opposition (Nov. 13). The Austrian army, having effected a junction with the Russians, was attacked and defeated by the French in the plain of Austerlitz, between Vienna and Olmütz (Dec. 2). The rival forces were nearly equal in numbers, but the French army was composed for the most part of veterans, which gave Buonaparte a great advantage. By an armistice (Dec. 4), it was agreed that the French army should remain in possession of all its conquests till the conclusion of a definitive peace, or till the rupture of the negotiations; in the latter case, hostilities were not to recommence till fourteen days after notice formally given. The emperor of Russia refused to become a party to this accommodation, and commenced his retreat (Dec. 6).

§ 696. While these events were in progress in Germany, the Austrians had also been defeated in Italy, and were thus completely discouraged. The peace of Presburg followed the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz (Dec. 26). Austria ceded the provinces of Dalmatia and Albania to the kingdom of Italy; the district of Tyrol, the town of Augsburg, the principality of Eichstadt, a part of the territory of Passau, and all its possessions in Swabia, Brisgau, and Ortenau, to the electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which were transformed into kingdoms. The grand duchy of Baden was also enriched by its spoils. The treaty of Presburg completed the humiliation of Austria—an abasement begun by the treaty of Campo-Formio, and continued by that of Luneville. Napoleon was highly elated by these events; but the news of the glorious naval victory of Trafalgar caused him grave apprehension. Early in 1805, the French fleet had put to sea, and effected a junction with the Spanish squadron. The united fleets sailed for the West Indies, and Nelson, who, at the time of their departure, was in the Mediterranean, immediately went in pursuit.

Unfortunately he did not catch them, but he ordered Sir Robert Calder to be on the look out, and that officer fell in with them off Ferrol. Although he had but fifteen ships, while his opponents mustered twenty sail of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, this gallant officer determined upon giving action (July 22, 1805). Owing to a thick fog, the engagement was partial, and the French and Spaniards managed to get off with the loss of two ships.

§ 697. Great dissatisfaction was expressed in England at the escape of the enemy, and Sir R. Calder demanded a court-martial. Lord Nelson, on his return from the West Indies, proceeded to London, and was at once placed in command of a fleet of sufficient force to cope with the enemy. After several manœuvres, he enticed the French and Spaniards to sea. Their force amounted to thirty-two sail of the line, seven frigates, and eight corvettes; while Nelson could only muster twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates. On the morning of Monday, October 21st, about daybreak, Cape Trafalgar bearing east by south, the combined fleets were discovered six or seven miles to the eastward. Nelson, delighted at having at length found the enemy, of which he had been so long in search, gave orders for the engagement, and hoisted his celebrated signal: "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY." Admiral Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, commenced the action about noon. The conflict was tremendous, but the impetuosity of the English seamen overcame all obstacles, and victory crowned their efforts. Nineteen ships of the line were captured, with the French admiral, Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals. Yet this triumph was dearly purchased. In the middle of the action Lord Nelson was wounded in the left breast, and the surgeons at once pronounced the wound to be mortal. On being told that the British flag was triumphant, and that fifteen sail of the line had struck, Nelson appeared much consoled. A few moments before his death, he said to Captain Hardy, "I could have wished to live to enjoy this day; but God's will be done." "My lord," replied the captain, "you die in the midst of triumph!" Nelson replied, "God be praised!" and almost instantly expired. Thus fell the hero of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and of Trafalgar, after a victory which utterly blasted the hopes of Napoleon for the subjugation and ruin of England. His contemporaries mourned his loss; posterity revere his talents and courage; the pages of history will

record his fame and immortalize his name, while his example will long be held up for the imitation of future commanders. The mortal remains of the British admiral were conveyed to England, and interred with the highest public honours.

§ 698. On the death of Nelson, Admiral Collingwood succeeded to the command, and by his humane efforts saved the lives of many of the wounded. This gallant officer was raised to the peerage, and a liberal subscription was set on foot for the relief of those who had suffered in the cause of their country. After the return of Mr. Pitt to office, scarcely anything had occurred, the great victory of Trafalgar excepted, but disaster and disappointment. The total failure of the continental coalition greatly augmented the gloom and disquietude which had begun to prevail in England, in consequence of the alarming illness of Mr. Pitt. At the close of the former session of Parliament, this distinguished statesman had been compelled, by the decline of a constitution originally delicate, to relinquish all active share in public business, and retire to Bath; from which place he returned in the commencement of the year (1806), in a state of debility and exhaustion, no doubt augmented by anxiety and disappointment. It has been supposed, that the fatal intelligence of the battle of Austerlitz produced an agitation of spirits which powerfully increased his disorder. He breathed his last at his villa, at Putney (Jan. 23, 1806), in the forty-seventh year of his age, having directed the affairs of his country for a longer period than any other minister. Under his auspices the maritime supremacy of England was confirmed by a series of most splendid victories; her colonial acquisitions were greatly extended; but her public burdens were also enormously augmented. Disinterestedness in regard to pecuniary matters was one of his distinguishing characteristics. After an administration of two-and-twenty years he was so far from having enriched himself, that he left behind him very considerable debts, which he was unable to liquidate. Whatever errors his opponents might discover, or fancy they discovered, in his political views, he was certainly a great man. As a statesman, his name will be celebrated in the annals of Europe, and his conduct will long be the theme of both censure and applause. His country showed its respect for his memory by taking on itself the payment of his debts; and an address to the king was presented by Parliament, praying his majesty to direct that the remains of the minister should be interred at the public

expense, and that a monument should be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

LETTER 4.—History of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Presburg to that of Tilsit. A.D. 1805—1807. Vol. iv., pages 38—56.

§ 699. The events which had taken place on the continent of Europe during the campaign of 1805 tended to strengthen the system which Napoleon had adopted. The victory of Marengo and the peace of Luneville had given a sanction to the *consular* government: the victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Presburg consolidated the *empire*—the last remains of the Revolution were now abandoned. On the 1st of January, 1806, the republican calendar, after an existence of fourteen years, was definitively replaced by the common one. But the efforts of Napoleon were primarily directed to extend his sway over the continent of Europe. Ferdinand, the king of Naples, having in his late war violated the treaty of peace with France, his states were invaded, and Joseph Buonaparte was declared king of the Two Sicilies (March 30, 1806). Shortly after, Holland, or the United Provinces, was changed into a kingdom, and received for its monarch Louis Buonaparte, another brother of the emperor (June 5, 1806). None of the republics, created by the Convention or the Directory existed. Napoleon, who nominated the secondary kings, re-established the hierarchical military *régime*, adopting the exploded titles of the middle ages. He constituted Dalmatia, Istria, Friuli, Codore, Belluno, &c. &c., duchies, or grand fiefs of the empire. Berthier was invested with the principality of Neufchâtel, Talleyrand with that of Benevento, the Prince Borghese and his wife with that of Guastalla, Murat with the grand duchy of Cleves and Berg. Napoleon, who had not dared to destroy the Swiss republic, now declared himself its *mediator*; and he finished the organization of his military empire by making the Germanic body dependent on himself. On the 12th of July, 1806, fourteen princes on the south and west of Germany were united in the “Confederation of the Rhine,” and Buonaparte was recognized as their protector. On the 1st of August, they notified to the diet of Ratisbon their separation from the Germanic body; the German empire itself ceased to exist, and Francis II. abdicating the title, now adopted that of “EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.” On the death of William Pitt, Lord Grenville became prime minister, with Charles Fox as foreign secretary (Feb. 5). This was called

the ministry of "All the Talents." The policy of the government was not, however, changed. Prussia, long vacillating, now openly opposed England. On the 30th of January, 1806, his Prussian majesty issued a proclamation, in which he signified his intention of taking possession of Hanover, agreeably to a convention entered into with the emperor of France. This was followed by a second proclamation (March 28), ordering the Prussian ports to be shut against the ships and commerce of Great Britain. In consequence of these hostile proceedings, Mr. Fox adopted measures of just retaliation, by issuing orders for the blockade of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, and for the capture of Prussian vessels, of which official notice was given to the ministers of neutral powers (April 16).

§ 700. During this session the very important measure for the abolition of the slave-trade was carried. Mr. Granville Sharp was the first individual in England who stood forward as the advocate of the Africans: and with him the movements for the abolition of the traffic in human flesh originated. From the year 1765 to 1772, he laboured by all possible means to enlighten the public on the subject, and draw their attention to this horrible traffic. Mr. Clarkson, a gentleman of spirit and talents, undertook the tedious and irksome task of instituting inquiries and collecting evidence on the subject. The magnitude of the evil only required to be known to render it generally detested; and from this period the society found numerous coadjutors. Men in all ranks, and of all religious denominations, united to attempt the removal of this national disgrace. The first public notice that was taken of the subject was in the year 1788, when Mr. Wilberforce communicated to Parliament his intention of bringing forward a measure respecting the slave-trade; and from that period to the death of Mr. Pitt, the subject was from time to time debated in Parliament, with different success. It, however, gradually gained ground; and on the 20th of February, 1805, the bill for the abolition was lost in the House of Commons by a majority of only seven. On the 11th of June, 1806, Mr. Fox had the honour to carry a resolution in the House of Commons for the entire abolition of the slave-trade. It was couched in the following terms:—"That this house, conceiving the African slave-trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practical expedition, take effectual

measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such period, as may be deemed most desirable." The bill met with only a feeble opposition. It was strenuously supported by Mr. Wilberforce and all the members of the administration, and carried by a majority of one hundred and fourteen votes, against only fifteen dissenting voices. The abolition of African slavery forms a glorious event in the reign of George III.

§ 701. A French army, under the command of Jerome Buonaparte, took possession of Naples (Feb. 15, 1806). Joseph was proclaimed king (March 30); but the arrival of Sir Sidney Smith with an English fleet, early in April, changed the aspect of affairs, and, after several skirmishes, the French were defeated and expelled. Sir Home Popham captured Buenos Ayres (June 27), with a large amount of public treasure. Later in the year, the Spaniards succeeded in recovering the place. Admiral Duckworth defeated a French squadron of five sail of the line, off St. Domingo (Feb. 6). The English force was superior in point of numbers; and three of the French ships were captured and two destroyed. Sir John Warren captured the French admiral Linois (March 13), with a small squadron, in the East Indies, and Sir S. Hood intercepted a large convoy from Rochefort, and took four frigates carrying troops to the West Indies (Sept. 25). The prostration of the continental rulers to Buonaparte was at this period complete. Negotiations for peace were carried on between Fox and Talleyrand, and at one time with some prospect of success. The illness and death of Fox, however, produced an unfavourable change in these negotiations. Lord Lauderdale was sent to Paris to assist Lord Yarmouth, who had been for some months engaged in the business; but it all fell to the ground. Charles Fox died of dropsy, in the fifty-ninth year of his age (Sept. 13, 1806); and thus, in the midst of tumultuous wars and of uncertain negotiations, Great Britain was called to mourn the loss of a patriot and a statesman, who has had few equals. For his own glory he had lived sufficiently long; but his existence was too short for the good of his country.

§ 702. On the death of this lamented statesman, some new arrangements became necessary among the members of the administration. Mr. Grey (Lord Howick) succeeded Mr. Fox in the office of secretary of state for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Thomas Grenville succeeded the former as first

lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Tierney became president of the Board of Control. Lord Sidmouth was president of the Council in the room of Earl Fitzwilliam, who retired in ill health; and the vacant office of Privy-seal was assigned to Lord Holland. These changes were followed by a dissolution of Parliament; but this appeal to the people procured for ministers no great accession of strength in the House of Commons. The offer made by Buonaparte, during his negotiations with the English government, to restore Hanover to England, which electorate he had promised to Prussia, led to a rupture between the courts of Berlin and Paris. As long as anything was to be gained by supporting Buonaparte, the king of Prussia remained one of the most obsequious of his slaves; but the moment this wily monarch found himself neglected, he prepared to join the coalition against him. Differences with England were settled; and warlike preparations made. On the 1st of October, 1806, the Prussian ambassador presented in due form the demands of his sovereign:—1st, that the French armies without delay repossess the Rhine; 2nd, the establishment of the northern Germanic confederation; 3rd, the separation of certain places from the Confederation of the Rhine. To these requisitions the emperor of France did not deign to reply, but advanced at the head of his troops with rapid steps, and approached the frontier of Upper Saxony before Prussia could possibly receive any aid from her ally the emperor of Russia.

§ 703. Frederick William's declaration (Oct. 9) was a humiliating document, in which it was clearly shown that interest, not principle, was the mainspring of his policy. The French troops continued to advance; and, after several skirmishes, defeated the Prussians at Jena (Oct. 14). The victory was decisive; nothing resembling even a regular retreat could be effected; and in their flight, multitudes of the Prussians were slaughtered, and a still greater number made prisoners. The duke of Brunswick himself was mortally wounded, and the entire loss did not fall short of forty thousand men; while that of the French was about six thousand. Erfurt, Magdeburg, Stettin, Leipsic, and Spandau, surrendered almost on the first summons; and on the 25th of October the Marshals Davoust and Augereau entered Berlin. Prussia fell prostrate at one blow. In the space of little more than a month (Oct. 9 to Nov. 12), the French had taken no less than one

hundred and forty thousand prisoners, two hundred and fifty standards, and above forty-eight hundred pieces of cannon, of which eight hundred were captured in the field, and above four thousand were found in Berlin and the fortresses which had capitulated. Buonaparte succeeded in detaching the elector of Saxony from Prussia, overrun the country, and ordered the sequestration of all English property. This was the prelude to a decree issued from Berlin by the French emperor (Nov. 20, 1806), interdicting all commerce and correspondence between the countries under his government and the islands of Great Britain, which he declared to be in a state of blockade; denouncing all English property as lawful prize; and all vessels touching at any port in England, or any English colony, were excluded from the harbours of France, or the countries under its control. After the defeat at Jena, the king of Prussia retired to Königsberg.

§ 704. The emperor of Russia, alarmed by the successes of the French and their advance towards his dominions, assembled large forces on the frontiers, and prepared once more to take an active part in the war. The first conflict of any consequence occurred at Pultusk (Dec. 26), in which, after a furious struggle, both parties claimed the victory. The battle of Eylau, fought on the 7th and 8th of February, 1807, was another terrible encounter, and once more the triumph was disputed. The Russians remained masters of the field of battle, but commenced their retreat the next day. From this period the grand armies of France and Russia remained for a considerable time inactive. Warlike operations, however, continued in Swedish Pomerania, where, after a number of actions fought with varied success, the Swedes were driven into Stralsund. In the month of April a division of the French army commenced the siege of Dantzic. The garrison made vigorous sorties; several obstinate actions took place in the environs, and it at length surrendered to the French (May 28). The French and Russians laboured incessantly to strengthen their positions, and to increase their numbers. Buonaparte at length resolved to attack the Russian position at Friedland (June 14). This, after a terrible struggle, he carried, compelling the Russians to retreat. Their losses were immense.

§ 705. This sanguinary action was followed by an interview between the emperors of France and Russia and the king of Prussia (July 7), and a treaty of peace was con-

cluded at Tilsit between France and Russia, and a few days afterwards between France and Prussia. The principal articles were, that a part of the Prussian dominions, especially on the eastern side of the Elbe, should be annexed to the new kingdom of Westphalia. Those parts which had been wrested from Poland, and become subject to Prussia, were ceded to the king of Saxony, under the title of the duchy of Warsaw, with a free communication with Saxony by a military road through the king of Prussia's dominions. The city of Dantzic, with a surrounding territory of two leagues, was restored to independence. The navigation of the Vistula was to be free. Russia acknowledged Joseph Buonaparte and his brother Louis, as kings of Naples and Holland, and Jerome as king of Westphalia. The emperor of all the Russias also acknowledged the Confederation of the Rhine. All these princes and states were included in the treaty of peace. It was also stipulated, that hostilities should instantly cease between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and the emperor of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of the emperor of France, for the conclusion of a peace between the two powers. The French emperor also agreed to accept the mediation of the emperor of Russia, in order to negotiate and conclude a peace with Great Britain, under the condition, however, that this mediation should be accepted by England within a month after the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit. The secret articles of this celebrated treaty were, however, by far the most important, and, in spite of the greatest caution, ultimately oozed out. Alexander and Buonaparte divided Europe between them, and, in so doing, endeavoured to outwit each other. Alexander desired to obtain Turkey, while Buonaparte wished to have full power on the continent, and to be able to prosecute the war against England. The king of Sweden refused to accede to the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania; but his efforts were useless, as the whole power of France could now be directed to that quarter. His Swedish majesty, however, succeeded on the 19th and 20th of August in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund, before the enemy was apprised of his intention, after which he crossed the Baltic and retired into Sweden.

LETTER 5.—History of the Affairs of Great Britain, from the Opening of the new Parliament, summoned by the “All the Talents” Administration, to the Rupture between England and Russia and the Dispute with America. A.D. 1806—1808. Vol. iv., pages 56—64.

§ 706. The Parliament summoned by the new ministry met on the 19th of December (1806), when the affairs of Prussia, the conduct of the ministry, and the negotiations with France were freely discussed. A misunderstanding with the king relative to a measure proposed by ministers to enable Roman Catholics to hold commissions in the army and navy, brought the brief career of the administration to an end (March 25). The duke of Portland became first lord of the Treasury, with Canning as Foreign secretary, Castlereagh as Colonial, and Sir Arthur Wellesley secretary for Ireland. An expedition under General Whitelocke, intended for the reduction of Buenos Ayres, failed in its object, which occasioned much discontent in England. Whitelocke was tried by court-martial and cashiered. The Dutch settlement of Curaçoa was captured (Jan. 1807). Russia had declared war with Turkey, in which contest England became involved. Sir John Duckworth forced the passage of the Dardanelles (Feb. 19), but failing in his efforts to obtain terms with the Turks, he was compelled to retire (March 1).

§ 707. An expedition consisting of about five thousand men, sent from Messina into Egypt, was more fortunate. Aboukir was captured (March 18), and Alexandria submitted (March 20). An attempt against Rosetta failed (May 21), and the English troops being afterwards reduced to great straits, General Fraser offered to evacuate Egypt with his army. The conditions were accepted; and he departed (Sept. 23). Denmark had for some time been augmenting its fleet and collecting naval stores. The English ministers, aware that these armaments would in all probability be turned against England, by the influence of France, demanded the temporary deposit of the Danish ships in some British ports. This was refused, and an English force landed near Copenhagen (Aug. 16). Sir Arthur Wellesley defeated the Danish army (Aug. 29), and Copenhagen was bombarded by sea and land (Sept. 5-7). A capitulation was entered into and the Danish fleet surrendered. It consisted of eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, five brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats; a force which in the hands of Na-

poleon, might have proved the means of great annoyance to England. The loss of the British in this expedition was inconsiderable, especially if we take into account the magnitude of the object attained. The capitulation, however, was not ratified by the crown-prince; and the Danish government, rejecting every conciliatory proposal, issued a formal declaration of war against England. Notwithstanding these demonstrations of hostility, the occupation of Zealand was found to require a greater number of troops than Great Britain could spare from other services, and the country was consequently evacuated according to the convention.

§ 708. The emperor Alexander of Russia seized upon this conflict as a pretext for declaring war against England. In his manifesto (Oct. 31, 1807), he accused the British government of rejecting his mediation for peace, of not co-operating with the allies against France during the war, of sending troops against Buenos Ayres and Alexandria, instead of making a diversion in Italy, or some other part of the European continent, and of attacking Denmark, and disturbing the commerce of Russia. In consequence of these causes of complaint, Alexander declared that friendly intercourse was broken off between Russia and Great Britain, and an imperial ukase was immediately published, ordering the detention of all British ships and property. Buonaparte's celebrated Berlin decree against England induced the government to retaliate, and the famous orders in council were issued (Nov. 11), declaring France in a state of blockade, with all the countries under her immediate power and influence; and subjecting to seizure all vessels whatever that should attempt to trade between neutral and hostile ports, or that should have on board any such certificate as was required by the Berlin decree. These restrictive regulations instituted by France and England, proved extremely incommodious to the Americans, who had become the general carriers of Europe, especially of colonial produce. The Congress of the United States retaliated by an embargo in all their ports; and notwithstanding the consequent annihilation of their commerce, they persisted in this measure. Negotiations for a settlement of this matter were carried on between the American, British, and French governments; but at the meeting of Congress (Nov. 1808), the president, in his message, stated that they had not been successful.

LETTER 6.—History of the Affairs of Spain and Portugal, from the Interference of Buonaparte to the Battle of Corunna and the Death of Sir John Moore. A.D. 1807—1809. Vol. iv., pages 65—76.

§ 709. The peace of Tilsit having freed the French emperor from all apprehensions in the north, he was left at leisure to pursue his schemes of rapacity and aggrandizement in the south. Portugal had long been the faithful ally of Great Britain, and both countries found their interest in the connection. The former received political support and protection; the latter enjoyed a lucrative commerce. The hatred and jealousy of the emperor of France prompted him to threaten the invasion of Portugal with his troops of marauders, and thus intimidated the court of Lisbon into a compliance with his requisitions to shut the ports of that kingdom against the ships and commerce of Great Britain; to which effect a decree was issued at Lisbon on the 22nd of October, 1807. In Spain, the weak monarch Charles IV. had entirely surrendered himself to the influence of Godoy, Prince of Peace. This caused dissensions, which Buonaparte did all he could to inflame, and Ferdinand, the heir-apparent, was accused of having conspired against the life of the king. To secure the subserviency of the imbecile monarch and the favourite Godoy, and at the same time facilitate the seizure of the monarchy, Napoleon (Oct. 27, 1807) concluded at Fontainebleau a treaty for the dismemberment of Portugal. It was stipulated that the northern division of that kingdom should be transferred to the king of Etruria, and the southern part to the Prince of Peace, under the guarantee and protection of the king of Spain; that the middle portion should remain in sequestration, for future disposal; and that the colonial territories of the same crown should be divided between France and Spain. By a separate convention, twenty-eight thousand French troops were allowed to enter Spain, under the pretext of proceeding to Lisbon; but a much greater number, commanded by Murat, embraced the opportunity of intrusion, since, according to General Foy's statement, the French armies which entered the Peninsula prior to the 1st of June, 1808, amounted to no less than one hundred and seventeen thousand men, divided into five *corps d'armée*, under Junot, Dupont, Moncey, Bessières, and Duhesne, with a reserve of the imperial guard; and the numbers which thus crossed the Pyrenees were followed, before the 15th or

August, by a reinforcement of forty thousand, making a total of nearly one hundred and sixty thousand men. This immense force, once admitted, obtained with little difficulty possession of some of the strongest towns.

§ 710. Buonaparte had also sent an army to Portugal, and compelled the prince regent to sign an order for the detention of all British subjects, and the sequestration of all British property (Nov. 8, 1807). The prince regent, anxious to escape from the influence of the French, embarked on board the English fleet (Nov. 29), and was conveyed by Sir Sidney Smith to Rio Janeiro, in the Brazils (Jan. 19, 1808). A commercial arrangement was entered into, and a direct intercourse established, between Great Britain and the Portuguese empire of South America, an event which forms an epoch in the history of the commercial relations between the two nations. The Brazils and Great Britain were mutually benefited at the expense of Lisbon, which had before been the medium of that intercourse. Spain was also attacked. On the 30th of October, 1807, a singular manifesto was issued by the king of Spain, Charles IV., to the effect that his life and crown had been endangered by a conspiracy of which his own son was the author, whom, in consequence, he had caused to be arrested. The affair was afterwards arranged, but it appears that the prince of the Asturias had been in treaty with Buonaparte, who used every effort in order to fan the flames of dissension in that unhappy kingdom.

§ 711. The royal family of Spain, perceiving that Buonaparte had formed a subtle scheme for their destruction, determined upon removing the seat of the government to Mexico. No sooner was this determination suffered to transpire than the greatest excitement prevailed in Madrid, and several tumults ensued. In the midst of these the king abdicated in favour of his son (March 19), and the French army entered Madrid. Charles IV. and his son were induced to repair to Bayonne, but the French had become so unpopular that an insurrection against their rule broke out in the capital (May 2). This was just what Buonaparte desired; and an imperial decree was issued (May 25), declaring the throne of Spain vacant by the abdication of the reigning family, and ordering an assembly of notables, consisting of the prelates, grandees, &c., to be held at Bayonne, for the purpose of fixing the basis of a new government. None but the partisans of France attended the junta.

Buonaparte persevered, and conferred the crown of Spain upon his brother Joseph (June 6, 1808). He abdicated his kingdom of Naples in favour of Murat, who had married the sister of Napoleon. Although the French troops had entered Spain in great numbers, the news of the deposition of the king was the signal for a general insurrection. The patriotic flame burst forth in Asturia. From this province the insurrection spread into Galicia, and into several districts of Leon. An assembly convened at Oviedo published a formal declaration of war against the French government, and, having appointed the marquis of Santa Cruz generalissimo of the patriotic army, sent deputies to request the assistance of England. This request was immediately acceded to, and his majesty issued a proclamation (July 4) declaring that Great Britain was at peace with the Spanish nation. The authority of the supreme council at Madrid had been rejected, and war declared against Buonaparte (June 6). A French squadron in the port of Cadiz was compelled to surrender (June 14). General Moncey was repulsed before Valencia with terrible slaughter (June 28). Saragossa defied their utmost efforts, and even the Spanish women fought against the invaders. In Andalusia, the French general and his troops, after a terrible defeat at Baylen, surrendered (July 20); and many of the French were either cut to pieces or driven out of Spain.

§ 712. Joseph Buonaparte, ignorant of these reverses, prepared to take possession of his new kingdom, and, having published a proclamation at Vittoria, pushed on and made his public entrance into the capital (July 20). Successive accounts of the disasters of the French armies in Spain, and of the approach of the patriots towards Madrid, indicated that his crown was likely to prove one of thorns, and warned him of the propriety of a timely flight. After a short stay, he began his retreat from Madrid (July 29), carrying off with him the crown jewels, and all that was most valuable, from the palace of the ancient sovereigns, and retired precipitately towards France, while the patriots advanced and took possession of the capital. The patriotic spirit by which the Spaniards were influenced spread to Portugal, and in a short space of time Junot was compelled to concentrate his troops in and about Lisbon. England prepared to lend a helping hand. About the end of July a force of fourteen thousand men, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, was despatched to Portugal, the expulsion

of the French from that country being the primary object of the expedition. Having effected a landing, only a few days elapsed before they commenced military operations. The French general, Laborde, was strongly posted on the heights near Roleia; and as there was reason to apprehend he might be joined by General Loison, who was then at Rio Major, the British general resolved to attack before the junction could take place. The enemy's positions were formidable, and defended with great bravery and skill; but the attack made by the British columns proved irresistible (Aug. 17, 1808). After an obstinate engagement, the French were compelled to retire, with the loss of a considerable number of men and three pieces of cannon. The moment was now approaching which was to decide the fate of the French army in Portugal, and of the Russian fleet in the Tagus. General Junot, on whom the emperor of France had conferred the title of duc d'Abrantes, having collected all his detachments, attacked the British army (Aug. 21) in its strong position at the village of Vimiera. The French were everywhere repulsed. The day after the battle, General Dalrymple landed and took command of the army. A cessation of hostilities was agreed on (Aug. 30), and eight days afterwards a definitive convention, called the Convention of Cintra, was signed by the French and British commanders. By this treaty the French were to carry off all their arms, ammunition, artillery, carriages, and horses, with their military chest, and all the plunder acquired by contributions, and to be conveyed to France in British vessels, without any restrictions in regard to future service. The Portuguese artillery, &c., with the military and naval arsenals, were to be surrendered to the British army and navy. The Russian fleet in the Tagus, consisting of nine ships of the line and a frigate, surrendered to the British government as a deposit, to be given up six months after the conclusion of a peace; but the officers and seamen, above five thousand six hundred in number, were to be immediately carried to Russia.

§ 713. The British army, having consumed more than two months in Lisbon, commenced its march for Spain (Oct. 27), under the command of Sir John Moore, and immediately proceeded to Salamanca. Sir David Baird had landed a strong body of troops at Corunna (Oct. 13), and, after many delays and innumerable difficulties, arrived at Astorga (Nov. 19). In the mean while, the emperor of

France had entered Spain, with a view of conducting the operations of the war. The patriotic armies having been successively defeated at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela, the French army forced the pass of Sommo Sierra, and on the 2nd of December advanced to Madrid. The city surrendered on the 4th; and Buonaparte immediately set off to intercept the retreat of the British. Sir John Moore hastened to Corunna (Jan. 11, 1809); the transports had not arrived. The French in the mean time reached the scene of action, and the embarkation was consequently delayed. Sir John Moore drew up his small army under the walls of Corunna, where it was attacked by the overwhelming forces of the French (Jan. 16). The British troops stood like a wall, and with calm intrepidity received and repulsed the repeated assaults of the enemy. A vigorous charge with the bayonet decided the affair, and compelled the French to retreat to the heights. Sir David Baird lost his arm, and Sir John Moore was wounded by a shot in the shoulder, of which he died before midnight. Like Wolfe, Abercrombie, and Nelson, he expired in the arms of victory; and, like theirs, his name and memory will ever be dear to his country. In this unfortunate expedition, the British army lost all its ammunition and magazines, and five or six thousand men. The action ended about five in the evening. The command of the British troops devolved upon General Hope, who completed the victory, and with great ability directed the embarkation, which recommenced about ten o'clock on the evening of the battle, and before the morning of the 18th was completely effected, with a celerity of which there are few examples. Corunna capitulated soon after the departure of the army, and the French also obtained possession of Ferrol, Bilboa, St. Andero, and all the most important places on the northern coast of Spain.

LETTER 7.—History of the State of Affairs in the North of Europe, from the Meeting between Alexander and Napoleon at Erfurth to the Peace concluded at Vienna. A.D. 1808—1809. Vol. iv., pages 76—83.

§ 714. Before setting out for Spain, Buonaparte had an interview with Alexander at Erfurth (Sept. 27, 1808), at which the masters of the West and the North guaranteed the repose and the submission of Europe. While Napoleon was engaged in an attempt to subvert the liberties of Spain and Portugal, Alexander attacked Sweden. Denmark, the sub-

servient tool of the czars, made common cause with the powerful aggressor, and ten thousand British troops, under Sir John Moore, were sent for the defence of Sweden. Gustavus IV. was, however, an ambitious ruler, and wished, instead of employing them solely in defence of Sweden, to undertake the conquest of Norway, and to make an attack upon Copenhagen. To this the English generals would not assent. The Russians captured Abo and Sweaborg, and the incapacity of the Swedish monarch led to a revolution. He was arrested (March 13, 1809), sent prisoner to Drottningholm, and deposed; while the duke of Sudermania, under the title of Charles XIII., was elected king. A treaty of peace followed with Russia, by which the whole of Finland, and that valuable portion of Bothnia bounded by the Torneo, with the isle of Aland, were ceded to Russia (Sept. 17). British ships, with certain exceptions, were excluded from the Swedish ports. The deposed monarch was soon after liberated from his state of confinement, and an ample provision was made for his maintenance, on condition of fixing his residence in Switzerland, to which he readily and even gratefully acceded, contenting himself with the title of Count Gottorp. An accommodation between Sweden and France took place in December, 1809, in consequence of which the former recovered Pomerania and the isle of Rugen.

§ 715. The peace of Tilsit had completely extended the French domination over the continent of Europe. The imperial power was at this moment at its height. Napoleon employed all his activity to create maritime resources, capable of balancing the power of England, which alone resisted his will, and which had then eleven hundred vessels of war of every description. He formed harbours, fortified the coasts, built ships, and prepared everything for struggling in a few years on this new field of battle. But at this epoch was manifested the first opposition to the domination of the emperor and to the continental system. As if to manifest his contempt for all the rulers of Europe, the emperor of France gave an extraordinary proof of confidence in the plenitude of his power. By a decree of the senate, the fortresses of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, all on the right bank of the Rhine, and Flushing at the mouth of the Scheldt, were annexed to the French empire. By decree (May, 1808), the duchies of Urbino, Ancona, Macevata, and Camerino were for ever united to the kingdom of Italy. This called forth a protest from the pope, but it did not

prevent the entry of a French army, which took possession of all the strong places in the ecclesiastical territories. And this was followed by the annexation of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany to the French empire, under the appellation of the Taro, the Arno, &c.; so that the kingdom of Italy was now guarded on every side by the empire of France. The pope next tried excommunication (June 10, 1809), but was himself seized, and carried prisoner to Avignon (July 6). The Neapolitan crown, vacated by Joseph Buonaparte, was, as we have seen, conferred on Marshal Murat, who took the title of Joachim I. The succession of the kingdom of Italy was also at this time settled on Eugène Beauharnais, the viceroy, stepson of Napoleon, whose mild and beneficent government had made him almost adored in Lombardy.

§ 716. Soon after the battle of Corunna, Buonaparte returned to France. Austria had seized the opportunity of his absence to join the coalition; the Tyrolese were in arms, Jerome had been expelled by the Westphalians, and Prussia and Italy stood ready to declare war against the emperor at the first news of a reverse. The Austrians took Ratisbon, but Napoleon joined his army and defeated them at Eckmühl (April 22, 1809), and once more entered Vienna (May 10). The archduke Charles arrived in the environs with his army, and a sanguinary encounter occurred at Essling (May 21 and 22), at which neither side gained any decisive advantage. In fact, Napoleon was in a most critical position, being shut up in an island on the Danube, and a long interval of inaction ensued. By the night of the 4th of July, bridges of vast dimensions had been thrown across the river, with almost magical expedition and skill, opposite the left wing of the Austrians stationed at Wagram. Early next morning the whole French army had crossed the river, and appeared in order of battle. Thus surprised and disconcerted, the archduke Charles spent the day in manœuvring and altering his dispositions. On the 6th of July, at sunrise, the long-expected contest commenced. The French in great force attacked the centre of the Austrian army, and broke the first line by the impetuosity of their charge; but the gallant archduke exerted himself at this critical moment with such spirit and address, that the Austrians rallied, and compelled their adversaries to retreat behind a small river. Night put an end to the engagement, and the French, without just pretensions, claimed the victory. The combat was renewed on the following day with varied success, but at last the

Austrians retired. The emperor Francis treated for peace, an armistice was acceded to, and at last a definitive treaty was signed at Vienna (Oct. 11, 1809). To Bavaria the emperor Francis was obliged to yield the important territory of Salzburg, with other districts in the vicinity. To France were ceded Fiume and Trieste, with the entire line of coast connecting the dominions of France on both sides of the Adriatic. In Poland the king of Saxony obtained, in addition to the provinces constituting the duchy of Warsaw, the western Galicia, with the city of Cracow. Another portion of Austrian Poland was assigned to Russia, which had derived advantages from the misfortunes of every other nation. The title of Joseph Buonaparte as king of Spain was recognized. The Tyrolese were abandoned to their fate, and were at last overwhelmed.

LETTER 8.—History of the Affairs of Great Britain, from the Signature of the Treaty of Alliance with Spain to the Refusal of the American Government to hold Communication with the English Envoy. A.D. 1808—1810. Vol. iv., pages 83—89.

§ 717. Peace had been proclaimed with Spain (July 5, 1808), and measures taken to aid the Spaniards in their struggle against the overwhelming forces of France. On the meeting of the English Parliament (Jan. 19, 1809), the assistance afforded to Spain and the expedition to Portugal were discussed. An investigation into the conduct of the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the British army, who was accused, on the testimony of Mrs. Clarke, of connivance at corruption, occupied public attention; but the imputation was proved to be unfounded. The duke of York, however, resigned the office of commander-in-chief. Lord Castlereagh was accused of having, while he presided at the India Board, endeavoured to obtain a seat in Parliament for a friend in return for a writership. The charge could not be sustained, and a resolution of censure was defeated (April 25). During the session a bill was passed extending the laws against bribery, and intended to prevent the traffic in seats of Parliament.

§ 718. Early in the month of May, 1809, preparations commenced for fitting out an expedition against the dock-yards and fleets in the Netherlands, and towards the end of July an army of forty thousand men was collected, to be assisted by a fleet of thirty-nine sail of the line, and thirty-six frigates, besides numerous gunboats, bomb-vessels, and

small craft. The command of the whole armament was intrusted to the earl of Chatham. The armament set sail on the 28th July (1809), and invested Flushing (Aug. 1). A tremendous cannonade and bombardment commenced on the 13th, which two days afterwards led the commander of the garrison to request a suspension of arms. This was followed by a surrender of the place, with its garrison, consisting of about five thousand men, who were sent to England prisoners of war. But here terminated the success of the British. Antwerp was put into a state of defence, the country inundated, and strong batteries erected. The English naval and military authorities disagreed, the troops grew sickly, and Lord Chatham departed to England with a great part of the expedition. The remainder kept possession of Walcheren, where, owing to the pestilential vapours of the marshes and stagnant waters, the men died by hundreds. At length the fortifications of Flushing were blown up, and Walcheren was abandoned (Dec. 23). A dispute between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning led to a duel, in which the latter was wounded (Sept. 23, 1809). Canning immediately retired from the ministry, and the marquis of Wellesley became secretary at war.

§ 719. In this distracted state of affairs the duke of Portland died, and after some attempts had been made to form a coalition cabinet, Mr. Perceval became prime minister. The 25th of October, 1809, being the fifth celebration of George the Third's accession to the throne, was distinguished throughout the United Kingdom as a jubilee, and was marked by every demonstration of loyal attachment and reverence. The arms of England met with success in many quarters. Martinique was taken from the French (Feb. 23), and Cayenne was also captured. A large portion of a French squadron was destroyed in Basque Roads, near Rochelle, under the batteries, by Lord Cochrane (April 12). Lord Collingwood took possession of the Ionian Isles (Oct. 1); and a French squadron was chased on shore and destroyed off the mouth of the Rhone (Oct. 25). The dispute with America remained unadjusted, and, in spite of the concessions offered by England, the American authorities refused to hold any communication with the English envoy Jackson (Oct. 1810).

LETTER 9.—History of the Second Campaign in the Peninsula, from the Renewal of the Siege of Saragossa to the Defeat at Alba. A.D. 1808—1809. Vol. iv., pages 90—96.

§ 720. The British army having embarked from Corunna, the French directed all their efforts towards the subjugation of Spain. A number of fugitives from the army of Castanos, which was defeated at Tudela (Nov. 23, 1808), had retreated to Saragossa, and these, added to its martial citizens and armed peasants, composed a body of fifty thousand men, under the command of General Palafox. On the 20th of January, 1809, the French made their grand attack. The determined resolution of the inhabitants, who disputed every inch of ground, and converted every house into a fortress, reduced the French to the necessity of mining and blowing up the houses. During these terrible operations the batteries kept up an incessant fire; but the French at length became masters of the city (Feb. 21). Not fewer than twenty thousand of its brave defenders were buried under its ruins, after a resistance to which history can scarcely furnish a parallel, and which will render the siege of Saragossa memorable to all future ages. A series of disasters, falling in rapid succession, now seemed to have sealed the doom of Spain. An advantage gained by the duke of Albuquerque, on the 22nd of February, over a corps of French at Con-sevegra, was but a slender compensation for these multiplied misfortunes. The French army in Catalonia made three powerful attacks on that of Spain under General Reding. In the last of these actions, the Spanish general, after an obstinate conflict in which he was severely wounded, was driven from his position and compelled to retire to Tarragona (March 12). Soon after this disaster General Cuesta was defeated (March 29) at Medellin, and forced to retire to Monasterio. The patriots about this time recovered Vigo; but the French were masters of the centre of the kingdom.

§ 721. General Beresford was employed in Portugal organizing a native force to act with the British army, and Sir A. Wellesley landed at Lisbon with a reinforcement of British troops (April 22). Instantly repairing to Coimbra, he put himself at the head of his assembled forces, and advanced against Oporto, at the same time detaching Marshal Beresford to occupy the fords of the upper Douro. Marshal Soult, finding himself in danger of being insulated,

judged it necessary to evacuate Oporto, and to retreat with all possible expedition into Galicia, which he did, not without sustaining some loss. Sir Arthur Wellesley, having effected a junction with the Spanish forces, took up his position at Talavera, where he was attacked by Victor, at the head of very superior numbers (July 28, 1809). The French were defeated, and lost in killed and wounded about ten thousand men. The arrival of Soult and Ney with powerful reinforcements compelled the British to fall back. The English government, anxious to insure the welfare of Spain, sent the marquis of Wellesley to the seat of the supreme junta, then sitting at Cadiz. He pointed out the necessity of organization, and a ready support of the British troops, hinting that it would be expedient to appoint his brother to the chief command. These suggestions were not attended to at the time, but they were not without effect. The junta addressed itself to the task of directing affairs with energy, and ordered the Cortes to be summoned. Gerona, at this time besieged, made a most gallant defence. The post of the castle of Monjuich, though not strongly garrisoned, repelled five assaults (July). The Spanish armies were defeated at Ocana (Nov. 19), and at Alba, on the river Tormes (Nov. 26), and the second campaign terminated unfavourably for the national cause.

LETTER 10.—History of Europe, from the Divorce of Josephine to the Elevation of Bernadotte to the Throne of Sweden and the Declaration of War against England by that Power. A.D. 1809—1810. Vol. iv., pages 96—102.

§ 722. As Josephine bore him no children, Buonaparte formed a plan for a divorce, and he entered into negotiations, first with the royal family of St. Petersburg, and afterwards with that of Vienna, for an alliance with one of its members. The senate passed a Consultum, or decree, authorizing the divorce, and assuring to Josephine a dowry of two millions of francs, and the rank of empress during life (Dec. 16, 1809). Josephine retired to the beautiful villa of Malmaison, near St. Germain, where she spent the remaining years of her life. Maria Louisa, archduchess of Austria, daughter of the emperor Francis II., was the person chosen for the new empress. The ceremony of marriage, in which the archduke Charles received the hand of his niece, as the representative of Buonaparte, was celebrated at Vienna (March 11, 1810). The royal lovers were afterwards united

with great pomp at Paris-(April 1, 1810). Prince Swartzenberg, the Austrian ambassador, gave a ball on the occasion, when a temporary dancing-room caught fire. No efforts could stop the progress of the flames, in which several persons perished, and among others the sister of the ambassador himself. This tragical circumstance struck a damp on the public mind, and was considered as a bad omen, especially when people called to mind that the marriage of Louis XVI. with a former princess of the house of Austria had been signalized by a similar disaster.

§ 723. The emperor of France at this moment beheld the whole continent of Europe, Spain and Portugal excepted, either as his allies or his obsequious vassals. Persevering in his plan of annexation, he seized upon the seven Dutch provinces, of which he had recently constituted his brother Louis king. Forty thousand French soldiers were, therefore, gradually, but unceremoniously, introduced into Holland, and troops were quartered at the mouths of the rivers, accompanied by French custom-house officers, in order to prevent all commerce with England. Louis abdicated (July 1, 1810), and the Seven Provinces were united to France by an imperial decree (July 9). The Valais of Piedmont were also annexed to France (Nov. 12), for the purpose of securing the passage of the Alps by the Simplon; and possession was taken of the Hanse Towns, and of the whole country from the Elbe to the Ems. The electorate of Hanover was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, and its very name was obliterated from the map of Europe; while to that country and all the other dependent kingdoms, the conscription laws were extended. The affairs of Sweden took a very singular turn at this period. On the 29th of May, the prince of Augustenburg, presumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, died suddenly; and a diet was assembled at Orebo, to supply the vacancy thus occasioned (Aug. 21). In consequence of a strong and pointed recommendation from the emperor Napoleon, the king of Sweden proposed Marshal Bernadotte as the person on whom he wished the choice to fall. The king's nomination, therefore, was unanimously approved; and on the 1st of November Bernadotte was installed in due form. A declaration of war was issued against Great Britain (Nov. 17); but the pacific intention of the court of Stockholm was sufficiently apparent, and the war, to the disappointment of Napoleon, proved little more than nominal. The hostility

of Denmark was indeed real and great, but her power was circumscribed; and a British squadron took possession of the Danish isle of Anholt, situated in the sea called the Cattegat (May 18, 1809).^a

* As the earlier successes of Arthur Wellesley in the Peninsula are recorded in this chapter, it seems to be the proper place to afford the student some information respecting his remarkable career in India. Towards the close of 1797, Lord Mornington, afterwards marquis of Wellesley, Arthur Wellesley's brother, was appointed Governor-general of India. He proceeded to the seat of his government in the following year, and at once took measures to establish the authority of England upon a sure and permanent basis. Having defeated Tippoo and captured his capital, he made a partition treaty with the Mahrattas. Tippoo was slain during the siege, and the French intrigues entirely defeated. In 1802 the French again stirred up a rebellion amongst the Mahratta chieftains, and in the operations that followed, the Governor-general intrusted his brother, then Major-General Wellesley, with a high command. The young soldier justified the confidence reposed in him, and won several battles. Ahmednuggur fell before his arms (Aug. 12, 1803). With a force of about 5,000 this persevering officer advanced against the Mahratta chieftains, who were at the head of nearly 50,000 men. He found them encamped near the village of Assaye. They had ninety guns and were strongly posted. In spite of the great disparity in numbers, Wellesley gave the order for the attack, and, after a short but terrible struggle, gained a complete victory (Sept. 23, 1803). General Lake was equally successful in the northern part of India, and the British arms triumphed in other portions of the country. Arthur Wellesley pursued his victorious career in the Deccan, defeated the enemy at Argaum (Nov. 29, 1803), and Gawilghur and Scindiah fell soon after. These reverses induced the Mahratta chieftains to submit, and soon after this distinguished soldier returned to Europe, to gain even more glorious laurels on other fields of fame.

CHAPTER II.

LETTER 11.—History of the Affairs of Great Britain, from the Commencement of the Session of 1810 to the Appointment of a Regency. A.D. 1810—1811. Vol. iv., pages 102—106.

§ 724. The state of affairs on the assembling of Parliament (Jan. 23, 1810) was anything but cheering. The king's speech was delivered by the lord chancellor; and although nearly the whole of Europe was at the mercy of Buonaparte, its tone was not desponding. After referring to the expulsion of the French from Portugal, it stated that his majesty had received assurances of the friendly disposition of America, and that the state of the national commerce of Great Britain was flourishing, and the produce of the revenue increasing. In the House of Commons Lord Porchester's proposal for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the policy and conduct of the Walcheren expedition (Jan. 26) was carried by a small majority. Several debates on this fruitful topic of dissension followed, and Lord Chatham, conceiving that a censure had been passed upon him, resigned his office of master-general of the ordnance (March 2). During the inquiry an animated discussion occurred relative to the admission of reporters to the house, and the public were excluded. Some rather acrimonious criticisms upon this interference with the rights of the people were expressed at a popular debating society, and the motion carried on the occasion was placarded in the streets of London (Feb. 19). This was regarded as a violation of the privileges of the house, for which Mr. Jones, the principal person implicated, was committed to Newgate (Feb. 21). Sir F. Burdett, who had not been present when these proceedings took place, called the attention of the house to them, and in vain endeavoured to obtain the discharge of Mr. Jones (March 12). Failing in this, he published a letter to his constituents, in "Cobbett's Weekly Register" (March 24), denying the power of the House of

Commons to imprison the people of England. This led to further debate, and Sir Francis Burdett was ordered to be committed to the Tower for a breach of the privileges of the House of Commons. Great numbers of the populace escorted Sir Francis to the Tower, and on their return a riot ensued, in which three persons were killed and several wounded (April 9, 1810). Sir Francis brought actions at law against the speaker and the serjeant-at-arms, but these were not successful, and at the prorogation he was liberated.

§ 725. The isle of Bourbon was captured (July 10), and the isle of France, or the Mauritius, capitulated to a British force (Dec. 3). The island, with a large quantity of stores and merchandise, five large frigates, and some smaller ships of war, twenty-eight merchantmen, and two English East-Indiamen that had been captured, were surrendered. The garrison was to be sent to France. This was the most valuable of the French possessions to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Three frigates were afterwards despatched to destroy the French batteries at Tametava, on the coast of Madagascar, and to root them out from some other small nestling-places, which they completely effected (Jan. 10, 1811); and thus there was not remaining to France, at the beginning of the following year, a slip of land in either Indies, nor a ship in the Indian seas. The French, however, captured two English East-Indiamen; and in an attempt to recover them, three English frigates went aground, and were lost (Aug. 1810). In the same quarter of the globe, further conquests were also made from the Dutch. Their settlement of Amboyna, with its dependent islands, surrendered to a British force from Madras (Feb. 17, 1810). A party of seamen commanded by Captain Cole, of the *Caroline* frigate, having carried a fort at Band Neira, the whole island of Banda, the principal of the Spice Islands, with its dependencies, though protected by seven hundred regular troops and three hundred militia, surrendered unconditionally, and afforded a rich prize to the captors (Aug. 8). The illness and death of the king's youngest daughter, the Princess Amelia (Nov. 2, 1810), brought on another attack of his majesty's mental complaint. After several adjournments of Parliament, Mr. Perceval, adopting the mode of procedure of 1788-9, moved three resolutions, affirming, 1st, the incapacity of the king; 2ndly, the rights of the two houses to provide the means of supplying the defect; and 3rdly, the necessity of determining upon the means of giving the royal assent to a bill for

that purpose (Dec. 20, 1810). Thereupon the prince of Wales, the heir apparent, was appointed regent, under certain limitations (Feb. 5, 1811).

LETTER 12.—History of the War in the Peninsula during the Third Campaign, with some Account of the Attempted Invasion of Sicily by Murat. A.D. 1810. Vol. iv., pages 107—112.

§ 726. At the commencement of the year 1810, the cause of Spanish independence was reduced to so low an ebb that many of its friends in England were inclined to give way to despondency. About the middle of January the main body of the French forced their way through the mountain-passes of the Sierra Morena, and descended into Andalusia. At Jaen and Cordova they found large quantities of military stores and ordnance. Sebastiani marched upon Granada, which city threw open its gates (Jan. 28), and Malaga surrendered soon after (Feb. 6). Joseph Buonaparte issued a manifesto to the Spanish nation (Jan. 29), and Seville was next attacked and captured (Feb. 10). Great preparations were made for the defence of Cadiz. British troops were admitted to assist the garrison, and the most determined efforts of the French for its capture frustrated. A kind of guerilla warfare was maintained in other parts of the peninsula. These Spanish levies everywhere attacked detached parties of the enemy, and harassed the invaders in all their movements. They intercepted their convoys, their escorts, and their despatches; so that the French could at no time, by the mere capture of towns and fortresses, be said to be in possession of the surrounding country. The regular forces of the kingdom, too, however dispersed, were still numerous; and, though Spain in this war had produced no Gonzalvo, it abounded in valiant and active officers.

§ 727. The most interesting events of the campaign occurred on the side of Portugal. It was evidently the grand object of Napoleon to acquire the entire possession of that country. With this view it had been determined to commence with the reduction of the strong fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Almeida, the situation of which, being on the frontier between the two kingdoms, would give them the command of a free military communication from one to the other. The garrison of the former made a gallant defence, but were compelled to surrender (July 10); and Almeida, after an equally heroic struggle, accepted terms of capitulation (Aug. 27). A vigorous contest for the posses-

sion of Portugal was now to commence. Wellington, to whom its defence was committed, had, during the month of December, found it advisable to retire from Badajos, to the north of the Tagus. In February, 1810, the English and Portuguese troops were posted at a number of different points in Portugal, and its frontier on the side of Spain, Lord Wellington having his head-quarters during the two following months at Viseu ; for, after the surrender of Almeida, Wellington had concentrated the different divisions of the allied army, and commenced his retreat towards Lisbon. He had formed a defensive plan, to which he steadily adhered. Massena, confident in his numbers, attacked the English at Busaco (Sept. 27), but was repulsed. He managed, however, to turn the British position, and Wellington retired to the strong lines of Torres Vedras, about thirty miles from Lisbon. Massena followed closely ; and having reconnoitred the position, which was one of great strength, made no attempt to disturb the allied English and Portuguese army. The Spanish Cortes assembled (Sept. 24), swore allegiance to Ferdinand VII., and appointed a regency, in which the executive power was vested. Some commotions occurred in the Spanish provinces in South America, and on the 19th of April, 1810, the flourishing province of the Caraccas, with the surrounding districts, formed a union, under the name of the Republic of Venezuela ; and General Miranda was invited to take the command of their forces. Murat, the new king of Naples, collected a powerful armament on the coast of Calabria, for the purpose of invading Sicily. Sir John Stuart, who commanded in the Mediterranean, took measures for the defence of this island. In an action near Faro Point, where the French had landed some of their forces, they were defeated by Major-Gen. Campbell, and about nine hundred taken prisoners (Sept. 18, 1810). The remnant re-embarked, and the French expedition was recalled (Oct. 3).

LETTER 13.—History of Affairs upon the Continent of Europe, from the Capture of Tortosa by Marshal Suchet, to the Russian Declaration of War against France. A.D. 1811—1812. Vol. iv., pages 112—118.

§ 728. The next campaign in the Peninsula commenced at a very early season of the year. The French army was in three grand divisions, in Portugal, in Andalusia, and in Catalonia. Suchet captured Tortosa (Jan. 2, 1811), and

Soult obtained possession of Olivenza (Jan. 23, 1811). The siege of Cadiz was still prosecuted by the French, and an army of English, Spaniards, and Portuguese landed at Algeiras (Feb.). The allied force, amounting to about six thousand men, advanced against Victor, who was at the head of eight thousand troops, and, after a sharp contest, gained a decided victory, on the heights of Barossa (March 5). The French lost about three thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners; one eagle, six pieces of cannon, their ammunition-waggons and horses. The loss of the allies was only twelve hundred. Wellington in another direction pressed hard upon Massena, at that time in full retreat. The French rear-guard was defeated in a skirmish at Pombal (March 11), but on the same day, Badajos, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered to Soult. Wellington, however, continued to advance. Olivenza fell before Beresford (April 15), and an attempt was made to regain possession of Badajos. The return of Soult at the head of a large army compelled the British commanders to raise the siege and fight a battle. The allies had the advantage in point of numbers, but the French were veteran troops. The encounter at Albuera (May 16) was one of the most hotly contested during the peninsular war, in which, after a daring struggle, the French once more retreated.

§ 729. After this victory Wellington recommenced the siege of Badajos, which the return of Soult with Marmont had induced him to abandon. In Catalonia Suchet had carried Fort Balaguer by assault (Jan. 9), but was defeated by the Spanish general Sarsfield (Jan. 15). The Spaniards also recovered Figueras (April 10). Suchet, after some delay, besieged Tarragona, which resisted gallantly, but was finally carried, under circumstances of great barbarity (June 28). Suchet entered the province of Valencia and captured Murviedro (Sept. 27). General Blake failed in an attempt to arrest the French general's progress, and the city of Valencia was invested on every side (Dec. 25). While waging this contest in the Peninsula, Napoleon pursued his grand projects of totally excluding British commerce from the continent of Europe, and of raising a navy which might in time contend with that of England for the dominion of the sea. The great commercial city of Hamburg was annexed to the French empire (Jan. 1, 1811), and a plan of marine conscription adopted, for the purpose of strengthening the French navy. The empress was safely delivered of a son

and heir (March 20, 1811), and the infant received the title of the king of Rome. In the autumn, Napoleon, accompanied by the empress, went on a tour to the coasts of France, the Netherlands, and Holland. During this time, and after his return to Paris, the emperor was actively employed in negotiating with the northern powers; the consequences of which soon began to develop themselves. The year closed with an immediate call for a hundred and twenty thousand conscripts for the year 1812. Although Germany lay prostrate at Napoleon's feet, Sweden remained true to her long-standing friendship with England. The Danes were repulsed in an attempt to regain possession of the island of Anholt (March 14), which was occupied by an English garrison. During the year 1811 Russia waged war against the Turks with considerable success. In spite of the efforts made by Napoleon to bind the czar to his interest, a flourishing commerce was carried on between Great Britain and Russia. The annexation of the duchy of Oldenburg, and Buonaparte's continued aggressions, alarmed Alexander, and he was evidently preparing to make a stand against the disturber of the peace of Europe. Negotiations failed to avert the blow, and, early in 1812, war was declared against France by an imperial ukase.

LETTER 14.—History of Affairs in Great Britain, from the Debates in Parliament on George the Third's Indisposition, to the Formation of the Liverpool Administration. A.D. 1811—1812. Vol. iv., pages 119—125.

§ 730. The melancholy situation of the monarch again rendered the appointment of a regency necessary to the regular administration of the affairs of government. The ministry, willing to believe that the king's incapacity would not be permanent, continued to govern in his name for eight weeks, before any parliamentary arrangements were made. The House of Commons then voted that it was their right and duty, in concert with the Peers, to provide the means of supplying the deficiency of the executive power. The Lords, after some remonstrances, agreed to the proposal. The prince of Wales, afterwards George the Fourth, was made regent, under certain restrictions. The Irish Roman Catholics agitated their claims; and some state prosecutions, which terminated in the acquittal of the defendants, were instituted. An attempt to interfere with the privileges of the dissenters provoked considerable oppo-

sition, and was finally abandoned. The dispute with America remained unadjusted, and on the meeting of Congress (Nov. 4, 1811) the President announced the necessity of making preparations for war. The island of Java surrendered (Aug. 8, 1811) to a British expedition despatched from Madras, and the Dutch forces, which had retired further up the island, were pursued and defeated (Aug. 26); after which they surrendered. Hosts with five frigates dispersed a more numerous French squadron in the Adriatic, and made several captures (March 13); and in the Indian Sea, near Madagascar, Captain Schomberg took a French frigate and destroyed some batteries (May 20 and 21). Some terrible storms occurred in the month of December, by which great losses were inflicted upon the British navy.

§ 731. The continuance of the war caused depression in home industry. The factory operatives in Nottingham commenced rioting, the discontent spread to Derbyshire and Leicestershire, and many collisions between the authorities and the rioters ensued. As the latter destroyed the frames, this was made a capital offence, and increased powers were obtained from Parliament early in the session of 1812. The restrictions in the Regency Act were to expire in Feb. 1812, and on the 13th the Prince Regent addressed a letter to the duke of York upon that subject. The epistle contained allusions to a change of ministry, and created considerable discussion. The ministry, however, remained in office, and a tragical event at last produced a change. As Mr. Percival was entering the lobby of the House of Commons, at about five in the afternoon, he was shot through the heart by a person named Bellingham, in revenge for an imaginary slight (May 11). A ministerial crisis followed, and after several statesmen had failed in their endeavours to form a cabinet, Lord Liverpool was made prime minister (June 9, 1812).

LETTER 15.—History of the War in the Peninsula, from the Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo to Wellington's Failure before Burgos and Retreat to Freynada. A.D. 1812, Jan. 19—Nov. 24. Vol. iv., pages 125—130.

§ 732. Early in 1812 Lord Wellington crossed the Agueda, and invested Ciudad Rodrigo, which did not long resist his efforts (Jan. 19). Thence the English general advanced upon Badajos, and after a gallant resistance the fortress surrendered (April 6). Marmont, who had in the

mean time penetrated into Portugal, no sooner received the intelligence of its fall than he commenced his retreat; and Soult also retired. Lord Wellington started in pursuit, fought several skirmishes with the enemy, and took Salamanca, after a siege of ten days (June 27, 1812). Marmont for some time refused a battle, but was at length compelled to engage at Salamanca, and being defeated (July 22), retreated upon Burgos. Wellington immediately hastened towards Madrid. King Joseph took the alarm and abandoned the capital, which the English commander entered amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, who welcomed him as their deliverer (Aug. 12). The French generals concentrated their forces around Burgos, determined to make a desperate effort to retrieve their losses. Wellington followed and laid siege to the place. The French, however, moved their forces with such rapidity that Wellington was compelled to retire. He recalled his troops from Madrid, and after a masterly retreat, in the presence of very superior forces, succeeded in fixing his head-quarters at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier (Nov. 24).

LETTER 16.—Napoleon's Campaign in Russia. A.D. 1812.
Vol. iv., pages 130—138.

§ 733. From the commencement of the year 1812, the eyes of all Europe had been directed towards a new scene which was opening in the north, and which gave rise to a variety of political conjectures. For some time the two powerful emperors, who from the treaty of Tilsit had maintained a state of strict amity and alliance, exhibited indications of misunderstanding and even of hostility. The support of the continental system, contrived for the purpose of annihilating the commerce of Great Britain, and drying up the sources of her wealth, was the favourite object of the ruler of France. The overthrow of this system was evidently the interest of Russia, Sweden, and Prussia; but the resources of Sweden were inconsiderable, and Prussia was in vassalage to France. Russia was the only power that could take the lead in an attempt of that nature, in which, however, she was certain of being supported by Great Britain. The emperor of the French, with the forces of Prussia and those of the Confederation of the Rhine at his command, and with every reason to expect the assistance of Austria, might probably suppose that his appearance in the field, with so vast a display of military strength, would intimidate Russia.

into a compliance with his demands; or, calling to mind the ensanguined fields of Austerlitz and Friedland, he might flatter himself that one successful campaign, or one decisive victory, would enable him to dictate the conditions of peace. But whatever might be the views and expectations of the emperor of France, he began, very early in the spring of 1812, to move numerous bodies of troops into the interior of Germany. The Russian emperor also prepared to meet the impending storm; and after issuing a declaration of war, put his armies in motion, and by an imperial ukase, dated the 23rd of March, 1812, ordered a levy of men throughout his extensive dominions. Preparatory to the great contest, the emperor of the French concluded treaties of alliance with Prussia and Austria, by which these two powers engaged to assist him with very considerable forces. The emperor of Russia also concluded a treaty of peace with the Ottoman Porte, to which he restored the conquests he had made in Moldavia and Wallachia, and this accommodation enabled him to withdraw his armies from the banks of the Danube. All matters of dispute were also settled between Russia and Great Britain (July 18, 1812).

§ 734. Buonaparte, accompanied by the empress, quitted Paris on the 9th of May, and after spending a few hours at Mayence, proceeded to Dresden, at which city a number of continental sovereigns had assembled to pay him homage. He remained there nearly a fortnight to receive their congratulations and to mature his plans, and then set out to join his army. It consisted of combatants from almost every nation in Europe, who had been brought together in the country lying between the Vistula and the Niemen. The numbers have been variously estimated, some authorities rating them at nearly seven hundred thousand, and others as low as four hundred thousand. Caefigue, generally a safe guide, estimates the grand total at 498,000 men; composed as follows: 60,000 Poles; 20,000 Saxons; 30,000 Austrians; 30,000 Bavarians; 22,000 Prussians; 20,000 Westphalians; 32,000 from the minor states of Germany; 20,000 Italians and Neapolitans; 4,000 Spanish and Portuguese; 10,000 Swiss, and 250,000 French. On the 30th of May Buonaparte entered Poland, and soon after joined his levies, then in full march for the Niemen, which river they began crossing on the 24th of June. From wing to wing of this mighty force, a distance of nearly three hundred miles interposed, and the fact that this was

oftener increased than diminished during the campaign, will account for many of the calamities that befell this truly unfortunate expedition. The czar prepared to resist the invasion, and could at first bring but 180,000 men into the field. Clausewitz says, "The Russian army on the frontier, at the opening of the campaign, was disposed in three main branches:—1. The army of the West under Barclay, 90,000, its head-quarters being at Wilna. 2. The second army of the West under Bagration, 45,000 strong. 3. The reserve, 35,000, and about 10,000 Cossacks. The Russian plan of the campaign was to retire slowly, and take post on the Düna, at Drissa, where an intrenched camp had been prepared, and Napoleon's aim was to bring these troops to an engagement as soon as possible; but subsequent events caused both the assailants and the assailed to modify their plans.

§ 735. The Russians, alarmed at the numbers brought against them, retired more rapidly than had been at first intended. Buonaparte entered Wilna on the 28th of June, and halted in the town three weeks. Several skirmishes took place at various points; and although the Russians at one time seemed willing to risk an encounter, they abandoned their intrenched camp, and Buonaparte entered Witepsk, where he wasted three weeks. At this point the abandonment of the expedition was contemplated; but, unwilling to become the laughing-stock of Europe, the emperor pushed on, and after some sharp actions before Smolensko, found the Russian army drawn up at Borodino, under the command of the veteran Kutusoff. On the eve of the battle, the news of Wellington's victory at Salamanca reached the French camp. There was no great disparity in the strength of the opposing armies, and a most sanguinary engagement was fought (Sept. 7). Night put an end to the conflict, and the Russians retired, abandoning even their capital to the invader. The French came in sight of Moscow on the 14th of September, and entered the city in triumph. Whilst the invaders were engaged in pillage and riot, flames burst out in several places. All efforts to obtain a mastery over the devouring element proved unavailing; and Buonaparte's levies were without shelter or supplies. To all proposals of peace the czar returned no answer; and, after a useless delay of five weeks, the order for the retreat was given. The French emperor's attempt to retire by another route, through a tract of country in which supplies had not been exhausted, was frustrated, and the Russians pressed around his retreating

troops, and brought on a fierce encounter at Malo-Jaroslawitz (Oct. 24, 1812), in which they were victorious.

§ 736. On the 6th of November the severity of winter added to the horrors of the march. On that day the snow began to fall, and beneath it the strong and the brave sank to rise no more. Ill fed, scantily apparelled, pressed hard by an insolent and implacable enemy, the remnant of Buonaparte's army was ever in the presence of the avenger. Discipline became gradually relaxed, spoils were abandoned, disputes occurred among both officers and men, and the most lamentable sufferings prevailed in every rank. Smolensko was reached on the 9th of November, but it afforded no refuge to the retreating army, and on the 25th Buonaparte arrived at the banks of the Beresina. Here he found his retreat cut off by a Russian force that had recently arrived from the Danube. Extricating himself by a clever manœuvre, Buonaparte continued his flight towards Poland. At Smorgoni (Dec. 5) he quitted his levies, and entered the palace of the Tuileries a fugitive, on the night of the 18th of December. The wretched remnant of his army struggled towards the Niemen; and of that magnificent array, which had crossed during the summer, not more than 42,000 returned, and of these only 18,000 were French. This expedition, like the attack upon Spain, was another of Buonaparte's great mistakes. It cannot be denied that the resistance of the Russians was obstinate, but their leaders lacked ability. Had the defence been vigorously waged, the French would never have reached Moscow.

LETTER 17.—History of the European War, from the Meeting of the English Parliament in 1812, to the First Abdication of Napoleon and his Withdrawal to Elba. A.D. 1812—1813. Vol. iv. pages 138—145.

§ 737. A general election took place in England during the autumn of 1812, and soon after the assembling of the new Parliament (Nov. 24), one hundred thousand pounds were voted to the duke of Wellington as a reward for his military services, and two hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers in Russia. The campaign in Spain commenced under favourable auspices. The advance of Wellington once more induced King Joseph to quit the capital, and the French army was defeated at Vittoria, losing their artillery and baggage (June 21, 1813). They contrived to retreat; and, before the end of the year, had been

driven out of the Peninsula. Wellington followed them into France, and at the passage of the Nive, a series of brilliant actions ensued (Dec. 9—13, 1813), in which victory remained with the allies. The field of battle was transferred to Dresden in 1813, and was around Paris in 1814—so rapid was the reverse of fortune. The cabinet of Berlin began the defection. On the 1st of March, 1813, Prussia reunited its arms with those of Russia and England, which formed the sixth coalition; and Sweden shortly after was added to the confederacy. The emperor, whom the allies considered to be crushed, opened the campaign with new successes. The battle of Lutzen, hotly contested (May 2, 1813); the occupation of Dresden (May 8); the battle of Bautzen (May 20 and 21); and the war carried to the banks of the Elbe, astonished the coalition. Austria meditated a change of alliance, and proposed itself as mediator between Napoleon and the confederates. Its mediation was accepted; an armistice was concluded at Pleswitz (June 4), and a congress assembled at Prague, to negotiate the peace. The views of the parties, however, were soon found to be strangely at variance with each other. Napoleon would on no account consent to a diminution of his power, and Europe refused to remain subject to him. The confederated powers, in concurrence with Austria, demanded that the empire of France should be bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Meuse; which was disdainfully rejected, and the negotiators separated without coming to any conclusion.

§ 738. War alone could terminate this grand debate. Napoleon wished to drive the allies beyond the Elbe, and dissolve as usual this new coalition by the promptitude and vigour of his measures; and for a short time victory clung to his standards. He beat the allies at Dresden (Aug. 26 and 27), but the defeats of his lieutenants deranged his plans. Macdonald was vanquished in Silesia; Ney, near Berlin; Vandamme, at Culm. Finding himself unable to make head against the enemy, which was now ready to burst upon him from every quarter, Napoleon began to think of retreating. The princes of the Confederation of the Rhine chose this moment to desert the French empire. A sanguinary engagement took place between the two armies at Leipsic (Oct. 16, 18, and 19), and Napoleon was compelled to retreat, after a fearful struggle. His army marched in the greatest confusion

towards the Rhine, fought a battle at Hanau, and re-entered the territory of the empire on the 30th of October, 1813. The end of this campaign was almost as disadvantageous as that of the preceding. Sir Walter Scott, speaking of these events, says: "The rupture of the armistice seemed to be the date of his declension, as indeed the junction of the Austrians enabled the allies to bear him down by resistless numbers. Nine battles had been fought since that period, including the action at Culm, which, in its results, is well entitled to the name. Of these, Buonaparte only gained two—those of Dresden and Hanau; that at Wachau was indecisive; while at Gross-Beeren, at Jauer on the Katzbach, at Culm, at Dennewitz, at Mockern, and at Leipsic, the allies obtained decisive and important victories." Napoleon returned to Paris on the 9th of November, and having obtained from the senate a levy of three hundred thousand men, he made with the greatest ardour preparations for a new campaign.

§ 739. At Frankfort the allied sovereigns issued a declaration (Dec. 1), couched in the most moderate language. Buonaparte refused to make any concessions, and suddenly dissolved the Legislative Assembly, which seemed anxious for peace (Dec. 31). In the mean time the allies were invading the empire at all points. The Austrians were advancing into Italy, while the British troops, who had made themselves masters of the entire peninsula, had passed the Bidassoa under the victorious Wellington, and crossed the Pyrenees. Three large armies were hanging on France to the east and the north. The grand allied army, of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of Prince Schwartzemberg, was entering by way of Switzerland; that of Silesia under Blucher, consisting of a hundred and thirty thousand men, was entering by Frankfort; and that of the north, of a hundred thousand men, under Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, had invaded Holland and penetrated into Belgium. Disregarding in their turn the fortified places, and instructed by Napoleon in the principles of carrying on war upon a grand scale, the allies determined to march upon the capital. At the moment when the emperor was quitting Paris to put his troops in motion, the two armies of Schwartzemberg and Blucher were upon the point of effecting their junction in Champagne. The campaign was of short duration, but it afforded Buonaparte several opportunities for the display of his great military

genius. The battle of Brienne was fought on the 29th of January, 1814, when Buonaparte succeeded in driving Blücher from a strong position before that town; but the allies, having concentrated their forces, retaliated at La Rothière (Feb. 1), on which occasion the French were repulsed with great loss. Having received intelligence that part of the allied army was advancing upon Paris, Napoleon went in pursuit. The victories of Champaubert (Feb. 10), Montmirail (Feb. 11), and Vauchamps (Feb. 14) were of the most brilliant character. Negotiations were carried on at the congress of Chatillon-sur-Seine; but the arrogance of Napoleon convinced the allies that their sole chance lay in victory. They pressed around the retreating emperor, several battles were fought with varied success, and Paris surrendered on the 31st of March. The allies issued a proclamation, declaring that neither Napoleon nor any of his family would be treated with. A provisional government was formed, Buonaparte was deposed, and the Bourbon family recalled. He endeavoured to struggle against this decision; but being deserted by most of his generals, at last signed his abdication (April 6). The small island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, was assigned to him, and on the 20th of April he quitted Fontainebleau, being attended by four commissioners.

LETTER 18.—History of Affairs continued, from the Declaration of War by the United States against England, to the Visit of the Allied Sovereigns to London. A.D. 1812—1814. Vol. iv., pages 146—155.

§ 740. The English government consented to revoke the orders in council; but before any notification of this reached Congress, after making great preparations, the United States declared war (June 18, 1812). The conquest of Canada was an object which the American government evidently had in view when they declared hostilities, regarding it no doubt of easy attainment, the British force in that country being small, and the attachment of the people equivocal. Their operations against it commenced early in July, 1812. General Hull entered the province of Upper Canada, above Fort Detroit, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, in a style expressive of his high confidence of success. His progress was speedily checked; he was besieged in Detroit, and compelled to surrender to a much inferior force of British and Indians (Aug. 16). Another

attempt near Queenstown also failed ; but these disgraces to the American arms by land were in some degree compensated by their successes at sea. Their navy consisted of a few frigates, of a rate corresponding to the largest British, but in size, weight of metal, and number of men, nearly equal to ships of the line. Hence, when encountered by British frigates, the latter found themselves, as it were, surprised into a conflict with antagonists of much superior force. In this manner the *Guerrière* (Aug. 19, 1812) and the *Macedonian* (Oct. 25) were captured, after desperate engagements, by American ships greatly superior in armament and weight of metal. During 1813, several efforts were made by the Americans to obtain possession of Canada, but after many conflicts they were driven out of both provinces. At sea the English maintained their superiority, and before the end of the year, the American flag had been driven from the ocean. Of the numerous actions fought at this period, that between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake* was the most glorious. The English frigate, the *Shannon*, Captain Broke, stationed off the port of Boston, had been brought to a state of the most perfect discipline by her commander, who assiduously exercised his men in the use of great and small arms. On the 1st of June Captain Broke stood close in with the Boston lighthouse, by way of a challenge to the United States frigate, the *Chesapeake*. The American accepted the proffered combat, and, standing out of the harbour, confidently bore down upon his foe. The ships were soon in close contact, when Captain Broke, perceiving a favourable opportunity, gave orders to board the *Chesapeake*, himself setting the example. The conflict was severe, but short.* The war was waged during 1814 with renewed vigour. The English retaliated for the various attacks made upon Canada, by invading the American territory, burning Washington (Aug. 24), and defeating the American army at Baltimore (Sept. 12). Negotiations for peace were carried on, first at Gottenburg and afterwards at Ghent,

* This is one of the most brilliant naval actions on record. The strength of the ships was as follows:—

	Tons.	Guns.	Crew.
<i>Chesapeake</i>	1135	50	376
<i>Shannon</i>	1066	49	330

In one quarter of an hour the *Chesapeake* was captured, with a loss of 46 killed and 106 wounded. The *Shannon* had 24 killed and 59 wounded.

and a treaty, which put an end to the war, was signed on the 24th of December.

§ 741. On the overthrow of Napoleon, Louis XVIII., who had long lived in England, was raised to the throne. France was reduced within its limits of 1792. Buonaparte pursued his journey towards Elba, and in passing through Avignon nearly fell a prey to the fury of the populace. At Frejus he embarked on board an English frigate, which carried him in safety to his place of exile. The negotiations between France and the combined powers were conducted without acrimony. Louis XVIII. and Talleyrand were sensible of the necessity of abandoning Napoleon's conquests, and of restricting the kingdom to moderate limits. Great Britain agreed to yield all her conquests in the West Indies, except Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Spanish part of St. Domingo, with the Isle of France. Malta was confirmed to England; and France engaged to erect no fortifications in India; she also pledged herself to co-operate with Great Britain in the eventual abolition of the slave-trade. This treaty, which was signed at Paris (May 30, 1814), also contained an article, ordering a congress to be held at Vienna, consisting of plenipotentiaries of the contracting powers, for the adjustment of the balance of power and of a durable peace. Having so far arranged the new order of things in France, the allied sovereigns received a respectful invitation from the Prince Regent to visit England, of which several of them cheerfully availed themselves. They reached London in the beginning of June, and received a most cordial welcome (1814).

CHAPTER III.

LETTER 19.—History of European Affairs, from the Restoration of the Bourbons in France, to Napoleon's Escape from Elba, and the Renewal of the War. A.D. 1814—1815. Vol. iv., pages 155—164.

§ 742. The French people quickly grew dissatisfied with the terms of the pacification. The loss of all their conquests afflicted them deeply, and although certain concessions were made to gratify their vanity, these did not compensate them for what they had lost. In the mean time Buonaparte appeared to resign himself to his fate; and declared that his intentions were henceforth to devote himself to the pursuits of science and literature. He traversed his new empire in every direction; planned improvements or alterations, which, had they been carried into effect, with the means which he possessed, would probably have occupied his whole lifetime. He established his court upon an ambitious scale, considering his limited territory and slender income: the interior of his household, though reduced to thirty-five persons, still held the titles, and affected the rank proper to an imperial court; and his body-guard, consisting of about seven hundred infantry and eighty cavalry, seemed to occupy as much of his attention as the grand army had formerly done. They were constantly exercised, and, in a short time, he was observed to be anxious about obtaining recruits. Buonaparte was greatly annoyed at his separation from the empress and his son, and the delay which occurred in the payment of his pension. Intrigues were carried on for some time, and on the 26th of February, 1815, he quitted Elba, with all the friends he could muster. He landed at Cannes (March 1), and commenced his march upon Paris. Louis XVIII. took the alarm at the enthusiasm with which Buonaparte was received, and abandoned his capital (March 20), which his rival entered a few hours afterwards. The allied sovereigns, owing to the determination of Alexander to obtain Poland, were on the point of coming

to a rupture at Vienna, when the intelligence of Buonaparte's return to France arrived. On the 13th of March, 1815, the following declaration appeared :—" By thus breaking the convention, which had established him in the island of Elba, Napoleon Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his political existence depended. By appearing in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and, that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance."

§ 743. All Europe now rang with preparations for war. A treaty was formed (March 15) between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in which the contracting parties agreed to maintain and enforce the treaty of Paris, which excluded Buonaparte from the throne, and the decree of outlawry issued against him; each of the contracting parties agreed to keep constantly in the field an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and not to lay down their arms but by common consent, with numerous other stipulations. In the mean time Napoleon did not hesitate to express to the ministers of the allied powers his willingness to acquiesce in the treaty of Paris. He sent a letter to the allied sovereigns, expressing his desire to make peace on the same principles which had been arranged with the Bourbons. No answers were returned; the decision of the allies had been already adopted. Napoleon soon became sensible that the grand point at issue could only be decided on the field of battle. He consequently set himself in good earnest to conciliate the French people, and ingratiate himself with them. He published a list of his grievances in justification of the step he had taken; such as his separation from his family, the non-payment of his pension, &c. &c., and especially insisted upon his having been recalled by the voice of the nation. Had he said the voice of the army, he might have obtained more credit; for certainly the army had shown great devotion to him, upon grounds which are easily appreciated. But the French people no longer trusted him implicitly as they had done in former years. A modification of the constitution which he presented to the

chambers was not well received, and Buonaparte, on quitting Paris to join the army, left the chambers to alter it as they deemed fit (June 12, 1815).

LETTER 20.—History of European Affairs continued, from the Departure of Napoleon from Paris to his Retreat from Waterloo. A.D. 1815, June 12—18. Vol. iv., pages 164—175.

§ 744. The moment the escape of Buonaparte was known, England sent reinforcements into the Belgian fortresses, in which she had retained garrisons, and the duke of Wellington repaired to Brussels to take the command of the army. The Prussians assembled near Namur, and the Russians were marching towards the theatre of the war. The French army crossed the frontier on the 15th of June. Buonaparte's plan of campaign was, if possible, to interpose between the English and Prussian armies, and beat them in detail. Not succeeding in that so well as he had anticipated, the emperor despatched Ney against the English at Quatre Bras, whilst he attacked the Prussians at Ligny (June 16). Ney was defeated, but Buonaparte gained some advantages. On hearing of the repulse which Blücher had sustained, Wellington determined to fall back upon Waterloo, whither he was immediately followed by Napoleon. The allied army, drawn up on that memorable battlefield, consisted of 67,655 men, with 156 guns. Of this force, about one third were English. Napoleon had a fine array of 71,947 men, with 246 guns. Of these, a great number were veteran troops. During the night of the 17th of June, rain continued to fall without intermission, but on the morning of the 18th, the weather cleared up a little.

§ 745. The battle commenced about eleven by an attack upon Hougoumont. The British at first remained on the defensive, and Napoleon directed all his efforts to break their line. The Dutch-Belgian troops turned and fled, but the British infantry stood firm. A French writer declares that the firmness of these soldiers was such as almost to induce one to believe that "they were rooted to the ground." They formed themselves into squares, and received the repeated charges of the French cavalry with wonderful fortitude. At six in the evening, after a long succession of the most furious attacks, the French had gained no success, except occupying for a short time the wood around Hougoumont, from which they had been expelled, and the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, which also had been recovered. The

British, on the other hand, had suffered very severely, but had not lost one inch of ground. Ten thousand men were, however, killed or wounded; some of the foreign regiments had given way, though others had shown the most determined bravery. The ranks were thinned, both by the actual fugitives and by the absence of individuals, who left the ensanguined field for the purpose of carrying off the wounded, and some of them would naturally be in no hurry to return to so fatal a scene. Buonaparte was anxiously expecting the arrival of Grouchy with reinforcements, while Wellington as eagerly looked forward for the promised support of Blücher. Under these circumstances the contest was fiercely waged. At length Buonaparte ordered a charge of the Old Guard, under the command of Marshal Ney. The British met these brave troops with undaunted courage, and after the first shock, received the order to advance. This they did with loud acclamations, and the most hotly contested victory of modern times was gained. At this moment the Prussian columns began to emerge from the woods on the left, and these fresh troops continued the pursuit. The French army was completely annihilated, while the loss on the part of the British was, as Wellington termed it, "immense." One hundred officers were killed, five hundred wounded, and 15,000 men killed or wounded.

LETTER 21.—History of European Affairs continued, from the Battle of Waterloo to the Death of Buonaparte. A.D. 1815—1821. Vol. iv., pages 175—186.

§ 746. Buonaparte with difficulty made his escape amongst the host of fugitives, and reached Paris on the evening of the 21st of June. Discontent prevailed in the capital, rumours of disaster were in circulation, and the aspect of affairs was most unpromising. In this emergency Buonaparte desired to be invested with the dictatorship, but this was not conceded, and finding himself deserted, he abdicated in favour of his son (June 22). A provisional government was formed, and Buonaparte, who had retired to Malmaison, set out for Rochefort (June 29), intending to sail for America. Paris capitulated on the 3rd of July, and the allied armies entered soon after. In the mean time the English cruisers effectually cut off Buonaparte's retreat, and he surrendered to Captain Maitland, on board the *Bellerophon* (July 15). The English government would not

allow him to land in England, and after mature deliberation, resolved upon sending him to the island of St. Helena, where he arrived in the middle of October. Buonaparte always complained of the conduct of the English government in treating him as their prisoner; but his surrender was unconditional, and before he set foot upon the *Belle-rophon*, the English naval commanders repeatedly refused to pledge themselves to his agents in any way whatever. The conduct of this fallen hero in his captivity was most undignified. Although he had twice abdicated, he claimed the title of emperor, and embittered the closing years of his existence by absurd disputes on points of etiquette and various trivial matters.

§ 747. Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris on the 6th of July. On the 26th of September, the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia entered into a treaty at Paris. By the tenor of this singular document, which received the name of "the Holy Alliance," being couched in the most devout and solemn language, the high contracting parties declared their resolution to take for their sole guide, both in their domestic administration and foreign relations, the precepts of the holy religion of Christ their Saviour. In consequence, they bound themselves to the observance of three articles:—The first of these united them in a fraternity of mutual assistance, and in the common protection of religion, peace, and justice; which in the second article was explained to mean, that they regarded themselves as delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same Christian nation, of which the Divine Being, under his three characters, was the sole real sovereign. The third article declared a readiness to receive into the holy alliance all the powers who should solemnly avow the sacred principles which had dictated it, Louis XVIII. had resumed the crown under circumstances which rendered it truly a crown of thorns. Some of the principal towns in France, which had held out under their military commanders, were at length brought to submit; and the French army itself, that dangerous organ of power, was finally dissolved, to be replaced by a new one levied on national principles. The public discontent was, however, greatly aggravated by an act of resumption exercised by the allies; it was that of entirely stripping the museum of the Louvre of all those fruits of conquest which had rendered it the repository of the most famous works of art

in Europe. These spoiliations were now reclaimed, and restored to Germany, to Flanders, and to Italy. Venice received back the famous Corinthian horse; Florence, the Venus de Medicis; Rome, the Apollo Belvidere, and the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Italian art.

§ 748. The congress of Vienna at length settled the terms upon which the general pacification of Europe was to be based. The treaty was definitively signed at Paris (Nov. 20, 1815), and it stipulated that Louis should cede to the allies the important fortresses of Landau, Saar-Louis, Philippeville, and Marienburg, with the duchy of Bouillon. Versoix, and part of the territory of Gex, were yielded to the Helvetic confederacy; the works of Huningen were dismantled; and France engaged not to erect others within the distance of three leagues from Basle; thus leaving a free passage into the heart of France. Seventeen of the principal towns on the frontiers of French Flanders, Champagne, Lorraine, and Alsace, were to be delivered up to the allies, to be held in trust for five years by an army of occupation, consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand men, maintained solely at the expense of France. Several peers were degraded, Marshal Ney and others, who had proved traitors to the cause of the Bourbons, were tried and executed. Holland and Belgium were united into one kingdom, and William, prince of Orange, stadtholder, became the first king. The war left England under the pressure of taxation; but great reductions were made, and the public burthens materially lightened. A reaction, however, occurred, and both the agricultural and manufacturing interests were seriously depressed. Rioting ensued in consequence, and many outrages were committed. During the session of 1817, the distracted state of the country was discussed in Parliament, and measures were adopted to repress the turbulent proceedings of certain sections of the community. Mr. Abbot, the speaker, resigned, and Charles Manners Sutton was appointed in his stead. Lord Amherst, who had left England on an embassy to China in the preceding year, returned in the autumn of 1817, without having accomplished the purpose of his mission. The Princess Charlotte of Wales, heiress presumptive to the crown, a great favourite with the English nation, died in child-bed (Nov. 6, 1817.) Her marriage to Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg (May 2, 1816), had given general satisfaction.

§ 749. In the year 1818, a new dynasty commenced in

Sweden. On the 5th of February the king died, after a tedious illness, and was succeeded by Charles-John Bernadotte, who assumed the royal functions with all the confidence of an hereditary sovereign, but not without the acquiescence of the nobility and people at large. A session of the diet was conducted under his auspices with decorum and tranquillity; and some useful enactments and regulations evinced his desire of continuing in a state of harmony with his subjects. The apparent tranquillity which prevailed in France, and the probability of its continuance, induced the allied sovereigns to gratify the French people by recalling the whole army of occupation two years before the stipulated time. A congress was convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle (Feb. 14, 1818); and as the affair had been already settled in their respective cabinets, the proposition of recall was speedily sanctioned. In the mean time Buonaparte's residence at St. Helena was embittered by a series of disputes between himself, his attendants, and the governor of the island, Sir Hudson Lowe. Recent investigations have proved beyond all doubt that the latter has been hitherto unjustly censured. Restrictions as to the limits of the captive's rides, and the necessity of his showing himself occasionally that the governor might be assured of his safe custody, furnished matters of dispute. His health declined, he was attacked by cancer in the stomach, and, in spite of the care of his medical attendants, grew worse. The last consolations of religion were administered (April 29, 1821). At intervals his mind wandered, and he gradually sank, until the evening of the 5th of May, when he breathed his last. His career was indeed a most extraordinary one. He rose from an inferior station to wield all but universal power, and died an unhappy exile. Had his ambition been tempered by prudence, he might have worn the crown till his death; but his own vices became the means of certain retribution.

LETTER 22.—History of European Affairs, from the Revolution in Spain to the Interference of the Members of the Holy Alliance in the Affairs of Naples. A.D. 1820—1821. Vol. iv. pages 186—194.

§ 750. After the withdrawal of the allied troops, France was in a very distracted condition. The tyrannical proceedings of Ferdinand VII. led to a revolution in Spain (1820). Several deaths occurred amongst the members of the royal family of England about this time. Queen Charlotte, after

a long, useful, and exemplary life, expired on the 7th of November, 1818; the duke of Kent died Jan. 23, 1820, after a short illness. He left an infant daughter, Alexandrina Victoria, afterwards queen of England. Only six days later (Jan. 29), George III. died at Windsor, in the eighty-second year of his age, after a reign of nearly fifty-nine years. His conduct both as a king and a man deserves the highest praise, and entitles his memory to esteem and veneration. The Prince Regent succeeded, under the title of George IV. The proclamation was scarcely over ere he was attacked by illness, which brought him to the brink of the grave. A conspiracy was formed by a person of the name of Thistlewood, for the assassination of the members of the cabinet. The conspirators held their meetings in Cato-street, Marylebone, but the plot was discovered, and they were tried and executed (May 1).

§ 751. When the new Parliament assembled, the business of the two houses proceeded for some time, attended with but few indications of party animosity. But an incident at length arose which disturbed the tranquillity of the court, and threw the whole empire into an extraordinary ferment. This was the arrival of the queen—the discarded wife of George IV., who had been long absent from the scene of her ill-treatment. While residing in Italy, she had received the melancholy news of her daughter's lamented death; and intelligence had reached her of the demise of her royal uncle, to whose kindness and patronage she had formerly owed much. It was the wish of the new king that she should indefinitely prolong her absence from England; but her high spirit emboldened her to defy his menaces and his resentment, both of which she had experienced. In consequence of reports unfavourable to her character, two gentlemen of the law had been sent to the continent in 1818 to collect evidence on the subject, with a view to a divorce; but their discoveries were not then communicated to the public. Queen Caroline landed at Dover (June 6), and her progress to London had the air of a triumph. After many lamentable disputes, a bill of pains and penalties was introduced into the House of Lords. Although the promoters of this measure at first obtained a majority, they ultimately abandoned the bill (Nov. 10), and this was hailed with the most extraordinary manifestations of delight. The metropolis was illuminated for three nights. The queen received an income, but her name was omitted from the liturgy, and she

did not long survive this terrible ordeal. She died Aug. 7, 1821.

§ 752. In 1820 a revolution occurred in Portugal, but in the following year the king returned from the Brazils, and tranquillity was restored. France remained in a very distracted condition. The duke of Berri, the heir to the throne, was assassinated by a political fanatic (Feb. 13, 1820). In the Netherlands and in Germany internal repose was maintained, and in the latter country considerable progress was made towards the establishment of representative government. The grand duke of Hesse consented to the formation of two legislative assemblies. The king of Saxony, even while his subjects did not seem eagerly bent upon reform, made such concessions as rendered his government still more popular. But none of the improvements which at this period took place among the German states were more remarkable than the new constitutions which were granted by the kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria. In the former, the states of the realm were transformed into a regular parliament, to the great joy of the citizens of Stuttgart, who hailed the king with loud acclamations as the brave defender of his country, and the beneficent father of his people. In the latter, the system of despotism was repealed, and the king, who assembled the new legislature with apparent satisfaction, expressed his hope that the new constitution would prove a support to his throne and a blessing to his people. The conduct of the king of Prussia, however, formed an affecting contrast to that afforded by rulers in other countries. He ordered the arrest of many obnoxious individuals; subjected all publications to a rigid censorship; and as the majority of the students at the universities were supposed to be influenced by uncourtly sentiments, he commissioned servile agents to superintend and correct the lectures of the professors, and to introduce that discipline which would insure political forbearance and moderation. An insurrection excited by the Carbonari at Naples aroused the members of the Holy Alliance. They assembled a congress at Troppau, summoned the king of Naples to meet them at Laybach, when they took possession of his capital, dissolved the Parliament, and endeavoured to suppress the Carbonari (1821).

LETTER 23.—History of Europe continued, from the Coronation of George IV. to the Battle of Navarino. A.D. 1821—1827. Vol. iv., pages 194—200.

§ 753. George IV. was crowned at Westminster Abbey (July 19, 1821) with much pomp. In August the king visited Ireland and Hanover, and in the following year went to Scotland. When Parliament met in 1822, the king congratulated the two houses on the improvement that had taken place in the commerce and manufactures, and consequently the revenue, of the United Kingdom, at the same time deeply regretting the depressed state of the agricultural interest. For the settlement of the disordered affairs of Ireland, the rigour of coercion was preferred to the gentler methods of conciliation. The *Habeas corpus* Act was suspended, and the act against insurrection revived. In consequence of the unfavourable state of the seasons, the crops of potatoes and other vegetables failed, and a famine harassed the general population, in the southern parts of the country; to relieve which government evinced symptoms of benevolence by advancing money and finding employment for the poor. A call was also made upon the people of Great Britain to contribute to the relief of their suffering brethren, and, as might be expected, it was answered with a promptness and alacrity which filled the Irish with joy and gratitude, while it reflected great honour upon the benevolence of the English character. The marquis of Londonderry, better known as Lord Castlereagh, who for many years had borne a prominent part in the government of the country, destroyed himself in a fit of temporary insanity (Aug. 12, 1822). His death made way for George Canning; but the latter also sank under the toils of office (Aug. 8, 1827).

§ 754. On finding that the congress of Vienna had made no arrangements to rescue them from the sway of the Turks, the Greeks began to agitate, in order to secure their freedom. As early as 1817 they had made some attempts at rebellion. A revolt in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia afforded the Greeks the opportunity they desired, and a rising took place in the Morea (1821). Several massacres of Christians followed in the Turkish strongholds, and large armies were raised for the suppression of the revolt. The independence of Greece was proclaimed (Jan. 27, 1822), and after struggling some time with varied suc-

cess, the conflict began to attract the attention of Europe. Lord Byron and several English gentlemen assisted the Greeks both personally and with money. The noble poet granted the Greek committee a loan of £10,000, took five hundred men into his pay, and was invested with the command of three thousand. But, with all the influence of his name and talents, he could effect but little in the way of securing their obedience, or promoting the success of the war. By exposing himself to a climate to which he was not accustomed, he brought on a rheumatic fever, of which he died, at Missolonghi (April 19, 1824).

§ 755. The war of Grecian independence had lasted through four campaigns; and although the Greeks had gained many advantages, it was evident that they were not in a condition to struggle against the Turks. Accordingly the great powers of Europe, having in vain offered to mediate, prepared to interfere. A treaty, called the Treaty of London, was signed by England, France, and Russia, in which the three contracting parties engaged to equip a fleet for the purpose of staying the further progress of hostilities. The Egyptian fleet effected a junction with that of Turkey, and took up a position at Navarino. Here they were attacked and completely destroyed by Sir Edward Codrington, at the head of the French, English, and Russian squadron (Oct. 20, 1827). The bloody and destructive battle raged for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination was such as has rarely been witnessed. Of the Turkish fleet, which at the commencement of the action consisted of seventy sail, no less than sixty-two were burnt, sunk, or driven on shore complete wrecks; and, from a statement of the Turkish admiral, it appears that on board of two line-of-battle ships, each with a crew of eight hundred and fifty men, there were killed, in one ship six hundred and fifty, and in the other four hundred.

LETTER 24.—History of Affairs in various Parts of the Globe, from the War with the Ashantees in Western Africa, to the Accession of Nicholas I. to the Throne of Russia. A.D. 1823—1825. Vol. iv., pages 201—210.

§ 756. In the early part of the year 1824, the British government were not a little surprised at receiving intelligence that a war had broken out at one of their colonies in Western Africa. The Fantees, who occupied the country

near Cape-Coast Castle, were involved in hostilities through the ambitious and restless spirit of the Ashantees, a people possessing an extensive range of country immediately behind the Gold Coast. Unable to withstand this powerful nation, the Fantees had for some time become vassals and tributaries to them; a treaty was concluded on that basis; and they acknowledged themselves the tenants of the victorious king. The governor of the colony, however, was not inclined to adhere to this treaty, and Sir Charles M'Carthy, who had been sent out from England to take the command upon the Gold Coast, promised to support the Fantees in a revolt from their new masters. The consequence was a war, in which the Ashantees manifested both courage and cruelty. The colonial force gained the advantage in some slight conflicts; but the Ashantees having mustered an army of ten thousand men, came down upon the garrison of Fetteh, which did not consist of one thousand, under the command of Sir Charles, when they completely surrounded his battalions, put most of them to the sword, and among the rest the commander himself (Jan. 21, 1824). Major Chisholm avenged in some measure this outrage, by inflicting a severe chastisement on the Ashantees; but he was precluded, by the retreat of his African auxiliaries, from converting the repulse into a defeat. In a subsequent contest, the Ashantees, with a force of fifteen thousand men, were met by Colonel Sutherland with about four hundred regulars and militia, to whom he was enabled to add four thousand six hundred and fifty unorganized volunteers, all of whom fought with such zeal and alacrity that the enemy were defeated, a great desertion ensued, and the Ashantees were glad to discontinue their hostile operations (July, 1824).

§ 757. In France, people, both in the metropolis and in the principal towns, were far from being reconciled to the new order of things under the Bourbons. The king attempted ministerial modifications, but these did not satisfy the nation. Insurrections broke out in various places, the most important of which were those at Saumur, Rochelle, and Toulon; but they were quelled with the loss of a few lives. In the Peninsula, matters were in a much more distracted state than in France. The Spanish Cortes, who were in possession of the reins of government, did all they could to keep the imbecile Ferdinand VII. in check; and his attempts to shake off the trammels to which he was

subject, concurred with the efforts of his adherents to create disorder and confusion. Riego presided in a session of the ordinary Cortes, and that assembly pursued a course that by no means suited the views or feelings of his majesty. At the close of the session a military riot ensued, which, after some loss of lives, terminated in favour of the constitutional party. In Portugal, the revolution proceeded with singular success. The Cortes completed the new constitution, though with much apparent labour; and on its promulgation, it was found to bear a great resemblance to the new code of Spain. These proceedings aroused the jealousy of the despotic powers, who had signed the Holy Alliance, and they persuaded the French government to raise an army for the invasion of Spain (1823). The duke of Angoulême took the command, and marched to Madrid without encountering any serious opposition. The whole kingdom was speedily subdued; and the Portuguese, alarmed at what was going on in Spain, applied to England for support. Italy remained tranquil, and the rulers of Prussia and of Austria continued to follow their humiliating policy. Louis XVIII. fell a victim to a complication of disorders (Sept. 16, 1824). He was succeeded by his brother, the count of Artois, under the title of Charles X.

§ 758. The close of the year was signalized by a hurricane, which caused great devastation in various parts of Europe. It appeared to have originated on the coasts of England and Holland, from whence it swept along the North Sea, which was everywhere furiously agitated. It traversed Sweden, prostrating whole forests in its course. Gottenburg and Stockholm suffered severely. The hurricane forced the waters of the Baltic into the Gulf of Finland. At St. Petersburg there was an inundation of the Neva, such as was never before remembered. Whole villages in the neighbourhood were swept away. The inundation appears to have subsided almost as suddenly as it came on—in one day it began and ended. Cronstadt was completely under water, and many vessels were lost. The imperial navy suffered greatly. At Portsmouth ships foundered in every direction. All the houses fronting the sea at Seaford, had their foundations sapped, and many cottages were washed away. At Dover, the tempest was more severe than any that had been experienced for many years. Off Margate, a brig went down, and all on board perished. Off Weymouth, a large ship was wrecked;

with similar results. . The breakwater, and nearly the whole of the esplanade were washed away. At Plymouth, some of the shipping in the Sound parted, cut their cables, and becoming unmanageable, went foul of other vessels, carrying away their masts, bowsprits, &c., drifting upon the rocks. On the Devonshire coast, within the small compass of three hundred yards, were to be seen the wrecks of no less than sixteen fine merchantmen. Similar calamities, such as the unroofing of houses and the falling of chimneys, occurred in various parts of the kingdom. This hurricane, the most extraordinary phenomenon of its kind upon record, traversed in a double curve of about four hundred leagues, in a very few minutes, the north of Europe.

§ 759. In the month of February, 1825, the Emperor Alexander of Russia issued a proclamation, convoking the estates of the kingdom of Poland, for the third general diet, to open on the 13th of May, and to close on the 13th of June. The diet met at Warsaw, according to appointment. During the greater part of the year, Alexander spent his time in traversing the various provinces of his dominions. Towards the end of autumn he visited the Crimea. On the 10th of November, he quitted the port of Sebastopol, after having minutely inspected it, and everything connected with the fleet in the Black Sea. On his way to Bakschiserai, he found himself slightly affected with a pain in his head, which he attributed to his having taken cold. On his return, however, he made one of a party on horseback along the shore of the Sea of Azoff. He halted at Taganrog, a town situated on the cliff of a very lofty promontory, commanding an extensive prospect of the sea, and of all the European coast, to the mouths of the Don. Here his indisposition increased, he became delirious (Nov. 27), and expired on the 1st of December. Constantine, the rightful heir, had renounced his succession (1822), and Nicholas succeeded. Having satisfied himself that Constantine was sincere in his renunciation of the imperial dignity, he was proclaimed emperor, and issued a manifesto. A general insurrection broke out against him in St. Petersburg, and had it not been for the firmness displayed by Nicholas, his throne must have been swept away.

PART V.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER, THE RUSSIAN
EMPEROR, IN 1825, TO THE CLOSE OF THE RUSSIAN
WAR IN 1856.

CHAPTER I.

LETTER I.—History of European Affairs from the Panic of 1825 to the
Autumnal Session of the British Parliament in 1826. A.D. 1825—
1826. Vol. iv., pages 211—217.

§ 760. THE year 1825 is noted for the general prosperity which characterized its advent, and the almost unparalleled ruin and desolation with which it closed. The mania for speculation produced this untoward result, and towards the end of the year, the aspect of affairs in England became gloomy in the extreme. Early in December some metropolitan banking establishments stopped payment; and the inability of their proprietors to meet their engagements caused the ruin of numerous provincial houses. About seventy banks were closed at this juncture. A general panic ensued. Cabinet councils were summoned in rapid succession, and measures adopted to afford relief. One and two-pound notes were issued, and money coined with extraordinary expedition. The sacrifices entailed upon all classes by a mania for speculation were truly terrific. Public companies, firms, and private concerns, were swept away wholesale. Every vestige of the colossal fortune, as well as of the smaller hoard, disappeared in the whirlpool. The Burmese war, waged with varied success from the year 1823, was brought to a triumphant conclusion in the spring of 1826. The session of 1826 commenced on the 2nd of February, and the government, anxious to relieve com-

merce, prohibited, after a certain period, the circulation of one and two-pound notes. The measure met with considerable opposition. Other plans were adopted for the same purpose, and although ministers refused to authorize an extraordinary issue of Exchequer bills, they induced the bank authorities to make advances to private individuals upon the deposit of goods, merchandise, and other securities; but the whole sum to be advanced was not to exceed three millions.

§ 761. Emigration and the corn-laws occupied the attention of Parliament at this juncture. A select committee was appointed to inquire into the former subject, but a motion for a committee to consider the propriety of a revision of the corn-laws was lost by a large majority. Two resolutions were, however, passed, the one admitting corn at a lower rate of duty, and the other giving ministers a discretionary power respecting the admission of foreign grain during the recess. The commercial crisis caused much discontent among operatives and labourers, and in the spring of 1826, many places became the scene of fearful riots. In Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Cumberland, Norfolk, and Middlesex, as well as in Ireland and Scotland, serious disturbances occurred. Joseph Hume brought forward a motion upon the state of the nation. It was based upon forty-five resolutions, and met with little favour. Lord John Russell's resolutions against bribery at elections were carried by the Speaker's casting vote, and his motion for parliamentary reform was rejected by a majority of two to one. Several matters of minor importance were discussed, and Parliament was dissolved (June 2). The failure in the crop of certain kinds of grain, and a rather alarming drought early in the autumn, induced the government to issue an order in council, authorizing the immediate importation of several sorts of agricultural produce, at very reduced rates of duty. This rendered an autumnal session of the new Parliament necessary, that ministers might obtain an act of indemnity. It was opened on the 21st of November by the king in person. The act of indemnity, joint-stock companies, bribery at elections, and the dispute between Spain and Portugal, were the principal matters of discussion previous to the adjournment, which occurred about ten days before Christmas.

§ 762. France seemed to settle down tranquilly under

the rule of her new king, Charles the Tenth. The occupation of Spain by French troops was a popular measure, and served to attract the attention of the people from home affairs. During the session that followed, almost immediately upon his accession to the throne, three measures of considerable importance were proposed and adopted. These referred to the settlement of the civil list; the indemnification of those emigrants whose property had been confiscated in the stormy period of the Revolution; and to the conversion of the five per cents. into a lower denomination of stock. A temporary effervescence was excited by some unsuccessful prosecutions of the press; and the passing of a very severe law for the punishment of sacrilege created much discussion in the chambers, and attracted considerable attention in many parts of Europe. The long-pending negotiation between France and St. Domingo terminated in the recognition, by the former, of the independence of Hayti. The expenses of the army of occupation in Spain, the case of the contractor Ouvrard, and the introduction of the law of primogeniture, furnished matter for angry discussion during the session of 1826. The Jesuits again sought to curb the freedom of the press, by instituting proceedings against authors. Towards the end of the year, the policy of the French government with respect to the state of affairs in the Peninsula was brought more in harmony with that of Great Britain, the French minister being recalled, and the Swiss guards in the pay of the government of France withdrawn from Madrid. In Russia, the new emperor, Nicholas, sought to consolidate his authority, so seriously menaced on his accession to the throne. An investigation into the conspiracy was at once instituted, which lasted nearly six months. This led to the discovery of a well-organized association, with members amongst all classes of the empire. The chief concocters of the rebellion were punished. A war broke out between Russia and Persia, having reference to disputed questions of territory in Georgia, and the Persians were defeated (Sept. 26). John VI., king of Portugal, died on the 10th of March, 1826. His son, Don Pedro, the rightful heir, in order to retain the sceptre of the Brazils, relinquished the crown of Portugal to his own daughter, Donna Maria di Gloria, a mere child. A threatened rupture between Spain and Portugal was by the influence of Canning averted.

Count Rostopchin died on the 8th of January, and Karamsin, the historian of Russia, on the 3rd of June, 1826. Flaxman, the sculptor, the Protestant bishops Barrington and Heber, and the Roman Catholic bishop Milner, died during the same year.

LETTER 2.—History of Affairs in Great Britain, from the Formation of the Roman Catholic Association to the Fall of the Wellington Cabinet. A.D. 1823—1830. Vol. iv., pages 217—228.

§ 763. After the close of the great war, the question of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics began to attract attention, and the members of the government were divided in opinion upon the subject. Agitators availed themselves of the sufferings of the lower orders in Ireland to create discontent, and in 1823 founded the Roman Catholic Association. Money was collected for the purposes of this society, which came under the notice of Parliament in 1824. The next year a bill was passed for the suppression of illegal societies in Ireland. Several motions having reference to the claims of the Roman Catholics were made and rejected, until the sudden illness of Lord Liverpool, early in 1827, led to the elevation of Mr. Canning to the premiership. Thereupon the duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, and others resigned, and the ministry sought allies amongst its former opponents. Mr. Canning did not long survive his elevation, and at his death (Aug. 8, 1827), Lord Goderich was made first minister. Internal divisions led to the fall of this cabinet (Jan. 8, 1828), whereupon the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel accepted office. Towards the end of the year ministers resolved to concede those claims of the Roman Catholics which they had before resisted, and having induced the king to alter his views, passed during the session of 1829 the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. This measure did not, however, appease the popular agitators, and Daniel O'Connell, finding that he could no longer trade upon emancipation, took up the question of the Repeal of the Union. He issued a most violent address to the electors of Clare, and induced the Association to vote the sum of £5,000 for the expenses of the contest. A duel between the duke of Wellington and the earl of Winchelsea (March 21) which happily terminated without bloodshed, caused considerable excitement.

§ 764. The Whigs and Canningites, who had assisted the Wellington administration to carry the Roman Catholic

relief bill, soon after united their forces with the Radicals, to the embarrassment of the government. The session of 1830 was opened by commission on the 4th of February. The state of the country was sufficiently alarming. Great sufferings prevailed amongst the lower orders, both in the agricultural and the manufacturing districts. Some prosecutions of the press, instituted by the ministry against the proprietors and editor of the *Morning Journal*, served to render them still more unpopular. The budget was well received, as the reductions amounted to £3,400,000. Several reform schemes were agitated during the session, and some of these originated from men actuated by very different motives. They were all rejected, and a motion for the repeal of Jewish disabilities shared the same fate. Political unions were formed in the large towns, and a regular outdoor agitation for reform commenced. A committee was appointed to inquire into the question of the renewal or modification of the East-India Company's charter. Some legal reforms were attempted, and Sir Jonah Barrington, judge of the high court of Admiralty, was removed for malversation. In the mean time the health of George IV. had been declining, and he expired on the 26th of June. The duke of Clarence, under the title of William IV., succeeded on the 28th, and in the following month Parliament was dissolved. The result of the general election was altogether unfavourable to the government. The state of the southern portion of England during the autumn became quite alarming. Farm-houses were fired, grain and stock consumed, machinery was destroyed, and threatening letters sent to many landlords and farmers. Parliament met in November, and the defeat of the Wellington administration on a question of the civil list led to its resignation. On the 15th of September, 1830, Mr. Huskisson, the friend of the lamented George Canning, met with an accident at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool railroad which caused his death. In 1827, England lost Mitford the historian, and Switzerland Pestalozzi the popular instructor. Volta the Italian philosopher, and Laplace the French mathematician and astronomer, both died on the same day (March 5, 1827). Frederick Von Schlegel died on the 11th of February, 1829, and Sir Humphrey Davy on the 30th of May. Sir Thomas Lawrence, the celebrated painter, died on the 16th of January, 1830, and on the 25th, George Tierney, the statesman.

LETTER 3.—History of Affairs on the Continent, from the Commencement of the Struggles that led to the French Revolution of 1830, to the Separation of Holland and Belgium. A.D. 1827—1830. Vol. iv., pages 228—234.

§ 765. The recall of the French troops from the Peninsula was by no means a popular measure, and the interference of the English government in Portuguese affairs only served to increase the national displeasure. The Villèle cabinet lost ground daily, and the proposed restrictions upon the liberty of the press in 1827 brought matters to a crisis. The measure being, after a desperate struggle, carried through the Chamber of Deputies, met with such a reception in the House of Peers that it was eventually withdrawn. Immediately after the close of the session three decrees appeared, re-establishing the censorship of the press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and creating seventy-six new peers. The result of the elections was most unfavourable to the ministry, and the formation of a cabinet under Prince Polignac increased public discontent. Another election having been tried with no better results, a *coup d'état* was resolved upon. On the morning of the 26th of July, 1830, a ministerial memorial and three ordinances appeared in the *Moniteur*. The first destroyed the liberty of the press, the second dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and the third provided for reform in the electoral law. Certain proprietors and editors met at the office of the *National* on the 27th of July, and signed the celebrated protest, in which they declared their intention of resisting the decree. The outbreak commenced on the same afternoon, all the serious fighting occurred on the 28th, and by the evening of the 29th the city was in the hands of the populace. A provisional government was formed, the national guard called out, and to General Lafayette was intrusted the command. The duke of Orleans assumed the direction of affairs, and afterwards ascended the vacant throne under the title of Louis Philippe. Charles X. escaped to England, where the government placed at his disposal the palace of Holyrood.

§ 766. In Portugal Don Miguel managed to obtain the direction of affairs, and was proclaimed king. Peace was concluded between Russia and Persia (Feb. 28, 1828); and the czar declared war against Turkey. The Russians passed the Balkan (July, 1829), and the fall of Adrianople induced

the Porte to submit. A treaty was signed; Turkey conceded many important rights, and engaged to pay an indemnity to Russian subjects for losses occasioned by the war, as well as an indemnity to the Russian government for the actual expenses of the contest. The struggle between the Greeks and the Turks was brought to a close in 1829, and a protocol signed at London, defining the extent of the new kingdom of Greece and settling its government. At the congress of Vienna, Belgium had been incorporated with Holland under the name of the kingdom of the Netherlands. The alliance was not very intimate, and an insurrection at Brussels in August, 1830, led to a separation. A congress of European ambassadors signed a protocol in favour of the separation (Dec. 20, 1830), and the choice of a sovereign was left in the hands of the people. Commotions ensued in many continental towns during the autumn of 1830. Germany, as usual, followed the lead of France. In Dresden, Leipsic, Brunswick, Cologne, Cassel, &c., insurrections broke out against the authorities, but they were suppressed with little difficulty. The Austrian rule in Italy received a shock, and even Switzerland did not escape the general contagion. Poland made a gallant struggle to regain its liberty; the grand-duke Constantine and his troops were expelled, and an opportunity thus afforded to the European powers of erecting a formidable barrier against the stream of Muscovite aggression. Spain was seriously convulsed. Frederick Augustus, king of Saxony, died at Dresden on the 5th of May, 1827. Pope Leo XII., who died on the 10th of February, 1829, was succeeded by Pius VIII. He died in December, 1830. The vacancy was not, however, filled up until February, 1831, when Mauro Capellari, under the pontifical title of Gregory XVI., was elected by the conclave of cardinals, and his elevation caused a serious convulsion in Italy. Francis Joseph, king of Naples and the two Sicilies, succumbed on the 7th of November, 1830. His son Ferdinand II. ascended the vacant throne.

LETTER 4.—Great Britain during the Reform Struggle.

A.D. 1831—1832. Vol. iv., pages 235—243.

§ 767. The Roman Catholic relief bill had no sooner received the royal assent than the struggle for reform commenced in good earnest. On the fall of the Wellington administration, a cabinet pledged to carry reform succeeded to office, under the leadership of Earl Grey. Agitation rose

to a fearful pitch in the country, and the bill was read a first time without opposition. The second reading was carried by a majority of one (March 23, 1831). General Gascoyne's amendment against the measure obtained a majority of twenty-nine. Amid the most extraordinary excitement, ministers induced the king, much against his inclination, to dissolve Parliament (April 22). The elections proceeded amid scenes of riot and confusion, and resulted in a large ministerial majority. Parliament met on the 14th of June, and on the 24th Lord John Russell obtained leave to bring in his reform bill, the second reading being carried on the 6th of July by a majority of 136. On the 21st of September the bill passed by a majority of 109. The triumph produced another illumination, with its attendant follies and excesses. In October the Peers threw out the bill by a majority of forty-one. The Commons passed a vote of confidence in ministers, and postponed the further consideration of the measure till the next session. The reformers in various parts of the kingdom committed the most extraordinary outrages. Their opponents were attacked, property was destroyed, and blood spilt. Bristol was for several hours at the mercy of a mob, who liberated the prisoners, fired the town in several places, and spread terror and alarm amongst the inhabitants. Although Parliament had been prorogued on the 20th of October, it met again early in December. A new reform bill, essentially different to the former measure, was immediately introduced, and carried through the lower house. The second reading in the Lords was affirmed by a majority of nine (April 13, 1832). After the Easter recess, the House of Lords immediately went into committee. Lord Lyndhurst proposed an amendment, to the effect, that the enfranchising clauses of the bill should be considered before the disenfranchising clauses; and although Lord Grey hinted that its adoption would be followed by the resignation of the government, it was carried by 151 to 116 (May 7). Ministers required of the king an immediate creation of peers, to enable them to carry their bill; stating, that only upon these terms could they consent to remain in office. William IV. refused to do this, and the government resigned (May 9).

§ 768. The excitement both in and out of Parliament was excessive. As Lord Lyndhurst and the duke of Wellington had failed in their endeavours to form a ministry, the Grey cabinet was recalled on the distinct understanding

that a number of peers should, if necessary, be created to insure the passing of the Reform Bill. In consequence of this pledge, a number of peers absented themselves from the divisions, and the measure was passed (June 7, 1832). The Irish and Scotch reform bills also received the sanction of the legislature. O'Connell continued his dangerous game of agitation, and became the subject of a state prosecution. Although he pleaded guilty, he was not brought up for sentence. He gave ministers his support in Parliament; in fact, a silent compromise had been effected. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland caused considerable suffering, and political agitation increased the horrors of the period. A dreadful visitant, the Asiatic cholera, made its first appearance in these islands in 1831. It broke out in Sunderland on the 26th of October, and speedily passed on to Newcastle and Gateshead, travelling thence into Scotland. The disease reached London in February, 1832, and spread gradually all over the kingdom. But the visitation was not severe, the deaths not amounting to one-third of those attacked. The expulsion of Mr. Irving by the Scotch church led to the formation of a new sect, known by the name of the Irvingites. In 1832 the religious system of fraternity and equality, called St. Simonism, was first preached in England. In the Established Church, Tractarianism had already manifested itself, and was daily growing in importance. New London Bridge was opened by the king in August, 1831. Amongst the celebrated men removed from the scene during the period may be mentioned Bolivar, the South-American reformer (December, 1830). In January, 1831, Germany mourned the loss of Niebuhr the historian. Mrs. Siddons and Mr. Elliston, ornaments of the British stage, died, the former in June, and the latter in July of the same year. John Abernethy, the eminent surgeon, expired in April, 1831. In 1832, Napoleon Francis Joseph Charles, the only son of the great Napoleon, died at the palace of Schoenbrunn, in Vienna, at the early age of twenty-one years (July 22). Crabbe, the poet of the poor, died February 8th, Sir James Mackintosh, the historian, on the 30th of May, and Sir Walter Scott on the 21st of September, 1832. Baron Cuvier and Goethe died during the same year.

LETTER 5.—History of European Affairs from the Accession of Louis Philippe to the French Throne, to the Proclamation of Donna Maria as Queen of Portugal. A.D. 1830—1833. Vol. iv., pages 243—251.

§ 769. The intrigues of the duke of Orleans were successful, the elder branch of the Bourbons was set aside, and the veteran schemer mounted the throne under the title of Louis Philippe the First. Material guarantees were required for the good conduct of this monarch. The censorship of the press was abolished, and it was decreed that the sovereign had no power either to suspend the laws or to dispense with their execution. The national guard was organized, and the hereditary peerage of France abolished. Nevertheless, discontents speedily followed. In La Vendée, the duchess of Berri, mother of the young duke of Bordeaux, endeavoured to get up an insurrection in favour of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Her efforts, however, failed, and she was taken prisoner. A revolt occurred in Paris on the 5th of June, 1832, the day of the funeral of General Lamarque, one of the elder Napoleon's fortunate soldiers, who, during the later years of his life, had become an idol of the popular party. The insurrection was suppressed with difficulty, and martial law proclaimed in Paris. The terms of the separation between Holland and Belgium led to very serious disputes. The Peninsula was sadly agitated during the years 1831 and 1832. A Carlist conspiracy in Spain was temporarily successful, and Don Pedro landed in Portugal (July, 1832), with a view of wresting the crown from the usurper Miguel. The Polish struggle of 1831 ended in the defeat of the patriots. Ibrahim Pacha, viceroy of Egypt, made war upon Syria, but, owing to the interference of Russia (1833), was compelled to retire. Early in 1833, Prince Otho, son of the king of Bavaria, mounted the throne of the new kingdom of Greece.

§ 770. The English Parliament was dissolved in 1832, and the first election under the Reform Act followed in due course. The session opened on the 5th of February, 1833. The Irish Coercion Bill was passed, as well as a measure for regulating the Irish Church, and another authorizing a grant of money to the clergy of the Irish Church, till the question of tithes should be definitively settled. The Bank charter was amended, and the monopoly enjoyed by the East-India Company, which had been materially relaxed in 1813, was during the session of 1833 almost entirely destroyed. The

charter was indeed renewed for twenty years, but the territorial government alone remained in the hands of the company. The first reformed Parliament was in all respects an important one. A measure passed in 1807 put a stop to the commerce in slaves; and another of 1833 declared that from the 1st of August, 1834, they should be free. The emancipation cost the country twenty millions, that being the amount paid to the planters as an indemnification. The reductions in the budget amounted to no less than £1,349,000. Two select committees were appointed, the one to inquire into the condition of the agricultural, and the other of the shipping interest. Several motions for the repeal of particular taxes were rejected; and the session closed on the 29th of August. The duchess of Berri having given birth to a daughter in the castle of Blaye, confessed that she had secretly contracted a marriage with Count Palli, a Neapolitan nobleman, and on her recovery was sent home to her husband. The fortifications rising up around Paris, and the numerous prosecutions of the press, excited a profound sensation in France. Ferdinand VII. of Spain died Sept. 29, 1833, when another Carlist rebellion broke out. The Carlists met with severe reverses, and in the sister kingdom, Don Miguel was expelled, and Donna Maria entered Lisbon, as queen (Sept. 23, 1833). In several parts of Germany discussions relative to the freedom of the press ensued, and dissensions broke out in Switzerland with reference to the refugee question. In August, 1833, the remains of the great champion of the slaves, and Christian philanthropist, William Wilberforce, were laid with much state in Westminster Abbey. Lord Exmouth died on the 6th of February; and the Rev. Rowland Hill, the celebrated minister, on the 11th of April. John O'Keefe, the dramatic author, and Edmund Kean, the eminent tragic actor, both died in the spring of 1833.

LETTER 6.—History of European Affairs continued, from the Opening of the English Parliament in 1834, to the Accession of Queen Victoria. A.D. 1834—1837. Vol. iv., pages 251—269.

§ 771. The struggle for the repeal of the Union commenced during the session of 1834 in good earnest. All Mr. O'Connell's motions were defeated by large majorities. A difference of opinion in the government respecting the manner in which the Irish Church question was to be dealt with led to the resignation of Mr. Stanley and three other

members. Differences, having reference to Irish measures, brought about the resignation of Lord Grey (July 9, 1834). Lord Melbourne assumed the leadership, and Lord Althorp was induced to retain office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Poor-law Amendment Bill was passed, but the Irish Tithe Bill was lost in the Lords. Taxes to the amount of £1,581,000 were remitted; various schemes for the repeal of taxes and the alteration of the institutions of the country were rejected, and Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August. The death of Earl Spencer led to the elevation of Lord Althorp to the House of Lords, and on Lord John Russell's being proposed as his successor, the king dismissed the cabinet. The duke of Wellington received the royal command to form an administration, and summoned Sir Robert Peel from Italy. The new premier reached London early in December; and very soon completed his arrangements. Anxious to obtain the verdict of the electors of the United Kingdom on the ministerial changes, Sir Robert Peel dissolved Parliament on the 30th of December. A great national disaster happened in the autumn. On the 16th of October both houses of Parliament were discovered to be in flames, and in spite of the exertions of the firemen, fell a prey to the fury of the devouring element. The painted chamber, rich in historical associations, and the magnificent libraries, together with many valuable records and relics of ancient art, perished in the flames. Westminster Hall was fortunately preserved.

§ 772. Louis Philippe pursued a very unpopular course in France. In 1834, he induced the chambers to pass two laws, the one curtailing the liberty of the press, and the other suppressing political clubs and societies. Disturbances followed in various parts of the country. Marshal Soult resigned the premiership and was succeeded by Marshal Gerard, who soon gave way to the duke of Bassano, and he was replaced by Marshal Mortier. Algiers was permanently annexed to France, and two new corps, the Zouaves and the Chasseurs d'Afrique, were established. A treaty was signed at London on the 22nd of April, 1834, by the plenipotentiaries of England, France, Portugal, and Spain, having for its object the termination of the civil war then raging in Spain and Portugal. France and England agreed to interfere, and Don Miguel was speedily expelled, although Don Carlos carried on the war for some time. Early in 1834 a treaty was signed by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, by which

these powers mutually agreed to deliver up rebels, traitors, and political offenders. Disturbances broke out in Germany, but they were on a very small scale, and led to no definite results. The principality of Leuchtenberg, which had been created at the congress of Vienna and awarded to the duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, was (1834) ceded to the king of Prussia, the duke receiving an annual stipend, as an indemnity. In other parts of Germany, the laws relating to the press were increased in severity and rigorously enforced. The commercial league in Germany, known as the Zollverein, was, by the exertions of the king of Prussia, greatly extended. The shelter given by Switzerland to some Polish refugees induced the despotic powers to attempt an invasion of its rights, and the quarrel between Holland and Belgium was far from being settled. The career of the Peel administration was one continued series of defeats, and on the 8th of April, ministers resigned. Lord Melbourne returned to power, and prepared to deal with the questions of municipal reform and the Irish Church. The former measure was passed, but the Peers struck the appropriation clauses out of the latter, and ministers abandoned it. The subject of Orangeism created much excitement during the session. Some slight reductions were made in taxation, and Parliament was prorogued in September.

§ 773. Louis Philippe's system became daily more unpopular. The French Chamber of Peers was converted into a tribunal for the trial of state prisoners, and in the spring of 1835, one hundred and twenty-one were brought before it; of which number the greatest portion were found guilty, and sentenced. These trials created much excitement, and whilst they were going on, twenty-eight of the accused managed to make their escape from the prison of St. Pelagie, in which they had been confined. The attempt of Fieschi to destroy the king and his ministers by means of an infernal machine excited general indignation. The king escaped, but fourteen persons were killed and twenty-seven wounded. The liberty of the press was soon after entirely abolished, the jury law materially altered, and the sale of caricatures and prints placed under very galling restrictions. A French expedition was sent to put a stop to the civil war in Spain, and the duke of Leuchtenberg, who the year before had espoused the youthful queen of Portugal, died of quinsy (March 28, 1835). Francis II., emperor of Austria, expired on the 2nd of March, in the sixty-eighth year of his

age. He had reigned for nearly half a century, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand Joseph. A popular tumult took place at Amsterdam on the 4th of July, 1835. The Russian, Austrian, and Prussian cabinets attempted to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland, and the government of Naples actually recalled its ambassador from Rome. But the Vorort maintained the right of Switzerland to act as an independent power, and replied boldly to the menaces of its formidable assailants. The third Jubilee of the Reformation was celebrated at Geneva with much ceremony and rejoicing during the month of August. Representatives from many of the Protestant churches of Europe assisted at the celebration, and perfect unanimity prevailed.

§ 774. King William IV. opened Parliament in person on the 4th of February, 1836; and it was the last session at the inauguration of which this monarch presided. The agitation against the Orange lodges was renewed, and a condemnatory address having been passed, they were at once dissolved. A proclamation was issued for their suppression, and the matter was speedily forgotten. In consequence of a difference of opinion between the two houses relative to the manner of reforming the Irish corporations, the ministerial measure was lost. The appropriation principle in the Irish Tithe Bill having been again rejected by the upper house, the matter was once more adjourned. The English Municipal Corporation Act Amendment Bill shared a similar fate. The most decidedly useful measures of the session were—a bill for the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, and one for the amendment of the law respecting marriages. A measure for the commutation of English tithes also passed; and some of the recommendations of the Church Commissioners were adopted. Some judicious law reforms were also effected. The budget was brought forward on the 6th of May. Certain taxes were either reduced or altogether repealed. The direct violation by Austrian, Russian, and Prussian troops, of the territory of Cracow, which, by the 9th article of the treaty of Vienna, had been declared free and independent, created a profound sensation. This act of aggression was perpetrated in February, 1836, and during the same month a long discussion took place in the House of Commons on the threatening attitude of Russia. Various ministerial changes occurred in Paris. M. Thiers succeeded the duke of Broglie, and at length gave way to Count Molé. Louis Napoleon made a descent upon Stras-

burg (Oct. 30, 1836), was arrested and sent to America, and Charles X. died in seclusion at Grätz (Nov. 6). Abdel-Kader took a prominent part in the war in Algeria, and repulsed the French in several encounters. The civil war in Spain continued, and the queen of Portugal contracted a second marriage with Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. A revolt occurred at Lisbon, and the constitution of 1822 was proclaimed. The Circassians rose against Russia, and addressed a circular to the European courts, setting forth their right to be regarded as an independent nation.

§ 775. The winter in England was unusually severe. A terrible storm swept over the metropolis, and other parts of the kingdom, on the 29th of November, 1836, destroying houses, rooting up trees, sending the shipping adrift, and causing the destruction of the smaller craft. At Christmas one of the heaviest falls of snow ever remembered visited the country, stopping all the usual means of intercommunication, and involving loss of life and property. About the same time, influenza, attended by inflammation and other violent symptoms, prevailed. It was almost as fatal in its effects as the Asiatic cholera had been in the years 1832 and 1833. The session of 1837 was opened by commission on the 31st of January. Parliament was engaged in discussions on municipal reform for Ireland, the tithe and poor-law questions, &c. So unsatisfactory was the state of public business, that Lord Brougham called the attention of the Peers to the matter (June 5), into which a committee was appointed to inquire. During the spring the king's health had rapidly declined, and in June bulletins began to make their appearance. He gradually sank, and expired on the 20th of June, in the seventy-second year of his age. The death of William IV. suspended the parliamentary conflict, and brought the session to a sudden close. Victoria was proclaimed queen, and she signified her intention of retaining the Melbourne cabinet in office. In introducing the budget on the 30th of June, the Chancellor of the Exchequer showed that the increase on the revenue of the year was considerable, and that the state of the country continued to be prosperous. Queen Victoria prorogued Parliament in person on the 17th of July, and on the same evening a proclamation was issued, announcing a dissolution. The citizen king, ever anxious to found a more despotic government in France, succeeded in passing a new municipal law, which placed the administration of the affairs of the cities, towns, villages, and com-

munes, directly under the authority of the government. But his obsequious ministers were defeated in an attempt to render civilians suspected of political offences amenable to military tribunals, for the Chamber of Deputies rejected the proposal by a majority of two votes. Thereupon a ministerial crisis occurred, and after many abortive attempts to form a new administration, Count Molé retained the presidency, M. Guizot and his colleagues, known as the *Doctrinaire* party, having seceded. A sad accident occurred at Paris on the 14th of June, 1837, the day fixed upon for the celebration of the public festivities in honour of the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the princess Helen of Mecklenburg. A panic having seized upon a portion of the crowd assembled to witness the fireworks and the illuminations, a scene of terrible confusion ensued, in which about thirty persons were killed, and nearly one hundred more or less injured. On the 4th October the chambers were dissolved, upon which an election followed, which did not make any very great changes in the relative strength of the different parties in France.

§ 776. A new constitution was promulgated in Spain, which conferred many privileges upon the people. After several retrograde movements, Espartero drove the Carlists out of a great part of the kingdom; and a revolution broke out in Lisbon in the autumn. The statue of Guttenberg, the inventor of printing, was inaugurated at Mayence on the 14th of August. In Rome and its environs, as well as in Sicily, the cholera raged, during the summer and autumn of 1837, with fearful violence. In Catania, more than one-half of the inhabitants fell victims to this terrible pestilence. The delightful poetess, Felicia Hemans, died on the 16th of May, 1835, and Charles Matthews, the comedian, on the 28th of June in the same year. The Abbé Sièyes, who played so prominent a part in the French revolution, expired on the 20th of June, 1836. Madame Malibran de Beriot, the exquisite vocalist, was cut off at an early age in September; George Colman the younger, on the 26th of October; John Bannister, the actor, on the 8th of November; and Horace Vernet, the great historical painter of France, on the 27th of November, 1836. In the same month, the Rev. Charles Simeon died, and on the 4th of December, Richard Westall, the celebrated artist. At St. Gall, in Switzerland, on the 7th of February, 1837, Gustavus Adolphus IV., ex-king of Sweden, died. The exiled monarch

had long lived in retirement, having abdicated during the revolutionary troubles in 1809. On the 27th of March, Mrs. Fitzherbert expired. She had been married, according to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church, to George IV., whilst that monarch was prince of Wales. On the 31st of May, Grimaldi, the prince of clowns, succumbed. The Abbé de Pradt died at Paris in June, 1837, and in September the Polish dwarf, Count Borowlaski. This remarkable specimen of the human race was only thirty-six inches in height. Hortense, ex-queen of Holland, and mother of the Emperor Napoleon III., died at Arenenberg, in Switzerland, on the 3rd of October, 1837, and on the 8th day of the same month Samuel Wesley was gathered to his fathers.

LETTER 7.—History of European Affairs continued, from the Accession of Queen Victoria to the Birth of the Prince of Wales. A.D. 1837—1841. Vol. iv., pages 270—286.

§ 777. The death of William the Fourth and the accession of Victoria to the British throne procured for Lord Melbourne's weak administration a short extension of its tenure of office. The general election of 1837 was unfavourable to ministers. The young queen dined in state with the corporation of London on the 9th of November. Little business was transacted in the autumnal session. The Irish Municipal Reform Bill was again lost in 1838, but the Irish Tithe Bill was passed, the appropriation principle having been abandoned. Thus ministers gave up that for which they had so long contended, and in opposing which Sir Robert Peel's administration had been defeated. In the mean time Canada was in a state of open rebellion. The Assembly of the lower province had stopped the supplies in 1833, and that of the upper province did the same in 1836. The one required that the Legislative Council should be made responsible to the Assembly, the other that it should be elective. Lord John Russell moved (March 6, 1837) ten resolutions, providing for the payment of the charges for the administration of justice and the support of the civil government of Lower Canada. These were carried after several divisions, and in a short time Canada was in a state of open insurrection. The rebels were speedily defeated in both provinces. The home government suspended the constitution and sent out the earl of Durham as governor-general, armed with full powers to settle the matters in dispute. Lord Durham landed at Quebec on the 29th of May, 1838,

and issued his celebrated ordinance on the 28th of June. Ministers disallowed the ordinance. Lord Durham was at this time making a tour through the colony; but he no sooner received intelligence of this proceeding on the part of the home government, than he threw up his office and returned to England.

§ 778. The coronation of Queen Victoria took place on the 28th of June, 1838. The ceremony was performed with much state. In the evening the metropolis was illuminated, displays of fireworks were provided in the parks, and the theatres were opened gratuitously. On the 10th of January the Royal Exchange was burnt to the ground. Great advances were made in ocean steam-navigation during the year, and two steamers sailed from England for America. A wretched lunatic, named Thom, who had assumed the name of Sir William Courtenay, knight of Malta, endeavoured to mislead the labouring classes in parts of Kent. He appeared at Canterbury, announcing himself as the saviour of the world, and was killed in a skirmish with some troops sent to effect his arrest. The session of 1839 commenced on the 5th of February. Lord Roden's motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of five, but ministers succeeded in setting it aside in the lower house. The legislative affairs of the colony of Jamaica having, in consequence of a dispute between the governor and the House of Assembly, come to a dead lock, the government proposed to suspend the constitution for five years, and to vest the authority in a governor and council. The motion for going into committee was carried in a full house, by a majority of five (May 6), and ministers resigned. Sir Robert Peel accepted the task of forming a cabinet, but the attempt, owing to what was called the bed-chamber intrigue, proved abortive. The queen, acting on the advice of her former ministers, refused to part with the ladies of her household, and the Melbourne cabinet was reinstated in office.

§ 779. Mr. Shaw Lefevre was appointed speaker, a modified measure for the settlement of the Jamaica disputes was adopted, and the Irish Municipal Reform Bill again passed through the Commons, but was lost in the Lords. The postage on letters was reduced to fourpence the half-ounce from Dec. 5th, as an introduction to the uniform penny postage which came into operation on the 10th of January,

1840. About this time Chartism sprang up amongst the lower classes. The first great demonstration was held in the open air near Birmingham (Aug. 6, 1838). Mr. Attwood presided, and Feargus O'Connor addressed the crowd. A petition in favour of the people's charter was numerously signed. A similar demonstration took place at Manchester, and meetings were held in various places in the country. Riots occurred in many places, and lives were lost in the conflicts that ensued. On the 4th of November the town of Newport, in Wales, was attacked by some thousands of the Chartists, under the direction of one Frost, formerly a magistrate of that town. About a dozen men were killed and thirty wounded in the contest. Amongst the latter was the mayor, P. Phillips, who was afterwards knighted for his gallantry on the occasion. The ringleaders were brought to trial, and the most guilty sentenced to transportation for life. In this gloomy period, when the price of provisions was rising rapidly, and the trade of the country declining, the Anti-corn-law League was first formed. At a public dinner given to Dr. Bowring, at Manchester, on the 18th of September, 1838, those present formed themselves into an association for the promotion of free trade. Lord Eglintoun held a tournament at his castle in Ayrshire (Aug. 28-30, 1839); and the Cinque ports entertained the duke of Wellington, lord warden, at a banquet at Dover (Aug. 30).

§ 780. A ministerial crisis occurred in Paris early in 1839; but Marshal Soult did not succeed in forming a government, as it was expected that he would do, and the former ministers were recalled. The king dissolved the chambers, and convoked new ones to meet on the 26th of March. The result of the elections was unfavourable to ministers, and they resigned. A kind of provisional government was appointed, which in a short time made way for an administration under the presidency of Marshal Soult. A revolt which broke out in Paris in May was speedily suppressed. The civil war in Spain was brought to a close by the Convention of Bergara (Aug. 29), and Don Carlos sought refuge in France. The long-pending dispute between Holland and Belgium was settled in 1839. The quarrel between the sultan and the pacha of Egypt led to the renewal of hostilities. The year 1840 was rather a gloomy one for England. Ministers had involved themselves in inextricable difficulties; the revenue was declining, and discontent prevailed throughout the country. The queen was married to Prince Albert of

Saxe-Coburg and Gotha on the 10th of February, 1840, £30,000 per annum having been voted by Parliament for his use. The agitation for the repeal of the corn-laws began to assume a definite character. A convention assembled in the metropolis, at which delegates from all parts of the kingdom attended; and motions made in Parliament were rejected by large majorities. The Irish Municipal Reform Bill, which had been bandied about from one house of Parliament to the other for so many years, was passed during the session (1840). A bill was also passed for the legislative union of the two Canadas; and, although some riots occurred at the elections, attended with loss of life, the colony gradually resumed its tranquillity, under the able government of Lord Sydenham. The budget, which was introduced on the 15th of May, still showed a deficiency. The proceedings of the Chartists excited considerable alarm. Rumours of a general rising against the constitutional authorities were in circulation, and a day was named in which it was said that insurrection would break out in the metropolis. Precautionary measures were adopted, several arrests followed in consequence, and numbers of misguided men were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for their share in these illegal proceedings. The queen was also exposed to some most dastardly attacks. On the 10th of June, she was fired at, whilst going up Constitution Hill in her carriage, by a man named Edward Oxford. He was acquitted on the ground of insanity, and the leniency with which this culprit was treated induced others to become his imitators. On the 21st of November, Queen Victoria gave birth to her first child, the Princess Royal, at Buckingham Palace. A considerable portion of York Minster was destroyed by fire on the 20th of May.

§ 781. The dispute between the sultan and the pacha of Egypt caused a temporary estrangement between England and France; but the Thiers ministry, who had done what they could to create embarrassment, were driven from office, and matters were finally accommodated. Louis Napoleon made his second attempt to wrest the crown of France from the Orleans family, by landing in the neighbourhood of Boulogne (Aug. 6, 1840). He was taken prisoner, and sentenced to imprisonment for life in a fortress. The French government applied to England for permission to remove the remains of Napoleon Buonaparte from St. Helena, which was accorded, and they were conveyed to France in the

Belle Poule, under the command of the prince of Joinville. They reached Cherbourg in November; thence they were removed to Paris, and interred with great pomp and solemnity in the church of the Invalides (Dec. 15, 1840). Espartero defeated some Carlists who would not accept the Convention of Bergara, and he became dictator during an insurrection, in which the queen-mother, Christina, was driven from the kingdom. William I., king of Holland, abdicated in favour of his son, and Frederick William III. of Prussia died (June 7), and was succeeded by his son Frederick William IV. The year 1841 witnessed the fall of the Whig administration. Parliament was opened by the queen in person on the 26th of January. Little was done during the session. The budget showed a lamentable deficiency. In five years this amounted to no less a sum than seven millions and a half, and for the current year the deficit was estimated at £2,400,000. Ministers proposed to restore the elasticity of the public revenue, by reducing the duties on timber and sugar, and a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter on corn. An amendment moved by Lord Sandon against the proposed change in the sugar duties was carried by a majority of thirty-six (May 18). Sir Robert Peel afterwards brought forward a resolution of want of confidence. After a protracted debate, this was affirmed by a majority of one. Thereupon Lord John Russell stated that ministers would only take the estimates for six months, as they intended to submit their case to the country. The general election which followed turned entirely upon the corn-laws. The new Parliament was opened by commission in August, and an amendment to the address, expressive of want of confidence in ministers, having been carried in the upper house by a majority of seventy-two, and in the lower of ninety-one, they resigned. A Conservative government was immediately formed by Sir Robert Peel.

§ 782. War had broken out in the East Indies and in China. The Chinese government made a vigorous attempt to suppress the opium-trade. In 1839 a skirmish took place between some Chinese war-junks and two English frigates; and in July 1840, troops and ships having been despatched to the scene of the contest by the English government, the island of Chusan was attacked and captured. The Chinese made some signs of submission, but hostilities were afterwards waged with vigour. Amoy and Ningpo were captured during the year. The treacherous attack of the

Affghans upon a small British force at Cabul (Nov. 2, 1841), and the almost total destruction of the troops, induced the government to adopt stringent measures to vindicate our outraged authority. A fire broke out in the Tower of London, causing considerable damage (Oct. 30). The queen gave birth to her second child, the prince of Wales, on Lord Mayor's day. The newly-appointed French ministers restored the alliance with England. They took measures to remedy the isolation to which France had been doomed by her exclusion from the treaty for the settlement of the differences between Turkey and Egypt, signed by Austria, Russia, Prussia, Turkey, and England, on the 15th of July, 1840. A supplementary treaty, to which France became a party, was concluded in London on the 13th of July, 1841. An attempt was made upon the lives of the Orleans princes, but the miscreant failed in his murderous design, was arrested, and, with his accomplices, punished. The war in Algiers, in which the French had made but little progress, was prosecuted with great vigour, but without producing any commensurate advantage. The fortifications of Paris were pushed forward with energy, as many as 10,000 workmen being at one time employed upon them. Insurrections broke out at Toulouse, Lyons, &c., which were, however, suppressed, without having produced any very serious consequences. Some disturbances occurred in Spain during the year; but Espartero, who had been appointed Regent for the queen's minority, speedily quelled them, and maintained his authority.

§ 783. The great Lord Eldon died on the 13th of January, 1838, at an advanced age. Prince Talleyrand expired on the 17th of May, aged eighty-four. On the 15th of October, Mrs. Maclean, the charming poetess, better known as L. E. L., died at Cape Coast castle. On the 23rd of June, 1839, the eccentric and accomplished Lady Hester Stanhope died at her villa on Mount Lebanon. She was niece to William Pitt, and acted for some time as his secretary. Lady Flora Hastings died on the 5th of July. Her death was accelerated by a false report circulated in court circles. On the 20th of September, in the same year, Sir Thomas M. Hardy breathed his last at Greenwich Hospital, of which he was governor. He was one of the Trafalgar heroes, and in his arms the heroic Nelson expired. Frederick VI., king of Denmark, died on the 3rd of December. On the 30th Admiral Sir F. Maitland breathed his last. The celebrated

authoress, Madame D'Arblay, better known under her maiden name of Fanny Burney, died on the 6th of January, 1840, aged eighty-eight. On the 26th of May the nation lost Sir Sidney Smith, the hero who checked Napoleon's victorious career in Egypt, in the breach of Acre. On the 20th of June, Lucien Buonaparte, prince of Canino, brother to the Emperor Napoleon I., breathed his last at Viterbo, near Rome. Sir David Wilkie, the painter, died on the 1st of June, and Theodore Hook, the humorist, on the 24th of August, 1841. T. Dibdin, the dramatic author, son of Charles Dibdin, the naval song writer, died on the 16th of September; and Sir Francis Chantrey, the celebrated sculptor, on the 25th of November.

CHAPTER II.

LETTER 8.—History of European Affairs continued, from the Accession to Office of Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet to the Formation of the Sonderbund. A.D. 1841—1846. Vol. iv., pages 286—299.

§ 784. SIR Robert Peel's position at the commencement of 1842 was one of which any minister might justly be proud; and soon after the commencement of the session he detailed the financial measures by which he hoped to restore the elasticity of the revenue. The first of these was a property and income-tax upon all incomes over £150 per annum. It was to last for three years, and did not extend to Ireland. This, with a tax of four shillings per ton on coals, afterwards reduced one-half, and certain alterations in the spirit and stamp duties, Sir Robert calculated would produce a handsome surplus. A reduction, and, in some cases, a total repeal of the duties paid upon 750 articles in the tariff was at the same time adopted. A Copyright Bill was passed, and, in consequence of repeated attempts upon the life of her majesty, a measure for the better security and protection of her person. Some judicious enactments were made relative to the employment of women and children in mines and factories, and the laws of lunacy and bankruptcy were amended. The Chinese war was brought to a conclusion. China engaged to pay an indemnity of twenty-one millions of dollars, to throw open the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ningpo, and Shang-hae, to British merchants, and to cede the island of Hong-Kong in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty and her heirs. Lord Ellenborough, who had been appointed governor-general of India, brought the war in Afghanistan to an honourable conclusion, but was himself soon after recalled. A train on the Versailles railroad caught fire (May 8), and nearly fifty lives were lost. On the 13th of July the duke of Orleans was thrown from his carriage and killed. Another revolution occurred in Portugal in 1842, when the queen gave way; Don Pedro's Charter was declared to be the law

of the land, and a new ministry formed. Several insurrectionary movements took place in different parts of Spain, and a revolt at Barcelona, in the winter, at one time seemed to threaten very serious consequences. A terrible conflagration spread ruin and devastation through the city of Hamburg (May 4, 1842); the Russian town of Kasan was nearly destroyed, by a similar calamity, and, in October, a tremendous hurricane did much damage in Madeira.

§ 785. The session of 1843 opened on the 2nd of February. The ministerial majority remained firm and compact, and several wholesome measures were passed. The turnpikes in Wales were attacked and destroyed by lawless gangs, bearing the name of "Rebecca and her Daughters." Mr. O'Connell had publicly announced that 1843 should be the Repeal year, and he held monster meetings in the open air. At the first of these, at Trim (March 16), it was supposed that 30,000 people attended, and at another at Mullingar (May 14), the numbers swelled to 120,000. The crowds that assembled at his bidding on the hill of Tara, estimated at 250,000 souls, were promised immediate emancipation. The Repeal rent flowed into the treasury at Conciliation Hall, and £500 or £600 were collected weekly. But the monster meetings had aroused the attention of ministers, and a proclamation was issued by the lord-lieutenant, prohibiting a meeting that had been appointed by O'Connell to be held at Clontarf, near Dublin, on the 8th of October, and O'Connell sneaked away and hid himself from the public gaze. On the 14th of October, the liberator and several of his confederates were arrested on charges of conspiracy and sedition. A true bill was found against them by the grand jury on the 8th of November, but the trial was postponed until the next year. This energetic prosecution was the death-blow to the Repeal agitation. An extraordinary movement occurred in the Established Church of Scotland during the year. In consequence of a disagreement respecting the appointment of ministers, 169 ministers seceded. They marched in procession to a hall at Canonmills, where they were joined by 300 more seceders. These members formed themselves into what is called the Free Church. Dr. Chalmers took a prominent part in the movement, and a sum amounting to £300,000 was collected. Tractarianism continued to trouble the English Church, and Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching at Oxford for two years. The

Anti-corn-law League was very active, and held monster meetings in various parts. The Thames Tunnel was opened on the 25th March (1843). The duke of Sussex died on the 21st of April. Sir Charles Napier completely subdued Scinde. The Guizot administration proved to be the strongest that had held office in France since the accession of Louis Philippe. Abd-el-Kader caused the French in Africa much embarrassment, and the violent proceedings of some French officers in Tahiti threatened the rupture of the alliance with England. A formidable revolt against the authority of the regent Espartero, broke out in various parts of Spain. It was successful; Madrid surrendered on the 24th of July, and Espartero made his escape to England, where he was welcomed with much enthusiasm, and even honoured with a reception from the queen at Windsor Castle.

§ 786. The year 1844 commenced under fairer auspices. A check had been given to the agitation that had so long harassed Ireland, and the commerce of the United Kingdom showed symptoms of reaction. Parliament was opened by the queen on the 1st of February. The three-and-a-half per cents. were reduced during the year; the government proposal, which was adopted, being that the three-and-a-half should be exchanged for three-and-a-quarter per cent. stock for ten years, and for three per cent. in 1854. Holders were guaranteed against any further reduction for twenty years from the latter date. The new charter granted to the Bank of England in 1833, provided that, although it was a charter for twenty-one years, a modification might be made in it at the expiration of ten, upon six months' notice of the change being given to Parliament. Ministers availed themselves of this proviso, and some alterations were accordingly introduced into the charter during this session. The Alien Act was also modified, and the naturalization of foreigners thereby rendered more easy of accomplishment. The Irish state trials resulted in the conviction of O'Connell and his colleagues, but the decision was reversed in the House of Lords, and they were released from prison. Nicholas, emperor of Russia, visited England in June, and Louis Philippe in October. The queen presided at the inauguration of the new Royal Exchange. France became involved in a war with Morocco. Tangier and Mogador were successfully bombarded, and the emperor acceded to the French ultimatum. The arrest of the British Consul at Tahiti led to further complica-

tions between France and England, but the matter was finally arranged. Spain was rent asunder by political convulsions, the Cortes was suspended, and the whole country placed under martial law. Inundations caused great destruction of life and property both in Sweden and Italy.

§ 787. The income tax in England was, in 1845, renewed for three years. A special vote of £30,000, with £26,000 per annum, was made to the College of Maynooth. On the 9th of August the queen prorogued the Parliament. The state of the weather soon gave rise to the most gloomy forebodings. The summer and autumn months proved very rainy, and fears were entertained respecting the harvest. Then it was discovered that the potato-crop in Ireland had been blighted, and that thus the staple article of food for the poorer inhabitants was almost entirely destroyed. The queen visited Belgium and Prussia in the autumn, calling at the Château d'Eu on her way home. The admission of the Jesuits into Lucerne caused dissensions in Switzerland, and inundations devastated many parts of Germany. A ministerial crisis occurred in the autumn, owing to a sudden change in the policy of the government. This was, however, brought to a close; and early in 1846, Sir Robert announced his intention of repealing the corn-laws. The total repeal was to take place in three years, and in the mean time a graduated scale was to be retained of ten shillings per quarter when wheat was under forty-eight shillings per quarter, and of four shillings per quarter when wheat reached fifty-three shillings. Those Conservatives, who refused to follow Sir Robert Peel, formed themselves into what was called the Protectionist party, under the lead of Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli. In spite of all opposition the bill was passed, and became law on the 26th of June, the day after that on which Sir Robert Peel's ministry was outvoted on the Irish Arms Bill. Sir Robert Peel resigned, and Lord John Russell came into power. A measure, establishing local tribunals in the principal towns of England for the recovery of small debts, was passed; also an act for the gradual reduction of the sugar duties. The remaining business of the session was quickly disposed of, and Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 28th of August. The question of the broad and narrow gauges was decided in favour of the latter. The Sikhs invaded our Indian empire; but having been defeated at Moodkee (Dec. 18, 1845), Ferozepore

(Dec. 21, 22, 1845), Aliwal (Jan. 28, 1846), and Sobraon (Feb. 10), they submitted.

§ 788. In 1846 two attempts were made upon the life of Louis Philippe, and Louis Napoleon escaped from the fortress of Ham (May 25). The court of France entered into an ill-fated matrimonial project, called the Spanish marriages. For the queen of Spain a consort was found in Don Francisco d'Assis; whilst for her sister, Louis Philippe brought forward his own younger son, the duke of Montpensier. In spite of the remonstrances, and even the formal protest of the English government, the two marriages were celebrated at Madrid on the 10th of October. About the same time the count de Montemolin, the eldest son of Don Carlos, escaped from Bourges, arrived in safety in England, and published a proclamation to the Spanish people. The Narvaez ministry was overthrown, and its chief driven into exile. The Peninsula continued in a deplorable condition throughout the year. Russia made another step towards the overthrow of the independence of Europe. In consequence of an insurrection in Poland, the three despotic powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in the beginning of the year, invested Cracow, which had in 1815 been declared independent. A long interval of time did not elapse ere it was announced that the republic of Cracow had been incorporated with the Austrian empire. Gregory XVI. died at Rome in June, 1846, aged eighty years. He was succeeded by Cardinal Mastai, under the title of Pope Pius IX. The shock of an earthquake was felt in different parts of Tuscany on the 14th of August. A revolutionary movement occurred in Geneva in October. The Jesuit party, which had been for some time intriguing in Switzerland, induced Lucerne and six Catholic cantons to form a separate league, called the Sonderbund, and thus create an *imperium in imperio*. The Jesuits hoped to have everything their own way, but the Diet voted the proceeding illegal, and a collision ensued.

§ 789. The Rev. Thomas Arnold, master of Rugby school, died on the 12th of June, 1842. Sismondi, the historian, expired at his seat, near Geneva, on the 25th of June. John Banim, the Irish novelist, author of "The O'Hara Tales," and other amusing works, sank on the 4th, and William Maginn on the 20th of August. The marquis of Wellesley died on the 25th of September, in his eighty-third year. Lord Hill, the Peninsula hero, died on the 10th of

December (1842). On the 21st of March (1843), the country lost Robert Southey. John Murray, the celebrated publisher, died on the 27th of June. William Frederick, ex-king of Holland, who, when an old man, abdicated, a slave to the tender passion, died on the 12th of December. Charles John XIV., king of Norway and Sweden, breathed his last on the 8th of March, 1844. Thorwaldsen, the celebrated sculptor, died at Copenhagen on the 24th of March; Thomas Campbell, the poet, author of the "Pleasures of Hope," and some heart-stirring lyrics, at Boulogne on the 15th of June; Joseph Buonaparte, once king of Naples, and afterwards king of Spain, expired at Florence, on the 28th of July, and Dr. Cary, the translator of Dante and Pindar, on the 14th of August. Three humorous writers, possessing great power, yet employing very different styles, died in 1845—viz., Sydney Smith, on the 21st of February; Thomas Hood, on the 3rd of May; and the Rev. R. H. Barham, on the 17th of June. Sir William Follett, the attorney-general, died on the 28th of June; and John Liston, the comic actor, on the 22nd of March, 1846. On the 22nd of June, Haydon, the historical painter, destroyed himself in a fit of despair. Thomas Grenville, the statesman, breathed his last on the 17th of December, being then in his ninety-first year. Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, ex-king of Holland, died at Leghorn on the 25th of June. He had married Hortense, daughter of the Empress Josephine, and was the father of the Emperor Napoleon III.

LETTER 9.—History of European Affairs continued, from the Famine of 1846 to the Excitement caused in England by the Australian Gold Discoveries. A.D. 1846—1851. Vol. iv., pages 300—315.

§ 790. The calamities which Sir Robert Peel dreaded fell upon the country with fearful violence. The common necessities of life rose to an exorbitant price, and in many districts they could scarcely be obtained at any price. The close of 1846 and the whole of 1847 were periods of unparalleled suffering. In Ireland, owing to the entire failure of the potato-crop, many persons perished. Parliament assembled on the 19th of January. Every effort was made to give relief; the corn duties and the navigation laws were temporarily suspended, and facilities afforded for the use of sugar in breweries and distilleries. Several measures were passed for the relief of destitution in Ireland. Lord

George Bentinck's proposal for a government loan to assist in the formation of railroads in Ireland was rejected, although ministers ultimately adopted the principle, by granting a loan of £620,000 between three Irish railroads. The budget showed that, in spite of distress and destitution, the public revenue was in a flourishing condition. Parliament was prorogued (July 23, 1847), and a royal proclamation issued for a dissolution. Consols had fallen to 79, railway shares had declined fifty per cent. in value, and many extensive failures created a panic in the commercial world. An autumnal session became indispensable, and the new Parliament assembled on the 18th of November. The royal speech was delivered by commission on the 23rd. A bill for the repression of crime and outrages in Ireland, and another to facilitate the completion of public works in that portion of the United Kingdom, were passed. The disastrous Caffre war was temporarily suspended, by the submission of the chiefs of Caffreland; and a rupture with the Chinese settled, after the capture of the forts at the Bocca Tigris.

§ 791. The investigation of certain charges of official corruption created a great sensation in France. General Cubières and M. Teste, the former once minister of war, and the latter of public works, with two others, were impeached, for having accepted offers, gifts, and presents, as inducements to do certain official acts. M. Teste committed suicide while the trial was in progress, and the other defendants were found guilty and punished. In the autumn, reform banquets were held at many of the principal towns in France, and at these public festivals the king's health was not proposed. Abd-el-Kader, who had so long and so valiantly contended against the French in Algeria, surrendered in December. The queen of Spain and her husband were estranged, and the former, it is said, endeavoured to obtain a divorce. After several ministerial changes in Madrid, Espartero was recalled from exile. The civil war in Portugal was brought to a close by the intervention of England. Austria, annoyed at the reforms introduced by the pope, occupied the town and citadel of Ferrara, and the whole of Italy was greatly agitated by the occurrence, when the Austrian government consented to withdraw the troops. The conflict in Switzerland between the Federal army and the forces of the Sonderbund occurred in 1847. The Diet voted on the 20th of July, that the Sonderbund, or separate league of the seven Roman Catholic cantons, was illegal.

War was soon after declared ; Friburg, the stronghold of the Jesuits, surrendered on the 14th of November, 1847, and Lucerne fell on the 24th. Valais, the last of the outstanding cantons, submitted soon after. The Roman Catholic cantons were compelled to defray the expenses of the war caused by their intrigues with the Jesuits.

§ 792. The English Parliament re-assembled on the 3rd of February, 1848. Though the session was long and stormy, but little was accomplished. Measures for the preservation of order and the support of the authorities engrossed the attention of legislators. The revolutionary commotions on the Continent aroused the Chartists to action. They met in London, and proposed to carry a monster petition in procession to the House of Commons on the 10th of April. A bill was passed providing for the better security of the crown, and the government of the United Kingdom. The 10th of April dawned gloomily, but extensive preparations had been made to maintain the public peace ; thousands of citizens were sworn in as special constables, and the meeting was dispersed. An examination of the petition showed that the number of those who had signed it did not amount to one third of what had been represented, nor were these *bonâ fide* signatures. In consequence of information received by the authorities in August, several Chartist leaders were taken, tried, and sentenced to transportation for life. Riots occurred in various parts of the kingdom, and Ireland was convulsed. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Messrs. O'Brien and Meagher were arrested for having made seditious speeches, but were admitted to bail, and ultimately escaped conviction. Mr. Michel, the registered proprietor of the "United Irishman," was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, for having published seditious articles in his paper. Mr. O'Brien, emboldened by his escape, advocated open rebellion. A reward was offered for his capture, and in a skirmish in a cabbage-garden, near Ballingarry (July 29), he did not display much courage. He was captured (Aug. 5), tried, and sentenced to death for high treason, but his life was spared. Thus ended the Irish rebellion of 1848, concerning which so much was said, but which in its results proved utterly contemptible. Lord John Russell's proposal to renew the income-tax for five years, and to increase it from three to five per cent. for the first two years, excited so much dissatisfaction, that it was withdrawn. A bill for establishing diplomatic relations

with Rome was passed during the session, and the Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill, was again carried through the House of Commons, but lost in the House of Lords. The condition of the West-Indian colonies occupied the attention of Parliament, and, on the motion of Lord George Bentinck, a select committee was appointed to inquire into their prospects, and to consider whether any measures could be adopted for their relief. A grant of £170,000 as a loan, for the purpose of promoting the immigration of free labourers into the colonies of British Guiana and Trinidad, was afterwards voted; and later in the session some alterations in the Sugar Act of 1846 were adopted. A bill for facilitating the transfer of encumbered estates in Ireland was introduced and passed, and Parliament was prorogued by the queen in person on the 5th of September (1848).

§ 793. In England trade began to revive in 1849, but the re-appearance of the cholera cast a gloom over the country. Upon this, its second visitation, it broke out in the autumn of 1848, and continued its ravages till the winter of the following year. The queen opened Parliament in person on the 1st of February. The navigation laws were repealed during the session. Grants of money were again made for the suffering Irish, the poor-law in Ireland was amended, and as the measure of the previous session for facilitating the transfer of encumbered estates in Ireland had proved inoperative, another was introduced and passed. The budget (June 22) showed a slight increase of expenditure over the receipts. An act was passed for the consolidation and reform of the bankrupt law, and Parliament was prorogued by commission (Aug. 1). The queen visited Ireland in the autumn, and was most enthusiastically received. The repose of our Indian empire was disturbed by intrigues amongst the native chiefs. Moolraj, governor of Moultan, assassinated some English officers, raised a rebellion, which was speedily suppressed, and he was taken prisoner (Jan. 22, 1849). He was sentenced to imprisonment for life in the Chunar fort. Some riots occurred in Canada, and the mob fired the House of Assembly at Montreal. The intelligence which created the liveliest curiosity both in the new world and the old, was that relating to the discovery, in 1848, of gold in the Sacramento, a river rising in the mountains of California. The desire of amassing riches seized upon many, and the tide of emigration set strongly in the direction of the new El Dorado.

§ 794. On the 3rd of January, 1850, a royal commission was published in the *London Gazette*, referring to the project for the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, proposed to be held in the metropolis during the ensuing year. It was finally determined to erect a large building in Hyde Park, composed principally of glass and iron. The site for the stately edifice was delivered to the contractors on the 30th of July, and the first column was fixed on the 26th of September. It covered eighteen acres of ground. The total area of the ground-floor was 772,000 square feet, that of the galleries 217,100 square feet. Parliament was opened by commission on the 31st of January. The great debate of the session arose out of some very questionable proceedings, on the part of Lord Palmerston, against the newly-constituted kingdom of Greece. In January, the British minister at Athens peremptorily demanded an indemnity for M. Pacifico, a Jew, whose house had been sacked during the disturbances in 1826, and as the request was not complied with, the British fleet captured some Greek vessels and blockaded the ports. This policy was censured in the upper house by a majority of thirty-seven, but in the lower Mr. Roebuck threw himself into the breach, and ministers obtained a majority of forty-six. Acts were passed for the better government of the Australian colonies, and the extension of the elective franchise in Ireland. The Factory Act of 1847 was amended, the jurisdiction of the County Courts extended, the Ecclesiastical Commission remodelled, a commission of inquiry into the state of the universities granted, and Parliament prorogued in August.

§ 795. The Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of All Nations, erected in Hyde Park, was opened by the queen (May 1, 1851). Thousands of strangers flocked to London to see this latest wonder of the world, and after having been kept open for nearly six months, and afforded delight and instruction to the million, it was closed on the 15th of October. It certainly caused a great stir in the world. The queen opened Parliament on the 4th of February. The attempt on the part of the pope to exercise spiritual authority in England was the chief topic of debate. The difficulty of dealing with the matter was increased by a ministerial crisis. A small majority of fourteen against Mr. Disraeli's motion for the relief of the agricultural interest (Feb. 13), and a positive majority of forty-eight against ministers on Mr. Locke King's County Franchise Bill (Feb. 20), induced Lord

John Russell to resign. The opposition chiefs were unable to form a cabinet, and the Russell administration was re-instated in office. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill underwent considerable modification, was fiercely opposed by the Irish brigade and the Peelites, but, with certain amendments, passed through both houses of Parliament. A bill for the removal of Smithfield market passed into a law. Government suffered several defeats, and Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of August, 1851. The census was taken in the 31st of March, and showed an increase in the population of nearly two millions and a half since 1841. In Ireland the results were very different, the population having decreased a million and a half in the same period. The Caffre war continued during the year. Sir Harry Smith was recalled, and Sir George Cathcart sent out in his place. Gold was discovered in great abundance in the mountain-ranges of Australia; in the autumn some of the precious metal reached England, and thousands of persons set out for the colony in hopes of making a rapid fortune.

§ 796. Death had been busy during the years we have just considered. Sharon Turner died on the 13th of February, 1847. William Collins, the artist, died on the 17th of February, and on the 20th of March, Mademoiselle Mars, the glory of the French stage. Prince Jules de Polignac breathed his last on the 29th of the same month. Daniel O'Connell, the Irish agitator, expired at Genoa in his seventy-second year, on the 15th of May. Robert Liston, the eminent anatomist, expired on the 7th of December, and the elder Napoleon's second wife, Maria Louisa, archduchess of Parma, on the 17th. Amongst the deaths in 1848 were Isaac D'Israeli, author of "Curiosities of Literature," (January 19); Chateaubriand (July 4); Capt. Marryatt (Aug. 2); Sir Harris Nicolas (Aug. 3); George Stephenson (Aug. 12); Lord G. Bentinck, very suddenly (Sept. 21); and Lord Melbourne (Nov. 24). In 1849, died Maria Edgeworth (May 21); the countess of Blessington (June 4); Adelaide, the queen dowager (Dec. 2); Sir M. I. Brunel, designer and architect of the Thames Tunnel (Dec. 12). In 1850, William Wordsworth, poet-laureate, died (April 23), and Miss Jane Porter (May 24). A lamentable accident deprived England of the services of Sir Robert Peel. He was thrown from his horse on the 29th of June, and expired in great agony on the 2nd of July. The deaths of the duke of Cambridge (July 8); Mrs. Glover, the actress

(July 16); and W. H. Maxwell, author of "Stories of Waterloo," &c. (Dec. 29), occurred during the same year. The principal persons removed during 1851, were John Audubon (Jan. 27); Joanna Baillie (Jan. 23); R. Lalor Shiel (May 23); Marshal Soult (Nov. 26); and Turner, the artist (Dec. 19).

LETTER 10.—History of the Revolutions on the Continent of Europe, from the Parisian Insurrection of February, 1848, to Louis Napoleon's *Coup d'Etat* of the 2nd December. A.D. 1848—1851. Vol. iv., pages 316—336.

§ 797. The political convulsions of the year 1848 are of so extraordinary a character as to demand special attention. At a period of general tranquillity, when Europe was just emerging from the severe ordeal of calamity, consequent upon the famine of 1846 and 1847, almost without a signal of alarm, the mass of the people rose against their rulers. The standard of revolt floated from almost every capital of Europe, olden dynasties were subverted, and kings who had grown grey in learning to rule wisely, were compelled to flee for their lives. As usual, the first explosion of any consequence occurred at Paris. Charles the Tenth defied the people, and, although he had made no preparations for a contest, fought boldly to the last extremity. Louis Phillipe fortified Paris, filled the capital with troops, and took every precaution to suppress a rebellion; yet, when the storm burst upon him, retreated without striking a blow. The Reform banquets had given deep offence to the Orleans dynasty, and the attempt to suppress them led to its overthrow. The citizens of the twelfth arrondissement of the capital invited the democratic representatives to a reform banquet, ultimately fixed to take place on the 22nd of February. The government interdicted the banquet, the opposition persevered, and laid upon the table of the Chamber of Deputies an impeachment of ministers. Groups collected in all parts of Paris; the military were insulted, but the day passed without bloodshed, and at night the troops bivouacked in the public thoroughfares. In spite of this precaution, barricades were erected, and great preparations made for a struggle. On Wednesday, the 23rd, M. Guizot announced the resignation of ministers. Count Molé, who had been summoned by the king, being unwilling to form a cabinet, the task was intrusted to M. Thiers, associated with M. Odillon Barrot. A shot, fired by some person in a noisy crowd that had assembled round M. Guizot's residence, on

the Boulevard des Capucins, was the signal for the renewal of the contest, which the new ministers endeavoured to avert. The fighting continued, and in this extremity M. Emile de Girardin advised the king to resign, which he did, after some hesitation, in favour of the count of Paris.

§ 798. This act of concession came too late; the red republicans had triumphed, and Paris was at the mercy of the mob. In vain the duchess of Orleans forced her way into the Chamber of Deputies; a provisional government was called for, and the republic proclaimed. The National Assembly was ordered to meet on the 4th of May, and the elections were fixed for the 23rd of April, 1848. In the mean time the royal family had escaped in various directions, and the mob took possession of the Palais Royal and the Tuileries, committing the greatest excesses. The provisional government attempted to amuse the people by planting trees of liberty, and holding national *fêtes*. In spite of Blanqui's demonstration, at the head of about 10,000 discontented workmen, on the 16th of April, a grand festival in honour of the triumph of the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, was held on the 20th. Thousands of all classes fraternized in the streets, and this may, upon the whole, be looked upon as the saturnalia of republicanism. The National Assembly met on the 4th of May. The republic was proclaimed in the presence of the people, and on the 9th an executive committee elected, composed of Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru Rollin. This committee appointed the ministers to the various public departments. These measures had only just been adopted, when Paris was threatened with a fresh revolution. The Socialists, and ultras of every kind, under the pretext of petitioning in favour of Poland, assembled in force (May 15); the plot miscarried, and some of the leaders were arrested. It was settled that there should be a president and a single chamber, consisting of 750 members, both to be elected by universal suffrage. The suppression of the *ateliers nationaux* caused a fearful struggle. The contest began on the 23rd of June, and was waged for three days. General Cavaignac was made dictator. The slaughter at the barricades was terrible. The archbishop of Paris, in seeking to effect peace, was shot, and about 2,000 soldiers were killed. Louis Napoleon took his seat as a representative of the department of the Seine on the 26th of November, and on the 20th of December was pro-

claimed president. The prince proceeded to one of the royal palaces, and in the evening the *Moniteur* contained the names of the ministers he had chosen: M. Odillon Barrot was president of the council, whilst M. Drouyn de Lhuys took the portfolio of foreign affairs.

§ 799. A struggle soon commenced between the different powers that the revolution had raised to authority in the state. The National Assembly did not seem much inclined to abdicate its functions. Yet, before the day fixed upon for its dissolution arrived, it dealt many dangerous blows at the president whom the people had elected. Ministerial changes followed. The removal of the trees of liberty, early in 1850, gave rise to some disturbances in Paris, which were speedily suppressed. Louis Napoleon made a tour in the provinces during the autumn, and met with a most enthusiastic reception. At Strasburg, the scene of his early attempt to wrest the crown from the Orleans family, his visit excited the most lively enthusiasm. On the re-assembling of the Legislative Assembly, in November, another long message from the president was read from the tribune by the Minister of the Interior. As the period for the termination of Louis Napoleon's term of office as president of the republic approached, the contest between the executive and legislative powers grew more bitter. That struggle was decided in 1851. Yet the Assembly was not the only antagonist with whom the president had to contend. General Changarnier and others aimed at power, but their plans were defeated by the *coup d'état* (Dec. 2, 1851). The National Assembly was dissolved, and the people, by an overwhelming majority, voted in favour of the maintenance of authority by Louis Napoleon. On the 31st of December he received the report of the result of the ballot, and thus terminated the system introduced amid anarchy and rebellion in 1848.

§ 800. A revolution at Paris is certain to produce convulsions all over the continent; nor was the revolution of 1848 an exception in this respect. In some places the elements of confusion had long been prepared, and the spark alone was wanted to fire the train. It was scarcely possible, for instance, that the various races of which the Austrian empire is composed should remain tranquil in such a stormy period. In 1830, the Hungarian Diet had commenced that movement of Magyarism, which aroused the jealousy of the Slavonian races. It substituted the Magyar language for the

Latin, that had been so long in use, and imposed this change not only upon the Hungarians themselves, but also upon the Slavonians. The Diet of Croatia and Slavonia, which claimed to be independent of the Hungarian Diet at Pesth, assembled at Agram, the capital of Croatia, and adopted retaliatory measures. On the 13th of March, 1848, the Diet for lower Austria assembled at Vienna. The greatest excitement prevailed, the mob burst into the chambers, and peace was only restored on the promise of a new constitution and the resignation of Prince Metternich. Two days after this outbreak a deputation, headed by the Archduke Stephen, and containing amongst its members Count Batthyányi and Louis Kossuth, arrived to demand extensive reforms for Hungary. These were granted. The hostile attitude of certain sections of the people alarmed the sovereign, and the royal family withdrew to Innspruck (May 17). The Hungarian agitators, not content with a separate ministry and parliament, demanded a distinct administration of war, of finance, and of foreign affairs for Hungary—in fact, the dismemberment of the Austrian empire. This aroused the Croats, who soon made common cause with the emperor against Hungary. At Prague a provisional government was formed, which the authorities at Vienna refused to recognize; a revolt occurred in the former city in June, when the wife of Prince Windischgrätz, the Austrian governor, was killed.

§ 801. Kossuth managed to get power into his hands, and he resolved upon a separation from Austria. The imperial commissioner, Count Lamberg, was murdered at Pesth (Sept. 29), and an imperial decree proclaiming martial law in Hungary was issued (Oct. 3). The Hungarian parliament was at the same time dissolved by proclamation, and all its acts, done without the sanction of the emperor, were declared null and void. Great was the excitement in Vienna when these things were made known, and on the 6th of October a terrible insurrection occurred. The aged minister of war, Count Latour, was inhumanly butchered in the public streets. The revolt was occasioned by the order given for the march of troops to suppress the Hungarian insurrection. Jellachich advanced upon Vienna, with his Croats, and was soon after joined by an army under Prince Windischgrätz. The chief command was assumed by the latter, and on the 31st he reconquered the city, disbanded the national guard, suppressed the clubs, and

dissolved the diet. But the emperor, who had taken up his residence at Olmutz, could not be induced to resume the reins of power, and on the 2nd of December, 1848, he formally abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. Such was the real origin of the Hungarian war. Kossuth and other adventurers fanned the flames of rebellion, plunged the country into all the horrors of civil strife, and, instead of procuring liberty for the unfortunate people, delivered them over to a more bitter bondage than that under which they had long groaned. The Hungarians fought well, and their efforts were worthy of a better cause and a nobler leader. Indeed their success, during the first months of the war, induced Kossuth to force upon the Hungarian chamber a series of violent resolutions, deposing the House of Hapsburg, and electing Hungary and Transylvania into a free state. By this measure the dictator disgusted Görgey and other Hungarian leaders, as at a former part of the struggle he had done the Count Batthyányi. At one time the dismemberment of the Austrian empire seemed inevitable; but in this emergency the emperor obtained the aid of Russia. The Muscovite hordes, amounting to 150,000, marched into Hungary, and the surrender of Görgey with 35,000 men to the Russian general (Aug. 13, 1849) brought the civil war to a close.

§ 802. The commotions caused in Italy by the French revolution of 1848 were the source of much anxiety and perplexity to the Austrian government. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, eager to ingratiate himself with the Italian people, seized upon the opportunity afforded by revolts in Milan, Venice, and other cities, and marched against the Austrians. An indecisive battle was fought before Verona (May 6). The Piedmontese contended bravely for the independence of Italy, won several battles, but were crushed by superior numbers. France and England interfered, and an armistice was signed (Aug. 5). The arbitrary conduct of the Austrians led to the renewal of the war. Charles Albert, having been defeated at Novaro (March 24, 1849), abdicated in favour of his son, and retired to Oporto, where he soon after died (July 28). Commotions occurred in Germany, and William IV., of Prussia, tried to win the favour of the mob. Louis, king of Bavaria, alarmed at an insurrection, resigned his crown (March 21, 1848) in favour his son, Maximilian II. In Cologne, Dresden, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Wisbaden, and other towns, riots occurred,

and concessions were made by the authorities to the popular agitators. But it was not only in isolated and independent revolts of this kind that the French revolution affected Germany. The idea of unity was uppermost in the minds of the German agitators, and measures were adopted for summoning a grand national congress.

§ 803. Early in March the subject attracted the attention of the most ardent German reformers, and soon after several men of note, most of them members of the legislatures of different German states, assembled at Heidelberg. They passed resolutions, and appointed a committee of seven, which immediately set to work upon the idea of the German parliament, and a preliminary or Vor-parliament was ordered to be held at Frankfort on the 30th of March. This opened as determined upon, and measures were adopted for summoning the great national assembly. One representative was to be returned for every 70,000 souls; and on the 18th of May a parliament thus elected assembled in the church of St. Paul's, at Frankfort. The old German diet offered to co-operate with the newly-elected representatives, and the offer was most cordially received. The Archduke John of Austria was by a large majority elected lieutenant-general, or regent of the German empire. A dispute about the armistice of Malmö led to an outbreak (Sept. 16), which was, however, suppressed. The rivalry of Austria and Prussia proved fatal to the Frankfort parliament, and in 1849 it was dissolved. Various efforts were made by the rulers of Prussia and Austria to obtain the ascendancy, but they did not lead to any definite results; and in 1851 the old Frankfort diet was restored, in the same state that it had existed since 1815.

§ 804. Christian VIII., king of Denmark, died on the 20th of January, 1848, and was succeeded by his son, Frederick VII. What were called the German subjects of the Danish monarch had for many years agitated about their rights, and the revolution of 1848 led to a rupture. A meeting was held at Rendsburgh, in March, and a deputation was sent to Copenhagen to protest against the union of the representatives of Denmark with those of the duchies, and to demand a separate chamber. This was refused, and a revolution broke out at Kiel on the 24th of March, when a provisional government was proclaimed; and, being secretly counselled by Prussia, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein renounced their allegiance. The Danes

were not unprepared for the struggle, and victory crowned their earlier efforts. Whilst the refractory duchies were supported by Prussia and the German agitators, Sweden and Russia came forward to the assistance of the Danes. An armistice between the belligerents was concluded at Malmö on the 26th of August, 1848, through the intervention of England. It was to last for seven months. The strife was, however, renewed at the conclusion of the period fixed for the duration of the armistice, early in 1849; and after several engagements, another armistice was concluded, followed by a treaty of peace. Holstein refused to accept the terms, and the war broke out afresh. But Prussia became involved in difficulties, and was compelled to withdraw the secret support she had hitherto accorded to the refractory duchies; and, by the end of 1850, the war had terminated, and the duchies submitted to Denmark.

§ 805. A Sicilian insurrection had broken out in Palermo on the 12th of January, 1848, when a parliament was summoned, and the Bourbons were expelled. The king, however, collected his forces, and attacked the insurgents. Messina was bombarded, and fearful cruelties were perpetrated. The French and English interfered, and the king of Naples was restored to his throne, but the provisional government refused to submit. The war was renewed; Catania fell after a severe bombardment, Syracuse submitted without making the least resistance, and on the 22nd of April the keys of the city of Palermo were delivered into the hands of the commanders of the king's forces. The popular party at Rome grew tired of their reforming pontiff the moment that he refused to advance as rapidly as they wished. The first cause of offence was his unwillingness to declare war against Austria, and to come forward to support Charles Albert in his crusade for the liberation of Italy. Incited by the republican leaders, the populace at Rome rose on the 15th of November, 1848, and murdered Count Rossi, the prime minister. The pope contrived to escape from Rome a few days afterwards, when he took refuge at Gaeta, a town in the Neapolitan territory. A rescript was soon after sent by the pontiff, annulling all that had been done at Rome, and appointing a state commission with supreme authority. But the democrats chose a provisional government, and summoned a national assembly, which, in February, 1849, passed a decree deposing the pope, and proclaiming a republic.

§ 806. Thenceforward anarchy prevailed in the eternal city, which was only brought to a close by the surrender of the rebels to the French expeditionary army in July, 1849. The pope showed but little inclination to quit his retreat at Gaeta for the troublesome atmosphere of Rome, and did not venture to return until the 13th of April, 1850. In the autumn he issued a papal brief, dividing England into dioceses. At the same time, Dr. Wiseman was made a cardinal, and archbishop of Westminster. Mehemet Ali, pacha of Egypt, who had often rendered important services to the sultan, and had at other times caused embarrassment by his rebellious proceedings, died at Alexandria on the 2nd of August, 1849. The king of Hanover expired on the 18th of November, 1851, in his eighty-first year. His son succeeded him under the title of George V. The Peninsula was not seriously convulsed during these troublous times. Portugal remained tranquil, until, in April, 1851, the duke of Saldanha issued a proclamation inviting the people to revolt. The attempt was successful, and the duke was rewarded for his bold stroke by being intrusted with the task of forming an administration. Several outbreaks occurred in Spain in 1848; and, on the 17th of May, the Spanish government sent the English ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer, his passports, with notice to leave the capital in eight-and-forty hours. Diplomatic relations were not renewed between the two countries until the spring of 1850, when Lord Howden went out as British ambassador.

LETTER 11.—History of European Affairs from the Commencement of the English Session of Parliament in 1852, to the Publication of the Austrian Concordat. A.D. 1852—1855. Vol. iv., pages 336—369.

§ 807. Lord John Russell's tottering administration was dissolved early in 1852. Its fall, which had long been inevitable, was, perhaps, accelerated by the dismissal of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston. The queen opened parliament in person on the 3rd of February, and the address passed without a division. The ministry were defeated on an amendment to their Militia Bill (Feb. 20), by a majority of eleven, whereupon they resigned, and a Conservative government acceded to office under the premiership of the earl of Derby. The new ministers announced their intention of dissolving parliament, and of holding an autumnal session. The budget was introduced on the 30th of April, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer drew a

very flattering picture of the state of the country, and proposed the continuance of the income-tax for one year, in order that certain alterations might, at the expiration of that period, be made. A writer remarks:—"The principal laws of public importance added to the statute-book, between the accession of Lord Derby to office and the dissolution of parliament, were—the Militia Act; the New Zealand Constitution Act; several measures of reform in the Courts of Law and Equity, including an act to diminish the technicalities of Special Pleading, and to amend the procedure in the Common Law Courts; an act to remedy some of the long-standing grievances in the Court of Chancery, by abolishing the office of the masters and other changes; and an act to extend the jurisdiction of the County Courts. In addition to these, there were several acts for important sanitary objects—for improving the supply of water to the metropolis, and for restricting intramural interments therein." Parliament was prorogued on the 1st of July, and an order for its dissolution was issued. A proclamation was published in the *London Gazette* (Tuesday, June 15, 1852), against Roman Catholic processions. Some ill-disposed persons at Stockport availed themselves of this to create disturbances, and several chapels were demolished, and private houses sacked.

§ 808. The duke of Wellington died suddenly at Walmer Castle, near Dover. On the Monday he took his ordinary exercise, and retired to rest apparently in good health. His valet called him at his usual hour on the following morning, but the duke complained of indisposition, and requested that an apothecary might be sent for. This was done, and medicine administered; but a succession of epileptic fits ensued, and at five-and-twenty minutes after three, in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 14th of September, Arthur Duke of Wellington breathed his last. The real extent of his popularity was shown by the burst of lamentation caused by his decease. Everybody had a kind word and an affectionate regret for that illustrious man, who had served the state so well, and so long. A public funeral was awarded to him by general acclamation, and on the 10th of November the body was removed from Walmer Castle to London. The remains lay in state at Chelsea Hospital, and so great was the crush to obtain a view, on the first day of admission for the public, that three persons were killed, and two died shortly after from injuries received in the struggle. The interment took place on the 18th of

November, 1852, when the body was conveyed in great state, upon a magnificent car constructed for the occasion, to St. Paul's Cathedral. Some idea of the procession may be formed from the fact that it extended two miles. The weather, which had long been unfavourable, suddenly brightened up, and the metropolis probably never before contained so many people, all attracted to pay homage to one man. Business was entirely suspended; and the most extraordinary sums were paid for windows commanding a view of the procession.

§ 809. The elections did not make any very material changes in the strength of parties, the Conservative government still being exposed to the chance of defeat whenever the various sections of the opposition might unite. The queen opened the autumnal session in person on the 11th of November; and the campaign commenced on the 23rd of November, when Mr. C. Villiers moved some resolutions eulogizing the free-trade measure of 1846. These were, however, on the 26th of November rejected by 336 to 256, and some resolutions proposed by Lord Palmerston, and accepted by the government, were carried by a majority of 468 to 53. Seventy-one members quitted the house before the final division occurred. In the division on the budget the government was in a minority of nineteen, and a coalition ministry, with Lord Aberdeen as premier, acceded to office. The West-India mail steam-packet *Amazon*, was destroyed by fire in the Bay of Biscay (Jan. 4), when 102 persons perished; and her Majesty's steam-transport *Birkenhead* was wrecked near the Cape of Good Hope (Feb. 26), and 436 persons, the majority being soldiers, were drowned. A reservoir near Holmfirth, Derbyshire, burst during a storm (Feb. 5), when entire families perished, and much property was destroyed. The country was visited with some violent storms and inundations. By a decree of the 11th of January, the National Guard throughout France was reconstructed upon a fresh basis. The new constitution, which vested the government of the French republic in the hands of Louis Napoleon for ten years, was promulgated (Jan. 14). In November the question of the re-establishment of the French empire was submitted to the people, and more than seven millions voted in favour of the change. Napoleon took up his residence at the Tuileries (Dec. 2), and a decree was immediately promulgated, creating Louis Napoleon emperor under the title of Napoleon III.

§ 810. Both Houses of Parliament—which had adjourned, after the autumnal session of 1852, on the 31st of December—re-assembled on the 10th of February, 1853. The programme of the new coalition cabinet was—peace with foreign powers, and conservative progress at home. Yet ministers were singularly unfortunate in their efforts to preserve harmony abroad, although they succeeded in passing many of their reformatory measures in home legislation. On the 10th of February, Lord John Russell enumerated the principal measures which the government intended to bring forward during the session. These were:—first, a bill to enable the legislature of Canada to dispose of the clergy reserves; secondly, a Pilotage Bill; thirdly, the consideration of the disabilities of the Jews, with a view to their removal; fourthly, a measure upon the important subject of education. Government also engaged to state the course they intended to adopt with reference to the reports of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the universities; and as regarded the future disposition of criminals. Several measures of legal reform were promised; but the scheme for the reform of parliamentary representation was postponed till another session. The Canadian Clergy Reserves Bill was passed. The Jewish disabilities were discussed soon after, and the measure was carried through the Lower, but rejected by the Upper House. The Pilotage Bill, a Mercantile Marine Bill, and a Naval Coast Volunteers Bill passed. A most useful act for the suppression of the betting-houses, and another for the abatement of the smoke nuisance, were carried. To these may be added the India Bill, a proposal for regulating charitable trusts, from the operation of which the Roman Catholic charities were exempted; a bill for altering the punishment of transportation; a new Cab Act; and a measure for the better prevention and punishment of aggravated assaults upon women and children.

§ 811. On the 8th of April, Mr. Gladstone proposed his resolutions on the national debt. His plan was for the conversion of stock. It was accepted, and the budget introduced (April 18). The income-tax was renewed for seven years, on a sliding scale, and it was extended to Ireland. Ministers proposed a change in the succession duties, and to add one shilling per gallon duty on Scotch, and eight-pence on Irish spirits, allowing a drawback for waste upon spirits in bond. The licences of brewers, maltsters, dealers in tea and coffee, tobacco and soap, were increased,

and Ireland relieved from the consolidated annuities. The duties on soap were repealed, and those payable on life assurance, indentures of apprenticeship, advertisements, hackney-coaches, servants, private carriages, horses, dogs, and many other articles, were reduced, and great changes made in the customs. The tea-duties were gradually reduced until 1856, when they were to remain at one shilling. Mr. Milner Gibson carried a motion against the government for the repeal of the advertisement duty. The attitude of Russia in the East attracted the attention of the legislature, and gave rise to several discussions. A camp was formed at Chobham in Surrey, and a grand field-day held, in presence of the queen (June 21); and a naval review at Spithead (Aug. 11). The Dublin Exhibition was opened (May 12), and proved eminently successful. Windsor Castle had a narrow escape from destruction on the 19th of March. A little after ten in the evening, a fire was found to have broken out in the Prince of Wales's Tower. The queen and other members of the royal family happened to be there at the time. The fire was soon extinguished. The cab-proprietors, dissatisfied with the new law, withdrew all their vehicles, and for three days (July 27-30) London was without a cab. The second Burmese war, which commenced in 1852, was brought to a termination early in 1853. The Caffres also submitted to our government and entered into a treaty of peace (March 9). The Emperor Napoleon III. was married to Eugénie de Montijo, countess of Teba (Jan. 29); and the queen of Portugal died in childbed on the 15th of November.

§ 812. The session of 1854 was opened on the 31st of January. The Eastern question engrossed the attention of the public; and, although war had not been declared, it was generally admitted that, after the passage of the Pruth by the Russian hordes, and the murderous outrage at Sinope, this could not be much longer delayed. Several debates occurred upon the alleged mismanagement of affairs, and on the 27th of March a royal message was communicated to Parliament, in which war against Russia was at last declared. On the 24th of July, a demand for further supplies of money towards the expenses of the war, was brought under the consideration of both Houses of Parliament. Ministers required £3,000,000, and the proposition received the immediate sanction of the legislature. Yet the discussion upon the vote led to a curious scene in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell spoke for about an

hour, and insisted very strongly upon the necessity of the active prosecution of the war. Towards the close of the debate he seemed anxious to retract what he had before asserted, and much indignation was expressed by various members. Lord John Russell's Reform Bill was brought in and withdrawn; the measure for reform in the university of Oxford, the West India Encumbered Estates Bill, the Canadian Legislative Council Bill, the Public Revenue and Consolidated Funds Charges Bill, an act to throw open the coasting trade to foreign vessels, another to amend and consolidate the acts relating to merchant shipping, and one for the repeal of the usury law, were passed.

§ 813. The great ministerial defeat of the session was upon the Parliamentary Oaths Bill. Ministers proposed to abolish the oaths of supremacy, allegiance, and abjuration, and substitute one more simple oath in their place. The bill was thrown out on its second reading (May 25), 251 voting against it, and 247 in its favour. The financial measures of the government provoked considerable discussion. They proposed an increased income-tax, an alteration in the stamp-duties, and a vote of £1,750,000 in Exchequer bills. The war budget was introduced on the 6th of May. It provided for the additional expenditure by raising the duties on Scotch and Irish spirits, augmenting the malt-tax, altering certain import duties on spirits in Ireland and Scotland, and an additional duty upon sugars. A separate set of resolutions were proposed, empowering government to raise money on Exchequer bonds. During the session a fourth secretaryship of state was created, the proper discharge of the duties of war and colonial minister, which had before been combined, having been found, from the increased pressure consequent upon the war, too much for one individual. The duke of Newcastle received the appointment of war minister.

§ 814. Few will forget the gloom and the depression that hung over the country during the autumn of 1854. The conviction that ministers were unequal to the crisis, and the heart-rending accounts from the Crimea, caused general consternation and sorrow. The ministerial determination to call Parliament together in December, was hailed as a kind of relief, and the people awaited the re-assembling of their representatives with anxiety and impatience. A Militia Bill and a Foreigners' Enlistment Bill were passed, and Par-

liament adjourned on the 23rd of December (1854). A brilliant assemblage, amounting to 40,000 people, witnessed the inaugural ceremony of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham (June 10, 1854). The cholera, which had re-appeared in 1853, subsided during the winter, but broke out again with great violence in the summer months. The disease was at its height early in September, 1854, when a kind of panic seized upon the inhabitants of London. The false report of the capture of Sebastopol created a wonderful degree of excitement in Europe early in October, and kept the English public in a state of suspense for several days. A dreadful conflagration broke out near Newcastle on the 6th of October, destroying a great amount of property. It originated in a hosiery manufactory at Gateshead; and caused a terrible explosion, which scattered the burning material in every direction. About fifty people were killed and many severely wounded. A revolution broke out at Madrid (June 28); the queen-mother was expelled, and O'Donnell and Espartero were made ministers. On the 24th of April, the emperor of Austria married the princess Elizabeth of Bavaria.

§ 815. England at the commencement of 1855 was unusually agitated and disturbed. The coalition ministry were distrusted, and a motion for a committee of inquiry into the condition of the army before Sebastopol was carried against them by a majority of 157 (Jan. 29). A ministry was formed by Lord Palmerston, from which the Peelite party seceded soon after. Lord John Russell was made colonial minister and British plenipotentiary at the conferences then about to commence at Vienna. The Czar Nicholas, the real cause of the war, died suddenly on the 2nd of March. The Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie visited England in April, and spent a week with the queen. Their reception in London was most enthusiastic. Little beyond the necessary measures for the prosecution of the war was done in the English legislature during the session. The budget was introduced on the 20th of April. The Chancellor of the Exchequer showed that the expenditure would probably exceed the income by £23,000,000. He proposed to supply the deficit, by adding one per cent. to the income-tax, raising the duty on sugar three shillings per cwt., and that on coffee one penny per lb. The tea-duties were increased from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. per lb.; the duty on Scotch spirits raised from 6s. to 7s. 10d.

per gallon, and that on Irish whisky from 4s. to 5s. per gallon. In addition to a loan of £16,000,000 previously negotiated, the government proposed to issue Exchequer bills for £3,000,000. On the 14th of May, 1855, Lord Ellenborough brought forward a motion in favour of administrative reform. It was resisted by the government, and defeated by a large majority. The law respecting the newspaper-stamp was altered, a Limited Liability Bill, and another for effecting great changes in the university of Cambridge, were passed. Lord Robert Grosvenor's Sunday Trading Bill created much sensation amongst the lower orders, and was eventually withdrawn; and a resolution for opening the British Museum on Sundays was rejected by a large majority. Some government measures were thrown out, others withdrawn, such as the Scotch Education Bill, Tenants' Improvement Compensation Bill, and the Testamentary Jurisdiction Bill. The resolution, proposed in a committee of ways and means, for granting a loan of five millions to Turkey, in joint security with France, was carried by a majority of three.

§ 816. Soon after Lord John Russell's return from the Vienna conferences, it oozed out that, although he had rejected the terms offered by Russia, and denounced Russia in his place in the House of Commons, he was favourable to a modification proposed by the Austrian minister, and upon this matter he differed in opinion from the majority of his colleagues in office. The retention of office, after a split in the cabinet on a vital point of policy, incurred general censure, and Lord John Russell only saved the government from a hostile vote by an immediate resignation of office (July 16). The new metropolitan cattle-market in Copenhagen-fields was opened on the 13th of June. The bankruptcy of Strahan, Paul, and Bates, bankers and army agents, created quite a panic in the commercial world, which subsequent revelations served only to increase. They were tried for fraudulent practices, found guilty, and on the 27th of October sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. The 21st of March was set apart as a day of humiliation; and, on the receipt of favourable intelligence from the Crimea, the 30th of September was appointed as a day of thanksgiving. Victor Emmanuel II., king of Sardinia, visited England in November, and early in the same month the queen and Prince Albert paid a return visit to the emperor and empress of the French, at Paris. Towards the end of the year Francis Joseph of Austria promulgated the con-

cordat which he had signed with the pope. It was, without exception, the most humiliating and disgraceful concession to temporal and spiritual despotism that can be conceived. The nineteenth century has hitherto produced nothing equally degrading. Disturbances broke out in Spain during the summer; and half of the village of Chamouni in Switzerland was laid in ruins by a fire, that commenced early in the morning of the 20th of July, 1855.

§ 817. Many celebrated characters were summoned from the busy scenes of life during these few years. Thomas Moore, the poet, died in the seventy-third year of his age, on the 26th of February, 1852. Marmont, the last of the elder Napoleon's marshals, expired at Venice on the 2nd of March; the Count D'Orsay died on the 4th of August, and Ada, countess of Lovelace, daughter of the poet Byron, on the 27th of November. In 1853 Ludwig Tieck died at Berlin (April 28); Lieutenant Bellot perished in the ice (Aug. 21); Sir Charles Napier died on the 29th of August; Arago the astronomer, on the 2nd of October, and Amelia Opie on the 2nd of December. Silvio Pellico, the victim of Austrian tyranny, died on the 1st of January, 1854. Lord Beresford, the hero of Albuera (Jan. 8); Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd, an eminent judge and a successful author, expired on the bench at Stafford (March 15); Professor Wilson (April 3), Lord Cockburn, (April 26), the marquis of Anglesey, a celebrated cavalry officer (April 29), James Montgomery, the poet (April 30), and the countess of Rossi, better known as Madame Sontag (June 17). On the 20th of June the gallant Captain Butler, who volunteered his services to the Turkish garrison of Silistria, died of a wound he had received, while defending that town.

§ 818. Thomas Crofton Croker, the antiquarian and collector of the legends and songs of the Irish, died on the 8th of August. Lord Denman sank on the 22nd of September. Sir George Cathcart fell in the battle of Inkermann, on the 5th of November. On the 17th of the same month Lord Dudley Stuart died at Stockholm. John Gibson Lockhart, long editor of the *Quarterly Review*, and the author of several works in prose and verse, died on the 25th of November. John Kitto, the celebrated biblical scholar, died in Germany on the same day. M. Leon Faucher, an eminent politician, died at Marseilles on the 15th of December. Dr. Routh, President of Magdalene College, Oxford, succumbed in his 100th year, on the 22nd of

December, 1854. The royal family of Sardinia suffered three bereavements early in 1855. The queen-dowager, widow of Charles Albert, died at Turin on the 12th of January, and the queen, Maria Adelaide, wife of Victor Emmanuel, sank under an attack of typhus fever (Jan. 20). The king's younger brother, the duke of Genoa, died on the 10th of February. The other remarkable persons whose deaths occurred during the year were Mary Mitford, authoress (Jan. 10); Joseph Hume, the political economist (Feb. 20); Mrs. Charlotte Nicholls, better known as "Jane Eyre" (May 31); Sir Robert Inglis, statesman (April 24); Dr. Gaisford, the celebrated classic (June 2); Sir William Molesworth (Oct. 22); Count Molé, the statesman (Nov. 23), and Samuel Rogers, the banker and poet, in his ninety-sixth year (Dec. 18).

LETTER 12.—History of the Eastern Question, from the Attempt of the French Government to obtain a Settlement of the Question having reference to the Holy Places at Jerusalem, to the Treaty of Paris. A.D. 1850—1856. Vol. iv., pages 369—456.

§ 819. The guardianship and possession of certain places at Jerusalem have been for many years the source of an animated contest between Christians belonging to the Greek and Latin Churches. These spots, known as the Holy Places, are hallowed from a supposed connection with our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, or some of His early disciples. Amongst them the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built upon Mount Calvary, and in which the sepulchre of Christ is said to exist, occupies a prominent position. In the year 1690 this Holy Sepulchre was appropriated to the Latins, and though other Christians were allowed to enter it for the purpose of private devotions, the Latins alone were allowed to celebrate mass therein. It continued to afford constant matter of dispute between various denominations of Christians, and France always appeared as the champion of the Latin, and Russia in modern times espoused the cause of the Greek Church: for the conflict has been at length confined to these rival sects. In 1740 a treaty was signed between France and the Porte, having special reference to this question. Alleged infractions in the terms of this treaty, and encroachments by the Greek Christians upon the privileges and possessions of the Latin Church, formed, on several occasions, the subject of complaint from the French government.

§ 820. In 1757 a very serious outbreak occurred at Jerusalem, caused by dissensions between the followers of the rival churches, and soon after a hattı-scheriff was promulgated, expelling the Latins from the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, and the Church of Bethlehem, and placing the holy sanctuaries under the protection of the Greek monks. Thus were the rights and privileges granted to the Latins by the treaty of 1740, gradually encroached upon and abrogated by successive decrees issued at Constantinople in favour of the Greek Christians. These matters continued to be as fiercely contested at Jerusalem as ever, until further complicated by a fire that consumed a considerable portion of the Holy Sepulchre, in 1808. Thereupon the Greeks obtained permission to rebuild the edifice, and grounded upon this concession additional rights and prerogatives. In 1819 France and Russia again interfered, and each of them sent a commissioner into Palestine, to inquire into and report upon these disputed claims. In the following year, M. Marcellus, the French commissioner, drew up a list of the holy places, and enumerated the prerogatives of the Latin Church.

§ 821. A satisfactory settlement could not, however, be made; and after a temporary lull, the French government, in 1850, directed their representative at Constantinople to endeavour to effect some arrangement. The Turkish government admitted the justice of the French claims, and things were progressing very favourably when the Emperor Nicholas wrote a letter to the Sultan, requiring his adherence to the *status quo*. Pressed by these formidable rivals, the Sultan knew not how to act; and as the discussion was prolonged, the Emperor Nicholas gradually disclosed his real intentions. An arrangement was nearly concluded in 1852; but towards the close of the year the czar began to set the forces of his empire in motion. In February, 1853, Prince Menschikoff repaired to Constantinople, as extraordinary ambassador from Russia; and although the real nature of his mission did not at first transpire, it soon became evident that the ruin of Turkey was intended. At a conference on the 31st of March the Russian ambassador expressed the emperor's wish to enter into a secret treaty with Turkey, putting a fleet and 400,000 men at her disposal, if she ever needed aid against any Western Power whatever. Russia further secretly demanded an addition to the treaty of Kainardji, whereby

the Greek Church should be placed entirely under Russian protection, without reference to Turkey, which was to be the equivalent for the proffered aid above mentioned. The Sultan firmly resisted this attack upon his independence; and after having exhausted threats, Prince Menschikoff withdrew from Constantinople, taking with him the imperial legation (May 21, 1853).

§ 822. The Russian forces crossed the Pruth (July 2); occupied the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and although every effort was made, the czar would not listen to terms of accommodation. Austria and Prussia refused to assist the Sultan; but the French and English squadrons passed the Dardanelles towards the end of October, and Nicholas issued a formal declaration of war (Nov. 1). The Turks resisted manfully, worsted the Russians in several engagements, and commenced the struggle most auspiciously. Omer Pacha found himself at the head of 100,000 men. With this force the passage of the Danube was effected at four different places, between the 28th of October and the 4th of November. One division occupied Kalafat, another took possession of a small island on the Danube, between Rustchuk and Giurgevo, a third division established themselves at Oltenitza, and a fourth crossed over at Silistria, and rested upon Kalarashe. Several skirmishes ensued, in which the Turks were victorious, and on the 4th the battle of Oltenitza was fought. About 20,000 Turks awaited the approach of 30,000 Russians. The latter attempted to drive the Turks from the position which they had taken up and fortified, but failed; and they were compelled to retreat with a loss of 1,200 men in killed and wounded. They were also defeated at other points on the line of the Danube, in which they endeavoured to arrest the progress of the Turks. In consequence of instructions received from Constantinople, Omer Pacha soon after withdrew his forces from Oltenitza, having first blown up his works there, and retired across the Danube; but he kept possession of Kalafat, and thus showed a determined front to the Russians on the left bank of the Danube.

§ 823. So unwilling were the Western Powers to give the slightest cause of offence to the czar, that their fleets only passed the Dardanelles, taking up their station near Constantinople, and did not proceed, as they might and ought to have done, into the Black Sea, for the protection of the Turkish ships in those waters. It happened that in

November the Turkish fleet lay at anchor near Sinope, a small seaport town of Anatolia, situated about midway between Constantinople and Trebizond. The Turkish fleet consisted of six frigates, two corvettes, a steamer, and three transports. On the 30th of November, 1853, a Russian squadron, composed of six sail of the line, two frigates, and three steamers, entered the bay and anchored near the Turkish vessels. At two in the afternoon they opened fire upon this small fleet, then badly arranged to repel an attack, and actually destroyed the whole flotilla, with the exception of the steamer, which managed to escape. The town of Sinope suffered terribly from the cannonade. The struggle was maintained with heroic firmness by the Turks; but against their powerful assailant they literally had not a shadow of a chance, and 4000 of them fell in the conflict, though its duration was but short. The Russian fleet, having committed this atrocity and completed the work of destruction, sailed back to the shelter of the fortifications of Sebastopol, its commanders lacking the courage to remain and face the allied squadrons. The annals of aggressive warfare contain nothing equal in atrocity to this attack. The English and French fleets soon after entered the Black Sea, and although the greatest efforts were made to avert hostilities, and every possible expedient was tried, the czar would not yield, and war was declared (March 27, 1854).

§ 824. The Greeks have for many years regarded the Turks with extreme jealousy; they have been engaged in several severe conflicts with them; and they await with impatience the overthrow of the Ottoman power in Europe, believing that its extinction will lead to the revival of their own influence, and the reconstruction of a modern kingdom which in its glories and power shall rival ancient Greece. Moreover, agitation has long been fostered in King Otho's dominions. Many of his subjects were dissatisfied with the settlement of affairs at the termination of the war of independence, and desired not only the incorporation of Epirus and Thessaly, provinces of Turkey containing a great number of Christians of the Greek church, but even the thorough humiliation of the Porte. Secret societies grew in importance; and although the members of these were actuated by different motives, they all looked forward to one consummation,—the triumph of the cross over the crescent. They talked enthusiastically of the period when the ancient Byzantium should once more

become a citadel of Christianity; and, being supported by Russia, they believed that the fulfilment of their hopes could not be much longer delayed. Although the emperor of Russia had no intention of assisting in the elevation of Greece, yet he skilfully turned this antipathy between the neighbouring states to his own advantage, and strained every nerve to extend his influence with the Greeks, and to induce them to regard him, not only in a political, but also in a religious point of view, as their friend and protector. While Prince Menschikoff was employed at Constantinople, early in 1853, in his arrogant mission, Admiral Korniloff was holding private interviews with the king and queen of Greece, both already sufficiently subservient to Nicholas, and preparing them for any contingencies that might arise. The consequence was that an insurrection broke out in Greece early in 1854, and a crusade, secretly supported by King Otho, was proclaimed against the Turks. After several sanguinary encounters had taken place, France and England interfered, and in May, 1854, their expeditionary forces, amounting to nearly 9000 men, reached the Piræus, and the Greek conspiracy was crushed.

§ 825. To the surprise of most people, and to the delight of a great many, the Turkish army on the banks of the Danube continued its victorious career. The czar, exasperated by the frequent and serious defeats inflicted upon his troops, whose entrance into the Principalities had been announced in such bombastic terms, kept changing both his plans and his generals. At different times, in the space of about twelve months, Omer Pacha encountered several of his most able commanders, and Paskiewitch, Lüders, Schilders, Osten-Sacken, Gortschakoff, and Dannenberg, each in his turn sought to retrieve the adverse fortunes of the war. The winter season did not prove so great an obstacle to the prosecution of the campaign as Omer Pacha had at first imagined; and accordingly, in the commencement of January, being once more released from the influence of diplomatists, the rival armies showed signs of action. The first encounter of any consequence took place near Kalafat on the 6th of January; and here Omer Pacha gained another victory. All efforts to effect an accommodation having proved unavailing, a treaty was signed at Constantinople (March 12), relative to the military aid to be given by the allied powers to Turkey, and forces were despatched to the seat of the war. The first levies landed at Malta early

in March, 1854. Thence they proceeded first to Gallipoli, and afterwards to Scutari and Varna. In a short time 30,000 French and English troops were assembled for the defence of the Ottoman empire.

§ 826. The gallant Turks were in the mean while struggling against overwhelming numbers on the banks of the Danube. In March the Russians crossed the river in great force, took possession of the Dobrudscha, and besieged Silistria. Though it was fiercely assailed, the small garrison held out heroically, and, after having made several attacks, the Russians were obliged to retire. This occurred towards the end of June, and on the 8th of July a sanguinary battle, in which the Turks were victorious, was fought at Giurgevo. This action terminated the campaign on the Danube, for the Russians were in full retreat. A convention had been signed at Boyadji-Keuy (June 14), in virtue of which the Austrians took possession of the Principalities. They entered Wallachia in August, and arrived at Bucharest on the 6th of September. The allied fleets came into collision with the Russians some time before their military forces met the foe. Early in April the steamer *Furious* had been despatched to Odessa to bring off the English consul. She anchored in the bay with a flag of truce at the mast-head, and her boat put off, likewise bearing a flag of truce. One of the Russian batteries opened upon the steamer and boat, and fired several shots, none of which, fortunately, hit the mark. The allied admirals demanded an explanation of this violation of all the rules of honourable warfare, and took up their station before the city. The town was bombarded on the 22nd of April. Several batteries were seriously injured, two powder magazines blown up, some ships of war sunk, and immense quantities of military stores destroyed. During a dense fog (May 12), the *Tiger*, war steamer of 1,200 tons, went on shore near Odessa, and was captured by the Russians.

§ 827. Operations were also carried on in the Baltic. On the 11th of August, 1853, the queen had reviewed a powerful squadron at Spithead, consisting of twenty-five ships of war; and, although many of these were afterwards sent into the Black Sea, and elsewhere, the vacancies were supplied by other vessels, several additions were made, and, in the spring of 1854, a fine fleet was again assembled at Spithead, and placed under the command of Sir Charles Napier. Before anything could, however, be done, the courts of Norway and Sweden, and of Denmark, had decided upon neutrality.

The English fleet reached the Baltic in the spring, and blockaded the Russian ports. A French squadron joined them, and 10,000 troops, under General Baraguay d'Hilliers, were sent out in British ships to assist in the reduction of the Aland Isles. They arrived on the 7th of August, and the fortifications were assailed and carried. An English squadron penetrated into the White Sea, and destroyed some batteries, but in the Pacific they were less successful, and fell into an ambuscade near Petropaulowski (Sep. 4, 1854).

§ 828. In a short space of time a large army of French, English, Turks, and Egyptians, had assembled in the neighbourhood of Varna. The flight of the Russians from the Danube induced the allied commanders to attempt a descent upon the Crimea. The cholera showed itself amongst the troops during the preparations, but, nothing daunted, they embarked, and reached Old Fort, near Eupatoria, on the 12th of September. In a few days all the expeditionary forces had landed. The English mustered 26,000 men, with 54 guns. The French had 24,500, with 70 guns, and there were about 7,000 Turks. A cavalry skirmish with the Cossacks took place at Bouljanak (Sep. 19), and the next day the Russians were attacked, and driven from a strong position on the river Alma. This was a great triumph, as the enemy felt confident of victory, relying upon their superior numbers and a position that ought to have been impregnable. After this glorious victory the allies were detained, tending the wounded and burying the dead, until the 23rd. Had the English army been properly provided with means of transport, and had the expedition possessed a sufficient cavalry force, Sebastopol might have been captured forthwith. On the 23rd the troops marched forward to the Katcha, and thence to the Belbek on the 24th, when Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud suddenly changed the plan of the campaign, and resolved upon marching round Sebastopol instead of attacking it upon the north side. This was accomplished by the celebrated flank march, which has been so much discussed, and of which such very conflicting opinions have been expressed. It certainly took the Russians by surprise, for, on the 25th, the English vanguard came upon the Russian rear. The enemy was in fact executing a similar movement, and his astonishment at encountering the English in that direction was great. The Russians, dispirited by the attack at the Alma, would not wait for a charge, but

rushed away in confusion, leaving baggage, stores, and ammunition at the mercy of our troops. The English army entered Balaklava on the 26th of September, whither they had been preceded by the fleet. The place was speedily captured, the French took up a position at Kamiesch bay, the stores and siege material were landed, and the siege commenced.

§ 829. The first bombardment opened on the 17th of October, 1854. The French batteries were speedily silenced, but the cannonade was continued by the English until the 24th. The terrified garrison had been joined by fresh levies, and the Russians prepared to act on the offensive. Early on the 25th of October, the Russians drove the Turks out of some earthen redoubts in front of the English position, but were stopped by the 93rd Highlanders. The British heavy cavalry, which had by this time reached the scene of action, charged the enemy's squadrons, and scattered them like chaff. Upon the defeat of the Russian horse, both their cavalry and infantry withdrew towards the entrance of a gorge, in the valley beneath. Six battalions of infantry, protected by thirty guns, were drawn up in this position, and the hills at the side covered with Russian infantry. Owing to some misconception the light brigade were ordered to charge these formidable forces. Upon that perilous exploit they advanced 670 strong. Before them lay an army in position, consisting of both cavalry and infantry, protected by a powerful artillery. Yet upon that forlorn hope these British horsemen rode fearlessly onward. When more than twelve hundred yards from the foe, a murderous discharge from the enemy's batteries decimated their ranks, and many gallant fellows were struck down before they could come up with the Russians. Every gap in the first line was immediately closed up from the second, and with a loud shout, the men dashed into the batteries. They cut down the artillerymen, and drove back the Russian infantry, when a strong corps of lancers was hurled upon their flank. While contending with their fresh assailants, the Russian artillerymen, with unparalleled atrocity, opened upon the struggling masses, thus sweeping down both friend and foe. The heavy cavalry came forward to cover their retreat, and the French Chasseurs d'Afrique executed a brilliant charge on a battery on the left, and thus the remnant of the light brigade was saved. The glorious but fatal charge lasted twenty-five minutes, in which time 400

men were killed or wounded, and nearly four hundred horses destroyed. After this the Russians gradually withdrew, and retired into Sebastopol. From that fatal day, the English lines were contracted, and the Woronzoff road, the best means of communication possessed by our army, was effectually closed to us.

§ 830. One part of the English position, facing towards the head of the harbour, and the caverns of Inkermann, was very weak, and here, the day after the battle of Balaklava, the Russians attempted a surprise. They were repulsed; but, having received reinforcements, in the gloom of a wintry morning, they assaulted our weak lines with about 50,000 men (Nov. 5, 1854). Our soldiers fought desperately, and although outnumbered, were not subdued. For several hours 8,000 British troops, encountered at various points, and kept back 50,000 Russians, until at length General Bosquet, at the head of 6,300 of our gallant allies, came to the rescue, and hurled the Russian masses down the fatal heights. Such a victory entailed many bitter sacrifices. Sir George Cathcart, in attempting to charge the enemy in flank, at the head of the 4th division, was surrounded, and fell. Generals Goldie and Strangeways were killed, and Sir George Brown and Generals Bentinck, Torrens, Codrington, and several other officers, were wounded. The total loss of the English army in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly 3,000 men. The French loss was 1,726, and the Russian must have been about 15,000. This glorious victory brought the campaign of 1854 to a close. In three encounters had the allied armies valiantly sustained the reputation of their arms, and the honour of their cause. At the Alma 26,000 English, and 24,500 French troops, with a small body of Turks, drove the Russians, 50,000 in number, from a natural position of great strength, fortified with skill, and bristling with cannon. The heroic charge at Balaklava is without a parallel in the annals of war. In that brilliant affair a small body of English horse attacked an army, reposing in fancied security behind their guns, and spread terror and confusion through their ranks. At the battle of Inkermann, 8,000 English for several hours withstood the assault of 50,000 of the flower of the Russian levies, and eventually, with the aid of 6,300 French, routed and drove them into Sebastopol. These, the first victories of the French and English alliance, created a wonderful sensation in Europe; and showed that France and England

united might defy the world in arms. No wonder that the pride of the czar received a shock, when he discovered that even numbers could not secure victory, and that a small band of Western warriors could resist the onslaught of his most powerful battalions. He awoke from his dream of conquest, to find the rod that he wielded crumbling in his grasp.

§ 831. The allied armies had not had time to recover from the effects of this dearly-purchased triumph, when stormy weather set in, increasing the difficulties, and multiplying the dangers by which they were environed. A gale arose on the 11th of November, 1854, which by the 14th had grown into a hurricane. Tents were blown down, stores destroyed, and the shipping outside the harbour of Balaklava, and in the bay of Kamiesch, suffered considerably. Immense quantities of stores disappeared, and the men were reduced to great extremities. On the 7th of the month the Russians made a cavalry attack on Eupatoria, which was repulsed. They occasionally issued out of Sebastopol, and attempted a surprise. But the victory of Inkermann had completely cowed them; and, although they might have inflicted a serious blow upon the allied armies, they did not venture to attack, and the remainder of 1854 was chiefly spent in repairing previous losses, and making preparations for future operations. On the last day of November the Grand Duke Michael and a large staff made a reconnaissance of the English lines, and on the 30th of December the French and English beat up the Russian position. During this eventful year the Turkish army in Asia was reinforced, and the fortifications of Kars repaired. Several partial engagements ensued, and the Russians gained victories in two battles, one at Bayazid (July 29), and the other at Kurekdere (Aug. 6). In spite of these advantages, the Russians were not able to penetrate further into the Turkish territory, and both armies retired into winter quarters.

§ 832. The accounts that reached England during the gloomy winter of 1854—1855, convinced the public that our gallant defenders were suffering unparalleled privations. A Times Fund, the Crimean Army Fund, and other similar plans of affording aid were adopted. Supplies of food and clothing were despatched to the East, and doctors and nurses followed. Of the latter Miss Florence Nightingale, a lady of high station and good fortune, took the control. The activity of the people aroused the government from

its lethargy, and they adopted several plans for remedying the ill effects of previous neglect. The chief of these was the railroad from Balaklava to the camp, for the conveyance of stores, reinforcements, and ammunition. It was evident that nothing very effectual in the way of relief could be accomplished, until a quick and constant means of communication was established between the trenches and the landing-place at Balaklava. Various plans were proposed, but the preference was given to a railroad, and some eminent railway contractors immediately undertook the line. Navvies were sent off to the Crimea, and by the beginning of April 1855, this great work was in operation. It proved of immense service to our overtasked troops. While the allies were repairing the losses of neglect, disease, and warfare, and taking measures to renew the bombardment, the Russians did not remain inactive. They strengthened the defences of Sebastopol, erected new fortifications, and made repeated sorties on the besiegers. Several affairs of the kind occurred, now upon the French, now upon the English lines, but they were all defeated.

§ 833. The news of the adhesion of Sardinia to the Western Alliance, and of the death of the Czar Nicholas, reached the Crimea in the spring; but no pause took place in the siege. The king of Sardinia engaged to provide five brigades, consisting of 15,000 men, for the war in the East, and to keep up that number by reinforcements; while France and England guaranteed the integrity of his dominions, and engaged to defend them against any attack during the continuance of the war. England also furnished the king of Sardinia with a loan of a million sterling, at four per cent. per annum interest. In case the war should be prolonged beyond a year after the payment of the first instalment, another loan of the same amount was to be advanced. The ratifications of these agreements were soon after exchanged, and the Sardinian contingent joined the allied armies in the Crimea. Just after the completion of the railroad, on Easter Monday the 2nd of April, the second bombardment of Sebastopol commenced. So well had the secret been kept, that it was not until the second day that the enemy was able to return the fire with anything like effect. During the night of the 13th the Russians made a fierce assault upon the French lines, but were gallantly repulsed with severe loss. On the 15th the French exploded some mines, causing

much damage to the Russian works, and on the 24th the bombardment was suspended. In May, 1855, General Canrobert resigned the French command, and General Pelissier succeeded him. Attacks and sorties continued to distract the attention of the besiegers, and to impede the progress of their operations, the Russians assaulting with vigour, in spite of their numerous defeats. In these affairs the French suffered considerably; and, as their works approached nearer to the more important fortifications of Sebastopol, they became the centre of the severest struggles.

§ 834. On the 23rd of May an expedition, consisting of nearly twenty thousand of the allied forces, set sail for the Sea of Azoff, and achieved a decided triumph. The vessels forced the entrance of the straits of Kertch and Yenikale, destroyed the Russian forts on the coast, and put their garrisons to flight. The expeditionary forces landed at Cape Takli, captured Ambalaki, Kertch, and Yenikale. A flying squadron under Captain Lyons pushed into the Sea of Azoff, and in a few days destroyed 245 Russian vessels employed in carrying provisions to the Russian army in the Crimea. Immense magazines of corn and flour were burnt. Bordiansk, Genitchi, and Arabat were visited, and the Russian magazines levelled, their forts silenced, and their garrisons dispersed. On the Circassian coast the Russians themselves performed the work of destruction, and blew up and abandoned Anapa and other strongholds, as the allied squadrons approached. The expedition, having accomplished its mission, prepared to return to head-quarters. Fortifications were thrown up between Kertch and Yenikale, and a sufficient force left to hold the place, and very effectually cut off the Russian supplies from that quarter.

§ 835. The siege had been in the mean time prosecuted with great vigour. The third bombardment commenced in the afternoon of the 6th of June, and the next evening the Mamelon and the Quarries were assaulted, the former by the French, and the latter by the English. Both of these were carried and held, in spite of the repeated attempts of the Russians to regain them. The bombardment continued at intervals, and preparations were made for an assault upon the Malakoff and the Great Redan. These operations were, however, defeated with very severe loss (June 18). Anxiety preyed upon Lord Raglan's shattered frame; and on the 24th of June his friend and associate, General Estcourt, Adjutant-general of the army, sank under an attack of

cholera. Soon after, Lord Raglan was taken ill of diarrhœa; cholera supervened, and on the 28th of June, 1855, at nine in the evening, his gallant spirit took flight. Few commanders were more regretted. The tact and kind-heartedness of the old soldier won the good-will of all those with whom he was called upon to associate. His long life had been spent in honour; and in honour's cause he laid it down at last. In the peninsula and at Waterloo his earlier laurels had been gained; and for many years he diligently performed the duties of military secretary to the Duke of Wellington. If not endowed with any extraordinary military genius, he was a careful commander, and above all a good and a humane man. His fortitude was truly admirable. Amid the elements of strife and confusion his gentle nature shone out like a star, and he will long be remembered as the good Lord Raglan. With his death the second act of the grand drama closed. A temporary pause in the struggle ensued, and Lieutenant-general Simpson succeeded to the vacant command.

§ 836. Though the allied armies took the field, negotiations were not on that account discontinued. The sophistries of diplomacy hung like a spell upon France and England, paralysing their efforts, and prejudicing their cause. More allies would have flocked to their standard had they boldly cut the Gordian knot of German temporizing. Sweden would have declared herself sooner; and stronger, though not more patriotic, states than Sardinia have sent their soldiers to the Crimea. Between principals in a war discussions cannot possibly do any harm; and the great evil in the diplomatic tournaments of 1853, 1854, and 1855, was the anomalous position occupied by Austria and Prussia. The former power was under obligations to the Czar for the assistance rendered in the suppression of the Hungarian rebellion, and the king of Prussia was connected with the royal family of Russia, his sister being the wife of the Czar. It was therefore evident that they were both interested parties; and, in addition to the circumstances above mentioned, had always aided the aggressive policy of the court of St. Petersburg. Only as principals in the strife should we have allowed either Prussia or Austria to interfere. The offensive and defensive alliance signed between Austria and Prussia on the 20th of April, 1854, in spite of the additional article upon which so much stress was laid, really came to nothing. Austria seized the Principalities, and Prussia

soon after virtually withdrew from the alliance. On the 8th of August, 1854, a note was signed at Vienna by the representatives of England, France, and Austria, defining the conditions on which peace might be restored to Europe. A treaty of alliance was also signed at Vienna (Dec. 2) between England, France, and Austria. On the 28th of December, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, and Great Britain drew up a memorandum, containing the four points, and the sense in which they interpreted them.

§ 837. These terms had been previously communicated to the Czar; he agreed to accept them as the point of departure for negotiations, and a meeting took place at Vienna on the 7th of January, 1855, at which it was determined that conferences should be summoned forthwith. But before the plenipotentiaries assembled at the Austrian capital, important changes occurred. Sardinia joined the Western alliance on the 26th of January, Lord Aberdeen's government was overthrown on the 29th of the same month, and the Czar Nicholas died on the 2nd of March. No sooner was the opening of the conferences decided upon, than Prussia sought to share in them, and actually addressed a demand of the kind to the Western Powers, which was, however, refused. In the mean time a new ministry, under the premiership of Lord Palmerston, had accepted office in England, and Lord John Russell was chosen as the English plenipotentiary at Vienna. The selection was generally considered unfortunate on account of Lord John Russell's vacillating character, and it proved even more disastrous than had been anticipated. Instructions were given to Lord John Russell on the 22nd of February, and he set off upon his mission, visiting first the courts of Paris and Berlin. The inaugural conference was held on the 15th of March. For the settlement of the third point, relating to the Black Sea, several plans were proposed by the allied powers, but Russia would agree to none of them. Her representatives offered a proposition that the Black Sea should be open to all ships of war, and that Russia and Turkey should be at liberty to maintain as many of these as they chose. This led to the rupture of the negotiations. Lord John Russell stated that his instructions were exhausted, and although another conference was held on the 26th of April, he did not attend. Ministers, when questioned, asserted that negotiations were not entirely broken off; and, on the 24th of May, Mr. Disraeli brought forward a motion,

censuring the government for ambiguous language and uncertain conduct. In order to defeat this, Lord John Russell made a warlike speech, and the result was a majority of 100 in favour of the cabinet. A few days afterwards, Count Buol published a circular, in which he stated that Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys had both agreed to urge the acceptance of the Austrian plan upon their respective governments. This announcement produced a great sensation in England; and, on questions being asked in the legislature, people learned for the first time that there had been a split in the cabinet. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, on differing in opinion with the emperor of France, immediately resigned, but Lord John Russell sought to retain his position. Seldom does retributive justice so quickly overtake a delinquent, as it did this erring politician. In a few weeks after his return from Vienna, Lord John Russell was compelled to resign, having lost the confidence of all parties, and incurred the censure of the English people.

§ 838. The command of the Baltic fleet of 1855 was intrusted to Rear-admiral Richard Saunders Dundas. The flying squadron, under Captain Watson, left Spithead on the 20th of March, and the main body of the fleet on the 4th of April. A considerable improvement had been made upon the armament of the former year; and several gun and mortar boats and floating batteries increased its efficiency. Still it was not exactly the kind of fleet calculated to produce an impression upon Russia. Admiral Dundas was joined by a small French squadron, under Admiral Penaud, on the 1st of June. It is scarcely necessary to enter into any detailed account of the cruising, expeditions, and other operations of the allied armada. The Russian rulers had availed themselves of the winter season to strengthen their defences and multiply their means of resistance. Several infernal machines, intended to damage the ships by exploding under the water, and coming in contact with them, were discovered and removed without doing any harm. Cronstadt was deemed unassailable, at least by the kind of armament at the disposal of the admirals, and they resolved not to attempt an enterprise in which the chances of failure were so great. Two matters in the Baltic campaign of 1855 deserve especial notice; the Hango massacre, and the bombardment of Sweaborg. In the former the Russians waited in ambush for a boat carrying a flag of truce, and actually fired upon and murdered several of the crew, who

had landed without arms. This outrage created a terrible sensation in Europe. The attack upon Sweaborg on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of August, 1855, was only partially successful. The fortress, or rather the fortifications known under this name, are erected upon six small islands in front of the town of Helsingfors. They lie in an almost inaccessible position in the Gulf of Finland, about 140 miles from Cronstadt. Of these six islands, three serve as outworks, while the other three compose the fortress. This mass of solid masonry, upon foundations of granite, was connected by bridges, and is so strong that it has been called "the Gibraltar of the North." Although the forts themselves were not much damaged by the fire of the allied ships and floating-batteries, yet storehouses, magazines, barracks and a quantity of valuable property were destroyed. The gun-boats proved of immense service, and fully showed what might be accomplished in the Baltic if the proper weapons were placed in the hands of our admirals. The blockade was maintained during the autumn, and before Christmas all the fleet had withdrawn.

§ 839. The eyes of mankind were directed towards the Crimea, where Russia was maintaining a terrible struggle against the forces of France, England, and Turkey, which had been joined by the Sardinian contingent. In this contest of giants whole armies disappeared; for war's destroying angel, aided by disease and want, struck down hosts at a blow. After the death of Lord Raglan there was a temporary pause in this sad drama; but the preparations were pushed forward on every side with great energy, and the Russians received large reinforcements. When the Sardinians reached the camp, towards the end of April, it was resolved to occupy a strong position on the left bank of the Tchernaya, and accordingly the French, the Turks, the Sardinians, and some English cavalry and artillery, advanced in this direction. The Russians remained in great force on the heights of Aïtodor and the Upper Belbek, and it was to prevent their taking the allied army in the rear that this movement had been made. The Russians having again received reinforcements, descended suddenly into the plain on the morning of the 16th of August, crossed the river at the Traktir Bridge, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The Russians must have lost six or seven thousand men, for the slaughter at the bridge, owing to the excellent practice of the artillery, was fearful, and the French alone took 2,200

Russian wounded and prisoners. The French loss in killed and wounded was about 1,200, and that of the Sardinians 200.

§ 840. The siege was prosecuted with vigour, and preparations were made for the final bombardment and assault. Every one perceived that the capture of Sebastopol would prove the turning-point in the war; and the combatants, aware of the fact, renewed their exertions. On the 30th of August, 1855, a dreadful explosion occurred in the Mamelon, destroying great quantities of ammunition, and killing or wounding 150 officers and men. Nothing daunted by this sad disaster, the French pushed forward their works, and on the 5th of September the batteries commenced the sixth and final bombardment. Such a fire as that opened by the rival batteries never before shook the earth; and surely such a storm of shot, shell, and warlike missiles, bearing death and destruction on their wings, never descended upon a beleaguered city. The Russians seemed utterly paralysed by this mighty effort of their antagonists. Night brought them no relief, and the air continued to be illumined by flights of shells. In the evening a frigate caught fire and sank. This fearful onslaught was continued on the 6th and 7th, and, in addition to minor conflagrations, on the latter day a Russian two-decker was fired and destroyed. At mid-day a council of generals was held at the English head-quarters, and the assault arranged for the morrow. The French were to attack the Malakoff, the key of the position, in great force, and the tricolor floating from its summit was to be the signal for the advance of the English against the Great Redan.

§ 841. Accordingly, on the morning of the memorable 8th of September, after a furious cannonade, the fire suddenly languished, and at five minutes to twelve the French rushed from their trenches, and swarmed into the Malakoff. The Russians, indulging in the usual siesta, were taken completely by surprise; and although, for seven hours, they made gallant attempts to regain the Malakoff, they did not succeed in their object. The English attack upon the Great Redan was less successful. The French had but a few yards to run in order to get into the Malakoff; our men had 200 yards to traverse before they reached the Great Redan; so that when they entered the place they were already fatigued. The French attacking columns were 10,000 strong, ours only a quarter of that number. Colonel Windham did all that an officer could do to encourage his troops, but the want of reserves rendered his efforts unavailing; and, after

having contended vainly for nearly two hours, in which struggle the loss was very great, the English retired. The killed and wounded exceeded 2,000; and another attack was arranged for the following morning. The loss of the Malakoff induced the Russian general to retire. In the three days of the bombardment he is said to have lost 18,000 men. He felt that it was the key of the position, and the desperate though fruitless efforts made to retake it show the value set upon it by the foe. The Russians carried off what stores and ammunition they could; they then set fire to the town in several places, dismantled and blew up their strongest fortifications, and fired their ships. They retreated by the bridge of boats to the north side. The enemy fortified himself on the north side, while the allies cleared out the ruined city, made themselves as comfortable as they could, and divided the spoils of war. Medals, clasps, and honours were freely distributed; and, although rumours of expeditions and of important operations were constantly in circulation, nothing whatever was done, and the belligerents amused themselves by occasionally getting up a brisk fire, which, owing to the distance, could do but little harm on either side.

§ 842. Early in October a number of French and English ships, carrying about 10,000 troops, left Kamiesch and Kazatch Bays, and anchored off Odessa on the 8th. The expedition was to be directed towards the mouths of the Bug and the Dnieper, and the various strongholds in that direction. Detained for several days by unsettled weather off Odessa, the inhabitants of that city were kept in a state of tremulous excitement, which was relieved by the departure of the armament on the 14th. Kinburn, a strong fortification on the south side of the bay of Kherson, was bombarded on the 17th for about four hours, when the governor and the garrison, to the number of 1,420 men and 40 officers, perceiving the hopeless nature of the contest, surrendered. They had lost 200 killed and 350 wounded. Two rafts of timber, valued at £20,000, were captured on the 25th, but they afterwards got adrift in a storm. Some vessels ascended the Bug and the Dnieper, but little was accomplished; certain defences were destroyed and a garrison left at Kinburn, and in the first week of November the expedition returned to the camp.

§ 843. The campaign in Asia was if possible more disastrous to the allied cause than that of 1854 had been. Just

before intelligence of the disasters at Bayazid and Kurekdere reached Europe, Lieutenant-colonel Williams had been selected by the government as English commissioner, at the head-quarters of the Turkish army in Asia. Colonel Williams arrived near Kars on the 23rd of September, 1854, and joined the Turkish army on the 24th. The authorities seemed at first inclined to thwart the English commissioner; but he proved himself a man of extraordinary energy and power, and soon brought Zarif Mustapha Pacha and his subordinates to their senses. Colonel Williams found that the army, estimated at 40,000, did not amount to half that number; but he set to work earnestly, had the men properly clothed, fed, and drilled; and organized this small force. His endeavours were crowned with success; the fortifications of Kars were strengthened, the discipline and spirit of the troops restored, and the little garrison learned not only to obey, but admire and esteem, Colonel Williams and his small band of heroic assistants. But he was not properly supported by the authorities at home, neither reinforcements nor supplies of money were furnished to him, and he could not therefore keep the prize. Although he repulsed the Russians, inflicting great loss upon them (Sep. 29, 1855), he was ultimately compelled to surrender the fortress (Nov. 24). General Mouravieff behaved nobly towards his gallant opponents; he returned the officers their swords, and treated his prisoners with every consideration. The chief officers were sent into Russia. Omer Pacha and his army retraced their steps towards the sea-coast, and the Russians remained masters of Kars. Their triumph in Asia more than compensated for the fall of Sebastopol; and while the intelligence of the former circulated far and wide in Persia, and among the tribes of the Caucasus, the knowledge of the latter was carefully concealed from them. Thus Russia extracted victory out of disaster, and, through the imbecility of diplomatists, struck a blow at Turkey the importance of which was felt throughout the East.

§ 844. The time had, however, arrived for the termination of the strife. On the rupture of the Vienna conferences in the spring of 1855, the Western Powers in vain sought to induce Austria to fulfil the pledge that she had given, and declare war against Russia. This she resolutely refused to do, and her relations with the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin became daily more intimate and cordial. Although unwilling to aid the Western Powers, Austria continued to

do her best to further the cause of the czar, and endeavoured by every means in her power to obtain easier terms than those laid down at the Vienna conferences. In this she was at the time unsuccessful, owing more to the determined attitude of the English people than to anything else; for they were at length thoroughly aroused, and would have expelled any government from power that ventured to accept the humiliating conditions which had been once indignantly rejected. The success of the 8th of September, 1855, spread alarm and confusion in the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. Other and even more serious reasons for anxiety and alarm existed, which even the most sanguine had scarcely anticipated. The mighty military resources of Russia were exhausted, and she had almost staked her last man in the defence of the Crimea. While the telegraph and the press magnified the losses and sufferings of the allied armies, nothing had been said of the wholesale destruction of the Russian forces. Our brave fellows, it is true, died by hundreds, but they were perishing by thousands, and entire armies disappeared.

§ 845. The czar had many causes for anxiety. Disgusted with the German powers, the allies at last sought the assistance of those states whose aid was likely to be of some effect. In November, General Canrobert visited Copenhagen and Stockholm, and his reception both by the monarchs and their subjects was most enthusiastic. This distinguished French negotiator succeeded in obtaining a treaty with the King of Sweden, by which the integrity of the united kingdoms of Sweden and Norway was assured by France and England. The treaty was concluded on the 21st of November, the ratifications were exchanged on the 17th of December, and this important state paper was soon after published in the *Moniteur*. It was a most severe blow to Russia and the German courts; it showed that the allies had at length obtained some idea of their true mission—the repression of the aggressive designs of the czars; and it would have rendered peace impossible, had Russia been able to continue the contest. Never was the treachery of Austria more apparent than at this juncture. The fall of Sebastopol and the treaty with Sweden thoroughly alarmed her; and, although she before undertook to extricate the czar from a portion of his difficulties, she now redoubled her efforts. Count Buol obtained from the Western Powers the terms upon which they would make peace, and having used every exertion to

render them as easy for Russia as possible, despatched them to St. Petersburg by Count Esterhazy, towards the end of December. About the same time Russia transmitted her own proposals of peace, which were rejected; the czar accepted those that had been sent by Austria, and preparations were at once made for the opening of conferences at Paris.

§ 846. On the 25th of February, 1856, the representatives of France, England, Turkey, Sardinia, Austria, and Russia assembled at Paris, when an armistice at the seat of the war until the 31st of March was agreed upon. No change was made in the maritime blockade; in fact, Russia was so completely exhausted and humbled, that she was quite at the mercy of the allies. On the 18th of March, Prussia was admitted to the conferences, and on the 30th the treaty of Paris was signed, and three conventions bearing upon it. The treaty consisted of thirty-four articles. Turkey was admitted into the European system, and the contracting parties guaranteed its independence. The freedom of the Danube was secured, the rectification of the Russian frontier in Bessarabia promised, and the *status quo ante bellum* in Asia determined upon. Three conventions were annexed to the treaty; the first signed by all parties to the treaty of Paris, providing for the exclusion of ships of war of all nations from the straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, in time of peace; the second was between the emperor of Russia and the sultan, by which they each of them engaged to maintain in the Black Sea "six steam-vessels of fifty mètres in length at the line of flotation, of a tonnage of 800 tons at the maximum, and four light steam or sailing vessels, of a tonnage which shall not exceed 200 tons each;" and the third between France, England, and Russia, by which the latter power engaged that "the Aland Isles shall not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment shall be maintained or created there."

§ 847. Several other matters were discussed at this congress, such as the law of mediation in case of a disagreement between Turkey and any European power, and the laws on privateering. With reference to the latter subject, the congress adopted the following declaration:—"1. Privateering is and remains abolished. 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war. 3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag. 4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say,

maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coasts of the enemy." A general discussion ensued on the state of Europe, in which the condition of Greece and the allied occupation, Italy, the Belgian press, and the rights of neutrals, were reviewed and commented upon, but led to no definite results, the views of the various parties to the treaty of Paris being on these points so opposite. Nevertheless the discussion was recorded in a protocol. The Sardinian plenipotentiaries addressed a memorial to the governments of France and England, relating to the affairs of Italy, in which they deplored the influence wielded by Austria at the conferences, which prevented the settlement of this difficult question. They declared in this memorial that "Sardinia is the only state in Italy that has been able to raise an impassable barrier to the revolutionary spirit, and at the same time remain independent of Austria. It is the counterpoise to her invading influence. If Sardinia succumbed, exhausted of power, abandoned by her allies—if she also was obliged to submit to Austrian domination, then the conquest of Italy, by this power would be achieved; and Austria, after having obtained, without its costing her the least sacrifice, the immense benefit of the free navigation of the Danube, and the neutralization of the Black Sea, would acquire a preponderating influence in the west."

§ 848. Such was the treaty of Paris, and the discussions to which it gave rise; in which nearly everything was sacrificed to Russia and to Austria. Even the great concession of which so much was said by its admirers—the neutralization of the Black Sea—was forced upon Turkey, as well as upon Russia. Because the latter had abused her power in these waters, Turkey, the victor in the strife, the injured state in whose behalf France and England had waged war, was actually compelled to reduce her naval armament within the same limits as Russia. The Muscovite fleet, and not the Ottoman, was the menace to Europe, and that alone ought to have been reduced. Then again, with reference to the expenses of the war, Russia was permitted to escape scot-free. Yet at the congress of Vienna, in 1815, France was not let off thus easily; nor did Russia forget to claim compensation for her efforts to bring it to a termination. If we examine into former transactions between Turkey and Russia, and look to the treaty of Adrianople, we find that, by a separate act, Turkey engaged to pay 1,500,000 ducats of Holland, by way of "reparation for the losses

and injuries suffered by Russian subjects and merchants at various times since the year 1806 ;” and a further sum of 10,000,000 ducats of Holland by way of indemnification for the expenses of the war, and the Sultan’s territories were not to be evacuated by the Muscovite hordes, until these sums were paid. It was clearly Russia’s turn to defray the expenses of this conflict, provoked by her arrogance and rapacity ; and if the allied powers in their magnanimity refused to demand the reimbursement of what they had spent, their duty was to see that Turkey was amply compensated. The Sultan could ill afford the additional strain upon his resources caused by this great war, concluded in so shameful a manner ; and both France and England were unfaithful to his cause in permitting the czar to escape without engaging to refund the necessary expenses of the same. Nor was anything done in behalf of the Circassians, and the brave tribes of the Caucasus, who have so long maintained a glorious struggle to preserve their independence, and who offered to join in the crusade against Russia. Asia Minor was also given up to Russia, the poor Tartars relinquished into her power, and the whole of the Crimea restored ; even the Sardinians, who in the hour of gloom and depression came gallantly forward to the rescue, were delivered over to the tender mercies of the house of Hapsburg.

§ 849. Austria in fact gained everything without making a single concession. From the first hour of the dispute she had all her own way. By the advice of her diplomatists the passage of the Pruth was not at once regarded by the Porte as a *casus belli* ; and when at length the sword was drawn, she interfered and checked the advance of Omer Pacha after the victory of Oltenitza. When Russia was finally worsted on the Danube, Austria entered the Principalities, from which the Muscovite hordes had been expelled, and thus shielded this frontier of the czar’s empire. At all times and places she was negotiating in favour of Russia ; seeking, by every means in her power save an actual alliance with the czar, to further his cause. The little value placed upon the treaty of Paris is shown by the tripartite treaty between Austria, France, and England, signed at Paris on the 15th of April. It was as follows :—“ Art. I. The high contracting parties guarantee, jointly and severally, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire, recorded in the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of

March, 1856. Art. II. Any infraction of the stipulations of the said treaty will be considered by the powers signing the present treaty as a *casus belli*. They will come to an understanding with the Sublime Porte as to the measures which have become necessary, and will without delay determine among themselves as to the employment of their military and naval forces." The army of occupation found pleasant repose in Sebastopol. They destroyed the docks, divided the spoils, and made themselves comfortable for the winter. The armistice afforded the belligerents an opportunity for the exchange of civilities, and several friendly meetings took place. The moment the treaty was signed preparations commenced for putting it into execution. The allied troops gradually withdrew from the Crimea, the blockade was removed from the Russian ports, and the allied fleets retired. Commerce began once more to flow in its accustomed channels, and the warrior found that his occupation was gone.

§ 850. This war has shown the danger, and it has also revealed the real defence of the nations. The cordial alliance of France and England has rendered them irresistible. Let them remain united, and they may defy the world in arms. These people, so often honourable foes, have become firm friends at last. They have met and associated together for their mutual advantage. They have broken through an absurd barrier of prejudice and unreasonable dislike, and looked rather curiously into each other's souls. Both have found qualities to admire—something which teaches them that they ought to be friends. They are the leaders in the great movement for social and general progression—the champions of oppressed nationalities; both toiling, though perhaps in different ways, for the advancement of the human race. We speak not now of particular systems, nor the accidental elevation of certain dynasties to power, but of that which is better founded and more enduring—the spirit of a people. On stern battle-fields they have fought side by side; in sore trials and afflictions they have ministered to each other's wants; the wounded English soldier has been snatched from the blood-stained turf by his French comrade; the grave of the Gallic hero watered by the tears of the British warrior. By many a lonely watch-fire, in the broken accents of a true affection, have friendships been contracted which death alone can sever. There is nothing like the companionship of danger for bringing out the purer

traits of human character. May we not, then, confidently hope that this alliance will stand the wear and tear of human adversities; that it will outlive the petty animosities of any momentary excitement? May we not regard it as a pledge, that the two mightiest states in this world's history have discovered, that, whilst in warfare they can gain little save the laurel that grows out of the tomb, their open and honest alliance will scatter the blessings of liberty on thousands of the oppressed, and bequeath the rich legacy of peace to many generations? Should the Russian war have shown the rulers and the people of France and England their true destinies, the historian may chronicle it as the most merciful contest of all time. It will, indeed, be the means of saving whole hecatombs of human lives; it will be a fountain of joy in millions of thankful hearts, and a song of rejoicing by happy firesides now lying deeply hidden in the recesses of an inscrutable future.

THE END.

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ROUTLEDGE'S ILLUSTRATED SHAKESPEARE.

EDITED BY H. STAUNTON.

ILLUSTRATED BY JOHN GILBERT.

Publishing Monthly.

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“Abhorred slave,
Which any print of goodness will not take,
Being capable of all ill,”

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